Volume 49, no. 1 ISSN 0042-6032

A review of early christian life and language

Vigiliae Christianae

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published March 1995

E. J. BRILL
Leiden-New York

VIGILIAE CHRISTIANAE

A Review of Early Christian Life and Language

SCOPE

This quarterly journal contains articles and short notices of an historical and cultural, linguistic or philological nature on Early Christian literature posterior to the New Testament in the widest sense of the word, as well as on Christian epigraphy and archaeology. Church and dogmatic history will only be dealt with if they bear directly on social history; Byzantine and Mediaeval literature only in so far as it exhibits continuity with the Early Christian period. The journal will also contain reviews of important studies, published elsewhere. Each volume consists of 416 pages and appears in 4 quarterly issues.

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The subscription price of Volume 49 (1995) is NlG 179.— (approx. US $ 102.50) for institutions, and NLG 126.— (approx. US $ 72.—) for private subscribers, plus NLG 20.— postage and packing*. Subscription orders will be accepted for complete volumes only, orders taking effect with the first issue of any year. Orders may also be entered on an automatic continuing basis. Cancellations will only be accepted if they are received before November 1st of the year preceding the year in which the cancellation is to take effect. Claims for replacement of damaged issues or of issues lost in transit should be made within ten months after the publication of the relevant issue and will be met if reserve stock permits.

Subscription orders may be made via any bookseller or subscription agency, or direct to the publisher: *E. J. Brill, Postbus 9000, 2300 PA Leiden, The Netherlands*

* Prijzen exclusief BTW.

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Expediters of the Printed Word, 2323 Randolph Ave, Avenel, NJ 07001 is US mailing agent. US postmasters are requested to send address corrections to them at the address given.

Second-class postage paid at Rahway, NJ. Printed in The Netherlands

All prices and postage & handling charges are exclusive of VAT in EC-countries. (VAT not applicable outside the EC)

WHY DOES CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA CALL PHILO "THE PYTHAGOREAN"?

BY

DAVID T. RUNIA

The evidence and the problem

It is a well-known fact that the massive corpus of writings of Philo of Alexandria only survived because he was taken up in the Christian tradition as a church father *honoris causa*.[1] In our extant sources he is first mentioned by Josephus (*Antiquities* 18.258), who describes him as "a man respected in every way ... and not unskilled in philosophy".[2] But this is the last reference to Philo by a Jewish author until the 16th century. We first read about him in a Christian author in the *Stromateis* of Clement of Alexandria (written at the end of the 2nd century A.D.). Clement explicitly refers to Philo on four occasions, but his actual usage of Philonic material is much more extensive. Indeed Clement's handling of Philo is an illuminating example of the way ancient authors were wont to use other authors as a source for their own writing. In her excellent and well-received monograph on the subject Annewies van den Hoek has shown that on at least eight occasions Clement had a copy of Philo on his desk as it were, and that he copied out extensive excerpts in the *Stromateis*, unrolling his scroll as he went along (on one occasion in reverse!).[3]

The four passages in which Clement refers to Philo by name are the following:[4]

> 1.31.1: ἑρμηνεύει δὲ ὁ Φίλων τὴν Ἄγαρ παροίκησιν ..., τὴν Σάραν δὲ ἀρχήν μου. (Philo interprets Hagar as "sojourning" ..., Sarah as "my rule".)
> 1.72.4: τούτων ἁπάντων πρεσβύτατον μακρῷ τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς φιλοσοφίαν ἔγγραπτον γενομένην προκατάρξαι τῆς παρ' Ἕλλησι φιλοσοφίας διὰ πολλῶν ὁ Πυθαγόρειος ὑποδείκνυσι Φίλων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ Περιπατητικὸς καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους, ἵνα μὴ κατ' ὄνομα ἐπιὼν διατρίβω. (That the race of the Jews is by far the oldest of all these (races or cultures) and that their philosophy in a written form commenced prior to that of the Greeks is fully demonstrated by the Pythagorean Philo, as well as by Aristobulus the Peripatetic and many others, a list of whose names I will not bore you with.)
> 1.152.2: τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν Ἕλληνες ἐδίδασκον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ὡς ἂν

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> βασιλικὸν παιδίον, ᾗ φησι Φίλων ἐν τῷ Μωυσέως βίῳ, προσεμάνθανε δὲ τὰ Ἀσσυρίων γράμματα καὶ τὴν τῶν οὐρανίων ἐπιστήμην παρά τε Χαλδαίων παρά τε Αἰγυπτίων ... (The remainder of the general education Greeks taught him [Moses] in Egypt, as would befit a royal child, an account of which is given by Philo in his Life of Moses. In addition he learned Assyrian letters and the science of the heavens from the Chaldeans and from the Egyptians.)
> 2.100.3: Πλάτων δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος, εὐδαιμονίαν τέλος τιθέμενος, "ὁμοίωσιν θεῷ" φησιν αὐτὴν εἶναι "κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν", εἴτε [καὶ] συνδραμών πως τῷ δόγματι τοῦ νόμου ("αἱ γὰρ μεγάλαι φύσεις καὶ γυμναὶ παθῶν εὐστοχοῦσί πως περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν," ὥς φησιν ὁ Πυθαγόρειος Φίλων τὰ Μωυσέως ἐξηγούμενος), εἴτε καὶ παρά τινων τότε λογίων ἀναδιδαχθεὶς ἅτε μαθήσεως ἀεὶ διψῶν. (Plato the philosopher posits as the goal of life "well-being", and says that this is "becoming like unto God to the extent possible", in this either coinciding somehow or other with the doctrine of the Law (for great natures who are devoid of passions somehow or other hit on the truth, as says the Pythagorean Philo when expounding the works of Moses), or because, as one who was always thirsting for learning, he had been taught it by learned men then living.)

These references deserve further study. In the first, which occurs in the middle of an extensive section that borrows heavily from Philo, the Jewish author is suddenly introduced without any further indication as to who he might be.[5] In the third text both the name and the work used as a source is given. Clement explicitly indicates that he has made use of Philo's account of the life of Moses, no doubt in order to give his own account of the same subject more authority.[6] Here too Philo's name is given without any further description. In the other two passages the situation differs. Clement does add a description that tells us a little more about who this Philo might be. He is twice called "the Pythagorean". This epithet is used of Philo in only one other ancient source, namely the historian Sozomen, who informs us that according to "Philo the Pythagorean" the best of the Hebrews retired to Lake Mareotis and practised philosophy there.[7] A single other text points in a similar direction. When introducing Philo in his *Ecclesiastical History* Eusebius tells us that Philo is recorded as having exceeded his contemporaries in his zeal for the philosophical discipline of Plato and Pythagoras (so I translate τὴν κατὰ Πλάτωνα καὶ Πυθαγόραν ἀγωγήν).[8] This information may be derived from Clement, whom, as we know, Eusebius had read very carefully.[9]

Now in my view the epithet "Pythagorean" which Clement attaches to Philo is unexpected. It is surely surprising that he does not describe him as "Philo the Jew" or, as might be more likely, "Philo the Hebrew".[10] We would expect that Philo's role as a predecessor in the

Jewish-Christian tradition, i.e. the tradition that ascribes authority to the Hebrew scriptures, was more important for Clement than an attachment to a philosophical school of thought. In her monograph Van den Hoek devotes virtually no attention to the matter.[11] Yet it is easy to see that from the historical point of view the issue is not without significance. As we have seen, apart from the brief notice in Josephus, Clement is the first author to name Philo. It is highly probable that it was through the intervention of the so-called catechetical school of Pantaenus, of which Clement was a member (but of which we know perilously little), that the writings of Philo were rescued from the debris of Jewish-Alexandrian culture after the disastrous happenings in the century after Philo's death.[12] Just as from the textual point of view,[13] so also from the historical perspective the early information supplied by Clement has to be taken very seriously. When he calls Philo a "Pythagorean", can this mean that in some way or another Philo was a member of the Pythagorean school? Naturally we have to allow for the fact that Clement may have been privy to information that is otherwise lost to us. If this is the case, we cannot check him. But we do have the duty to examine the question of why Clement called Philo "the Pythagorean" from as many angles as are made available to us by our limited sources. This is the task that I propose to take on myself in the present article.[14]

It is, of course, with Clement that we should start. The answer to our question will be determined primarily by Clement's perception of Philo and other writers like him. The evidence of other contemporary authors is only useful to the extent that it brings Clement's views into sharper relief. I begin, therefore, with the *contexts* of the two passages, since they may well tell us something about why Clement chose to describe Philo in the way that he did. It will be more convenient to take the latter first.

The text at Str. *2.100.3*

After a long passage starting at §78, in which Clement describes how the Greek philosophical doctrine of the various virtues is already located in the writings of Moses, it is concluded that "Plato the philosopher" has a doctrine of the *telos* which is the same as that of Moses (see text cited above). The formulation of the *telos* as εὐδαιμονία and ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, derived from *Theaet.* 176b, is of course straight Middle

Platonist doctrine.[15] The convergence of doctrine is to be explained either through the fact that great minds can hit on the truth independently of each other, or because Plato, ever thirsting for knowledge, somehow came into contact with learned men who could teach him what was contained in the Mosaic philosophy.[16] The latter alternative recalls the apologetic argument of the "theft of the philosophers", which is one of the pillars of Clement's argument throughout the entire work.[17]

The first and lesser difficulty posed by the passage is that the quote from Philo which is supposed to support the former alternative is nowhere to be found as such in the Philonic corpus. It is not impossible that Clement has in mind a passage now lost (e.g. in the *Quaestiones* or the *Hypothetica*). But I agree with the editors of Philo, Cohn and Wendland, that he almost certainly has a passage in mind which describes Moses' own education:[18]

Philo, *Mos.* 1.22	Clement, *Str.* 2.100.3
πολλὰ γὰρ αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις	αἱ γὰρ μεγάλαι φύσεις καὶ γυμναὶ παθῶν
καινοτομοῦσι τῶν εἰς ἐπιστήμην.	εὐστοχοῦσί πως περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

It is perhaps better *not* to place Clement's words in quotation marks, since he is giving the gist of Philo's words, not citing them *verbatim*. The context determines the change from ἐπιστήμη (relevant to Moses' natural abilities that came to the fore during his training) to ἀλήθεια (Plato's ethical insights). But then καινοτομοῦσι has to be changed too, for truth (in the ancient conception) is not found through innovation.[19] A further argument in favour of this derivation is that the additional words γυμναὶ παθῶν clearly reflect what Philo says about Moses' asceticism at *Mos.* 1.25-29 (note especially παθῶν at §26). Moreover the cited passage is part of a longer section of Philo's work which Clement adapts at length in book I of the *Stromateis* (he refers to it in the third of the passages cited above in which Philo's name is mentioned).[20] A final consideration is the ambiguity of the phrase τὰ Μωυσέως ἐξηγούμενος which follows the mention of Philo's name. This may mean "expounding the writings of Moses" (i.e. a very general sense, equivalent to "in his commentaries on Moses"), or it may mean "giving an exposition of the facts about Moses", which could then be a reference to the biographical details furnished in abundance in the *De vita Moysis*.[21] The latter view would further support Cohn and Wendland's view. It seems to me, however, that the first interpretation of the phrase is the more likely.

The second interpretative difficulty is that we must try to determine the intent and scope of the reference to Philo. A minimalist view would be that Clement is making an erudite literary allusion to a memorable turn of phrase in Philo. After all the contexts are rather different: in the one case the education of the prodigy Moses, in the other Plato's independent acquisition of a philosophical truth. There is, however, a complication. This particular passage follows on, and can be regarded as the climax of, the passage 2.78.1-101.1, the entire sequence of which is determined by large-scale (but wholly unacknowledged) borrowings from Philo's treatise *De virtutibus*.[22] Is Clement indirectly making amends by naming Philo after the event in the expectation that the attentive reader will make the connection?

The question to be answered, therefore, is whether there is any connection between what we just called the "erudite literary allusion" and the theme of the passage, i.e. the Platonic *telos*. At this point we should take into account an acute observation made by Dietmar Wyrwa in his analysis of Clement's use of Plato.[23] He points out that Clement's mention of the ὁμοίωσις θεῷ formula is anticipated on two occasions earlier in the passage, i.e. at 80.5 and 97.1, and that both passages are taken straight from Philo (*Virt.* 8 and 168). This means that *if* the formula is now attributed to Plato, at the very least Clement has *implicitly* indicated his recognition that Philo's use of these phrases has a Platonic (as well as a Mosaic) background.[24] It is tempting to connect this observation with Clement's description of Philo as "the Pythagorean", even if formally and strictly speaking there is no connection between the statement on Plato and the reference to Philo. Whether this interpretation is legitimate has yet to be seen.

The text at Str. *1.72.4*

The context here is less illuminating, and can be dealt with quickly. In this section[25] Clement discusses the relationship between Greek and barbarian philosophy. He argues that (1) many of the first Greek philosophers (e.g. Pythagoras and Thales) were barbarians anyway, (2) Plato recognizes the contribution of barbarian philosophers, (3) many of the Greek philosophers studied with or learnt from barbarian philosophers, and (4) philosophy flourished among the barbarian races before it reached the Greeks. The section ends with a long series of witnesses. The first two are "Philo the Pythagorean" and "Aristobulus

the Peripatetic", i.e. our text. Thereafter Clement cites four Greek sources which support his thesis (Megasthenes, anonymi, Herodorus, Hermippus).

There is no text in the extant Philo which explicitly undertakes to prove the antiquity of the Jews and the anteriority of their written philosophy (i.e. the Law). So Clement's statement might be taken as a rhetorical flourish. In most of his extant writings Philo shows little interest in historical details.[26] There can, however, be little doubt that the apologetic motif would have met with his approval. Wendland's suggestion that Clement is referring here to a lost section of the *Hypothetica* cannot be proven, but certainly deserves serious consideration.[27]

Why then is Philo given the epithet "Pythagorean" in this context? No doubt because it boosts his standing as a witness. There is nothing remarkable about a Jew claiming the antiquity of his own race. Clement does not bother to tell his reader that Philo is Jewish. It does make a difference if he is someone who has an association with the Greek philosophical tradition. Philo's fellow-Alexandrian Aristobulus is also given an epithet that indicates a connection with a philosophical school. It is apparent that Clement's use of such philosophical epithets needs to be examined in closer detail.

Epithets indicating connections with philosophical schools in Clement

Before looking at particular examples, we must first address a preliminary question. What do terms such as "Pythagorean" and "Peripatetic" refer to? Here there is an important distinction that needs to be made.

In the first place such terms will very often indicate *membership of* or *affiliation to* a philosophical αἵρεσις, i.e. a philosophical "school" or, perhaps better, "school of thought".[28] In Clement's time, as is well known, philosophers were generally identified by their allegiance to one of the rival "schools" that went back to the earlier period of the Greek philosophical tradition. These "schools" scarcely existed in the institutional sense to which we are accustomed (although in Clement's day there were some municipal chairs for the various αἱρέσεις, and at Athens even an Imperial endowment). There was no central body that organized all philosophers who called themselves Platonists, but no doubt most Platonists would look up to the occupant of the chair of

Platonist philosophy in Athens.[29] One could be a professional representative of such an αἵρεσις. Such were the men whom Justin studied with—first a Στωϊκός, then a Περιπατητικός, then a Πυθαγόρειος, and finally a prominent Πλατωνικός—before he fell in with the old man by the sea. One could also be "affiliated" with such a "school of thought" without teaching philosophy professionally. Here we think of men such as Cicero, who regarded himself as an "Academic", the "Platonist" Plutarch, the "Stoic" Seneca, and so on. Such membership could be projected into the distant past, e.g. Empedocles could be called "the Pythagorean" because he came from Western Greece, was thought to have been a pupil of Pythagoras, and maintained similar doctrines (e.g. reincarnation).[30]

It is also possible, however, to use these terms in a different sense, to indicate not a membership of or an affiliation to a "school of thought", but rather an *affinity to the thought* of such an αἵρεσις. One can be a "Platonist" if there are elements of Platonic doctrine in one's writings, even if one does not regard oneself as a "member" of that school. The distinction between the two usages is necessarily somewhat fluid, and cannot always be accurately demarcated. That it is real can be illustrated if we now turn to some examples found in Clement himself.

Clement calls various people "the Pythagorean" if, as he thinks, they were members of the ancient Pythagorean school, e.g. Philolaus, Epicharmus, Athamas, Hippodamus, and so on.[31] On two occasions Clement calls Numa, King of Rome, a "Pythagorean". The one text is in the same chapter as the second of the texts analysed above, where it is claimed that Numa learnt from Moses not to allow anthropomorphic images of God.[32] This information Clement derives from Plutarch, who in his biography discusses the possibility that Numa was an intimate of Pythagoras at some length.[33] We note that in this text Clement argues that the Romans were taught in secret that it was only possible "to have contact with the most excellent principle (ἐφάψασθαι τοῦ βελτίστου)" with the mind alone. The secrecy is Pythagorean, but the philosophy is pure Platonism. Quite different is the case of Pindar. Clement describes him as "Pythagorean" on account of the first lines of the sixth Nemead, in which the single origin of men and gods is celebrated (i.e. the Pythagorean monad).[34] But there is no association of the Boeotian Pindar with the Pythagorean school.[35] Here we have a clear case of "affinity of thought" retrospectively attributed.

The only "modern" Pythagorean whom Clement mentions as such

(apart from Philo) is Numenius, in the famous text at *Str.* 1.150.4 where he is recorded as contending that Plato is none other than a Μωυσῆς ἀττικίζων. The text itself does not tell us very much, but we may certainly assume that in Clement's eyes Numenius was a member of (or affiliated with) the Pythagorean αἵρεσις. The more difficult question here is what Numenius' relation to the Platonic school of thought is. After all the pronouncement concerns Plato, not Pythagoras. We shall return to this question below. Strikingly Clement, though himself probably trained in a Platonic school environment, nowhere describes any philosopher as a "Platonist".[36]

As for the term Περιπατητικός, it furnishes us with two surprises. Firstly Aristotle is once somewhat curiously called "the Peripatetic", but there is, one supposes, no good reason for excluding him from the school that he himself founded.[37] Others given the title belonged to the Peripatetic school during Aristotle's lifetime and the subsequent Hellenistic period: Clearchus, Strato, Lyco, Hieronymus, Critolaus.[38] Nothing unexpected here. The remaining surprise is, of course, Philo's fellow Alexandrian Jew Aristobulus, who is called "the Peripatetic" in the very same sentence as Philo is called "the Pythagorean". This case requires our closest attention.

Aristobulus the Peripatetic

Much ink has been spilt on Aristobulus, chiefly because he is such an intriguing figure, about whom we would like to know a lot more.[39] He is the only one of Philo's Jewish-Alexandrian predecessors whom we know by name. If we take him to have flourished in the mid-second cent. B.C., then a period of nearly two centuries separates them. Clement mentions him four times, of which on two occasions as "the Peripatetic". It would appear that Eusebius became interested in him through his reading of Clement. Whereas Clement cites only short pieces of text, Eusebius gives us four extended passages. This means that he must have had access to a copy of Aristobulus' work, an interpretation of the Jewish Law with an apologetic orientation. The Eusebian fragments allow a number of further unnamed borrowings in Clement to be identified.[40]

Clement's designation of Aristobulus as "the Peripatetic" is perhaps even more puzzling that of Philo as "the Pythagorean", for the extant fragments clearly disclose the conviction—similar to that of Philo—that

Greek philosophy is inferior to and indebted to Moses. This of course allows a rather eclectic approach. He in fact mentions Pythagoras and Plato twice, but Aristotle is not mentioned, and the Peripatetics only once. Moreover when discussing the significance of the Sabbath, he clearly indicates that God created the cosmos, a view which is difficult to rhyme with a Peripatetic position.[41] The following hypotheses have been put forward:

(a) that the title "Peripatetic" is a deduction from his writings, perhaps based on the reference to the αἵρεσις ἡ ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου in fr. 5, or perhaps based on a more general impression of his apologetic motivation;[42]

(b) that the title does not refer to a philosophical affiliation at all, but rather to a scientific and possibly biographical interest;[43]

(c) the very recent suggestion that Aristobulus may have been acquainted with the pseudo-Aristotelian work *De mundo*, and that this work is his chief point of reference in his orientation towards Greek philosophy, as particularly suggested by his reference to the divine δύναμις.[44]

The assumption of the last two hypotheses is that the title was either a self-designation or handed down through the tradition, e.g. that it was found in the title of Aristobulus' book. It is difficult to argue against this, for there is no hard evidence either way.[45] I assume with Walter that the titles are the work of Clement, or at least have consciously been taken over by him, and so tell us more about his perceptions than about the situation three centuries earlier. From him they pass onto Eusebius, and then further into the tradition. Walter's own explanation of the title (i.e. (a) above) is not particularly convincing, for it hardly puts Clement's analysis of Aristobulus' writings in a very favourable light, but we have none better.

Such hypotheses need not delay us any longer, however, for the fragments of Aristobulus himself and their adaptation by Clement give us a sufficient clue. Aristobulus actually speaks of his own "affiliation" when he says in fr. 4 that "it is confessed by all philosophers that one should have holy conceptions concerning the deity, which is especially well enjoined by our school of thought (ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς αἵρεσις)".[46] Aristobulus aligns himself with Jewish philosophers and particularly Moses. Clement does not allude to this text, but he does cite the passage which according to Eusebius stood a little earlier in Aristobulus' book, that "Plato followed the lawgiving of our tradition (τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς

νομοθεσίᾳ)" and that "Pythagoras transferred much from our tradition (τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν) to his own system of thought (δογματοποιία)".[47] Clement cannot possibly have meant that Aristobulus was a "member of" or was "affiliated with" the Peripatetic school. This is the relationship that he had with his own Jewish school of thought. He is called "the Peripatetic" on account of an *affinity* that he had with Peripatetic thought.[48] Regrettably we are not in a position to determine with any certainty what that affinity in Clement's eyes was.

Philo's affinity with Pythagoreanism

This clear result in the case of Aristobulus will encourage us to undertake an analogous argument for Philo's appellation as "the Pythagorean". Philo, we may argue, was in Clement's eyes not a member of the Pythagorean *hairesis*. Such affiliation is reserved for his relationship to Moses.[49] His writings, however, did reveal affinities with Pythagorean thought, and this will have encouraged the use of the epithet. Philo only mentions Pythagoras or his followers explicitly on a limited number of occasions,[50] but Clement's trained eye will have picked up more themes with a Pythagorean origin. What, we may ask, may have induced Clement to regard Philo's thought, and thus Philo himself, as Pythagorean? Let us review four possibilities.

(a) A prominent aspect of Philo's biblical exegesis is his heavy use of number symbolism or arithmology.[51] On a number of occasions he specifically refers to Pythagorean number lore when expounding biblical numbers such as the monad, the triad and the hebdomad.[52] Clement takes over this method. There are at least three significant texts where he takes over substantial material on arithmology from Philo:[53]

(i) *Str.* 2.50-51: on the decad (exeg. Ex. 16:36, cf. *Congr.* 100-106;

(ii) *Str.* 5.93-94: on the six days of creation, cf. *Opif.* 13-14;

(iii) *Str.* 6.139-145: on the hebdomad in relation to the 4th commandment, cf. esp. *Leg.* 1.2-20, and also *Opif.* 89-127.

Moreover the reference to God as beyond the One and the monad at *Paed.* 1.71.2 recalls similar Philonic formulations at *Leg.* 2.3, *Praem.* 40, *QE* 2.68 etc.[54] The possibility has to be considered, therefore, that, when Clement calls Philo "the Pythagorean", he is specifically thinking of this penchant for arithmologizing exegesis, and also of a connection with a theology of the "One God".[55]

(b) Secondly, we need to ask whether there are any other features of

Philo's thought that on their own may have been sufficient for Clement to have labelled Philo "the Pythagorean". Various themes come to mind, e.g. Pythagoreanizing esotericism,[56] the goal of ethics as "following God",[57] even the doctrine of metempsychosis.[58] It will be agreed, however, that none of these are sufficiently important in Philo or sufficiently prominent in Clement's borrowings from Philo to explain the epithet.

(c) The third possibility takes us in an entirely different direction. One of the more obvious features of Philo's writings is their extensive use of philosophical material from the so-called "Bible of the Platonists", Plato's *Timaeus*.[59] As the passage at *Str.* 5.93-94 implicitly shows (Philo's name is not mentioned), Clement was perfectly aware of this connection.[60] In Clement's day the personage of Timaeus was regarded as a Pythagorean (in the dialogue he is described at 20a as coming from Locris in Italy). Moreover a Pseudo-Pythagorean work, written in Doric and attributed to Timaeus Locrus, was in circulation and was regarded as the original from which Plato had taken (or even plagiarized) his doctrines.[61] Clement refers to the figure of Timaeus (Locrus) twice,[62] but nowhere does he associate him with Pythagoreanism. For this reason we are not justified, I would argue, in concluding that the epithet "Pythagorean" refers to Philo's fondness for this particular Platonic dialogue.

(d) The final possibility takes us further along the same path. As is well known, during the final century B.C. and the first two centuries A.D. Platonists and (Neo-)Pythagoreans formed two separate αἱρέσεις, but from the doctrinal point of view there were strong connections between them.[63] Indeed Pythagorean doctrine might be described as virtually identical with Platonist philosophy, with the addition of special emphases on the role of numbers (esp. in the doctrine of first principles) and on the contemplative life (together with various practical injunctions). The reason why this was possible is clear enough. Plato was regarded as having "Pythagorized", not only in the *Timaeus*, but throughout his entire *œuvre*.[64] As the more ancient figure, Pythagoras was the creative source, but Plato had worked out his thought in greater philosophical detail. In practice this meant that Pythagoreans could claim Platonist doctrine as an integral part of their αἵρεσις, but had more speculative freedom, because they were less tied to the study of Plato's writings.[65] The best individual example is the philosopher Numenius. As Whittaker remarks, "in spite of his frequent designation as a

Pythagorean, the content of Numenius' surviving fragments is in the main more Platonic than Pythagorean."[66] Turning to Clement, we see that he on various occasions associates Pythagoras (or Pythagoreans) and Plato.[67] He argues that Plato drew the doctrine of the immortality of the soul from Pythagoras, and even locates a non-existent Pythagorean in one of Plato's dialogues.[68] The suggestion may be made, therefore, that when Clement calls Philo "the Pythagorean", he is indicating that he has recognized not only Pythagorean themes, but also the dominant Platonist element in Philo's thought, for both aspects are covered under the single epithet.

A difficult choice

We are thus left with two alternative answers to our question. It is possible that Clement calls Philo "the Pythagorean" on account of the role that arithmology or number-symbolism plays in his thought, and especially in his exegesis. It is also possible that the epithet refers to the dominant Platonist strain in his thought. Which of these alternatives deserves our preference? It might be argued that we need not choose, since Clement may have had a plurality of reasons.[69] Nevertheless I think it is useful to determine one's priorities on this issue, and although certainty cannot be attained, I believe that two arguments support the latter view. Firstly, as we said earlier, the context of the two texts in which Philo receives this designation is apologetic rather than exegetical, i.e. the antiquity of the Jews compared with Greek philosophy, and the derivation of the Platonic *telos*-formula from Moses. The second passage is also overtly doxographical (in the broad sense of the term), even if the mention of Philo strictly speaking refers only to a *bon mot*.[70] Clement thus has more to gain from the statement that Philo was well-acquainted with a major direction of Greek thought. A second, admittedly less strong, argument is that Clement nowhere uses the term Πλατωνικός in order to designate a philosopher. This suggests that he may have wanted to avoid the term (for whatever reason), and preferred the more dignified title of Πυθαγορεῖος. We thus find ourselves in broad agreement with David Winston when he writes:[71] "It is thus clear that the expression "Pythagorean" does not preclude one from being a Platonist. Clement's designation of Philo as a "Pythagorean" was therefore probably not meant to preclude his being a Platonist, but was

used only to indicate that both he and Plato had "Pythagorized"." My proviso would be, however, that we take "Platonist" here to indicate *affinity* to the thought of an *haeresis*, and not in the stronger sense of a *membership* of or *affiliation* with such an *haeresis* (or school of thought). For it would be rash to think that Clement had overlooked the obvious fact that Philo's loyalty and devotion were primarily, indeed perhaps even exclusively, to the "school of Moses".[72]

The attitude behind the title

There remains a final question to be discussed in relation to the epithet that Clement bestows on Philo. We noted at the outset that it would be more expected that he name him "Philo the Jew (or Hebrew)" as an indication of his ethnic and religious provenance. Does a negative aspect lie concealed in the epithet "the Pythagorean", that is to say, negative either towards Philo's Jewish background or towards his pagan learning?

It was suggested nearly a century ago by F. C. Conybeare that Clement may have given Philo this title in order to conceal his Jewishness:[73]

> If we examine the references to Philo made by Christian writers in this earlier time, we find that they were rather ashamed to quote Philo; or, if not quite that, at least not inclined to regard him as an authority, whose approval of an institution should at once command its acceptance by Christians. Let us examine a few of these references... Clement of Alexandria in his Stromateis alludes to Philo as ὁ Πυθαγόρειος. Did Christians of the late third century (*sic*) care for the authority of a Pythagorean?

This approach is not convincing. In fact Clement's writings reveal surprisingly little contact with the Jewish community of his day (which may not yet have recovered from the terrible events earlier in the century), and certainly very little inclination to engage in open and direct discussion with them.[74] Rather we should argue that both Clement and Origen had on the whole a relatively neutral, or even sometimes a selectively favourable attitude to contemporary Judaism.[75] It was this "window of opportunity" presented by the Alexandrian tradition that was in all likelihood responsible for the survival of Philo's writings in the first place.[76] Clement is quite happy to point out that Josephus is a Jew.[77] The reason he does not do so in the case of Philo is presumably because

Philo's Jewish origin is obvious enough, and does not need to be underlined. The very first reference to Philo in the *Stromateis* involves the etymology of a biblical name. The reader could be assumed to conclude that Philo as an exegete stood in the Judaeo-Christian tradition. If he was not a Christian, then he had to be a Jew.

The title "Pythagorean" does not, therefore, conceal Philo's Jewishness, but highlights an aspect of his thought and writings. In this meant positively or negatively? The answer must surely be the former. Philo stands in the Judaeo-Christian tradition, but he is also a learned man, as expressed in the title, and in the eyes of the "liberal" Clement this is a positive feature.[78] Admittedly, on one occasion Clement associates Pythagoreanism (and Platonism) with heresy, namely when he argues that Marcion derives his doctrine of the evil nature of matter from that source.[79] But, given Clement's comparatively favourable attitude to the Platonist tradition, we are not surprised to read a few lines later that the heretic has misrepresented the original doctrine. Clement's attitude is brought into clear relief when it is compared with that of his younger contemporary Hippolytus, for whom the titles Pythagorean and Platonist easily become terms of abuse when brought into connection with heretical thought. Having given a summary of Pythagorean and Platonic doctrine, he states that it was "from this, and not from the gospels, as we shall demonstrate, that Valentinus drew together his *hairesis* (i.e. alternative mode of thought), and so he should rightly be considered a Pythagorean and a Platonist, not a Christian".[80] The attitude behind calling someone a "Pythagorean" in this context is the opposite to that involved when Clement gives Philo the same title. What Clement regards positively, Hippolytus views negatively. The same difference is well illustrated by another text, namely the *Sentences of Sextus*. This collection of aphorisms was attributed by some to "Sextus the Pythagorean". Jerome in the 4th century strongly polemicizes against it as the work of "a man without Christ and a heathen", arguing that those who read it take over various pernicious Pythagorean doctrines and so "drink of the golden cup of Babylon".[81] But the work in its Christian form, according to Chadwick's reconstruction of the tradition, was probably compiled between 180 and 210 by a writer whose kindred spirit was Clement of Alexandria and whose motto might have been *Pythagoras saepe noster*.[82] This is close to the spirit in which Clement calls Philo "the Pythagorean", whereas Jerome's attitude is a continuation of what we found in Hippolytus.

Later sources

As noted at the outset two Christian authors subsequent to Clement refer to Philo's Pythagoreanism. By way of an epilogue some brief comments should be made on these texts. If our interpretation of the Clementine title is correct, then it would appear that Eusebius, by describing Philo as "one who showed zeal for the philosophical discipline of Plato and Pythagoras",[83] reveals a perfect understanding of what Clement will have meant by it. It is uncertain, however, whether Eusebius is here deriving his information from Clement's *Stromateis*. In this text he is embellishing what he read in Josephus, where, as we saw earlier,[84] Philo is described as "not unskilled in philosophy", a passage which the Church historian cites *verbatim*.[85] But where does he get his extra information from? It is possible that he recalled Clement's epithet.[86] It is equally possible that he drew on his own reading of Philo in the library of Caesarea.[87] Another possibility is that the source that he used for the legend of Philo Christianus contained more information on Philo. This source may have been the *Hypotyposeis*, an important work of Clement now most regrettably lost.[88] The suggestion gains support if we take the other later text into consideration. Sozomen too, as we saw, calls Philo "the Pythagorean". Where did he, heavily indebted to earlier sources as he was[89], get his information from? It has been suggested that the passage in Eusebius just mentioned was his source.[90] This is possible (though why should he choose the school of one philosopher at the expense of that of the other, which was in fact more famous?). But there is also another possibility. A few pages earlier (1.1.12) Sozomen informs his reader that he has written a short account of the history of the Church up to the time of Constantine in two books, in which one of his sources was "Clement" (in addition to Eusebius). He may mean the *Pseudo-Clementina*,[91] but he may also mean Clement of Alexandria, in which case the lost *Hypotyposeis* would again be a candidate, since we know that it contained much quasi-historical material on the Apostolic age. It is in any case probable that Sozomen's description of Philo as "the Pythagorean" derives from the narrow Alexandrian-Caesarean tradition that we have been investigating.

A final matter of related interest is the *bon mot* on Philo and Plato which began to circulate in the Eastern Church, and which is first recorded in Isidore of Pelusium and Jerome, ἢ Πλάτων φιλωνίζει ἢ Φίλων πλατωνίζει.[92] One wonders whether the expression was not formulated

with half an eye on the well-known *dictum* that ὁ Πλάτων πυθαγοριζει.[93] Certainly it was no less true to say from the contemporary Platonist point of view that ἢ Πυθαγόρας πλατωνίζει ἢ Πλάτων πυθαγορίζει than it was for Christians to say that ἢ Πλάτων φιλωνίζει ἢ Φίλων πλατωνίζει.

Summary of results

The argument that we have pursued in this article may be summarized along the following lines. When Clement on two occasions calls Philo "the Pythagorean", the epithet is surprising because it does not locate him in the Judaeo-Christian tradition where, also for Clement (in the light of his borrowings), he primarily belongs. In both cases the context, though revealing, does not explain the epithet fully. In one of the two passages Philo's name is coupled with that of "Aristobulus the Peripatetic". This second title gives us a vital clue, for it can clearly be shown that it must refer not to any kind of "membership of" or "affiliation with" the Peripatetic school, but rather an affinity of thought (even if what this is remains rather puzzling). For Clement, therefore, Philo shows an affinity of thought with Pythagoreanism. Two plausible explanations can be given for what such an affinity might be, more specifically the role that arithmology plays in his exegesis, or more generally the dominant Platonist strain in his thought (included under the title Pythagorean because it was recognized that "Plato Pythagorized"). The choice between these two explanations is difficult, but we opt for the second. Clement is not trying to conceal Philo's Jewishness. Given his relatively "liberal" stance, the title must be seen as a compliment in the direction of his Jewish predecessor. This positive attitude is important from the historical point of view, for ultimately it lead to the survival of Philo's works through the intermediation of the Episcopal Library of Caesarea.[94]

NOTES

[1] For a full account of this process see my *Philo in Early Christian Literature: a Survey*. Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum III 3 (Assen-Minneapolis 1993).

[2] ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἔνδοξος... καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρος.

[3] *Clement of Alexandria and his Use of Philo in the* Stromateis*: an Early Christian Reshaping of a Jewish Model*, Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 3 (Leiden 1988); see esp. 211-216.

[4] The text used is that of Stählin-Früchtel-Treu (GCS). It is possible that Clement also refers to Philo at *Str.* 1.152.2, but if so, he is mistaken (it should be Philo the Elder, the historian, = RE (46)).

[5] Note how Clement is heavily dependent on a source, but only mentions its names incidentally. This frequent habit of ancient authors was heavily exploited in the method of *Quellenforschung* developed in classical studies in the 19th century, an essentially risky procedure because the extent of the dependence can only be determined if the exploited source is still extant (in which case the results of the *Quellenforschung* are generally of much less significance).

[6] Perhaps too because it is an unusual and contestable (since chronologically implausible) piece of information.

[7] *Hist. Eccl.* 1.12.9, referring of course to Philo's account of the Therapeutae.

[8] *Hist. Eccl.* 2.4.3.

[9] For example, at *Praep. Evang.* 9.6.5 he quotes the words of Clement that *immediately follow* his mention of Philo the Pythagorean at *Str.* 1.72.4. Nearly a dozen extracts from *Str.* 1.69-75 are cited throughout books 9 and 10 of *Praep. Evang.* I return to this question later in my paper.

[10] As I have shown in a recent article, Philo is in fact not called "the Jew" in our sources until the second half of the 4th century. Until then he is "Philo the Hebrew"; see "Philonic Nomenclature", *The Studia Philonica Annual* 6 (1994) 1-27, esp. 14-20.

[11] Cf. *op. cit.* (n. 3) 107, 179, 184.

[12] See D. Barthélemy, "Est-ce Hoshaya Rabba qui censura le "Commentaire Allégorique"? A partir des retouches faites aux citations bibliques, étude sur la tradition textuelle du Commentaire Allégorique de Philon", in *Philon d'Alexandrie: Lyon 11-15 Septembre 1966; colloques nationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (Paris 1967) 60, and also Runia *op. cit.* (n. 1) 22-23.

[13] See P. Wendland, "Philo und Clemens Alexandrinus", *Hermes* 31 (1896) 435-456, and my "Underneath Cohn and Colson: the Text of Philo's *De virtutibus*", *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 30 (1991) 116-134, esp. 124-127.

[14] Previous research on this question has been limited to scattered observations. See below notes 44 and 71 on the research of R. Radice and D. Winston. I have raised the question without giving an adequate answer at *op. cit.* (n. 1) 136 and in an article "Was Philo a Middle Platonist? A Difficult Question Revisited", *The Studia Philonic Annual* 5 (1993) 133.

[15] Cf. Alcinous, *Did.* 2 153.8, 28 181.19 Whittaker, S. R. C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria: a Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism*, Oxford Theological Monographs (Oxford 1971) 106-110, and for Philo see my *Philo of Alexandria and the* Timaeus of *Plato*, Philosophia Antiqua 44 (Leiden 1986²) 341-343.

[16] So I interpret the phrase παρά τινων τότε λογίων, since the whole context concerns how Greek ethics takes its starting point from Moses. Origen's words at *C. Cels.* 4.39 could be taken as a paraphrase of/commentary on Clement's text: "It is not quite clear whether Plato happened to hit on these matters by chance, or whether, as some think, on his visit to Egypt he met even with those who interpret the Jews' traditions philosophically, and learnt some ideas from them, some of which he kept, and some of which he slightly altered..." (translation Chadwick). On the entire subject see further the texts assembled by H. Dörrie and M. Baltes, *Der Platonismus in der Antike*, Band 2: Der hellenistische Rahmen des kaiserzeitlichen Platonismus (Stuttgart 1990), §69-71 (texts at 1290-219, commentary at 480ff.).

[17] Cf. D. Wyrwa, *Die christliche Platonaneignung in den Stromateis des Clemens von Alexandrien*, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 53 (Berlin-New York 1983) 298-316, and for the theme before Clement P. Pilhofer, *Presbyteron kreitton: Der Alterbeweis der jüdischen und christlichen Apologeten und seine Vorgeschichte*, WUNT 2.39 (Tübingen 1990). Wyrwa 148-152 denies its presence in Book II, making a distinction between the claims of theft and of dependence, but this question is not relevant to our present undertaking.

[18] L. Cohn and P. Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt* (Berlin 1896-1915) 4.124 (the work of Cohn); the suggestion was taken over by Stählin-Früchtel in the GCS edition of Clement (2.168).

[19] As noted by Van den Hoek *op. cit.* (n. 3) 184. The verb εὐστοχέω is in fact not found in our extant Philo.

[20] There are references to Greek teachers at *Mos.* 1.21 and 23, i.e. on either side of the text on natural abilities adapted here!

[21] Cf. the more specific words ἐν τῷ Μωυσέως βίῳ at *Str.* 1.152.2.

[22] See the lists at A. Méhat, *Études sur les "Stromates" de Clement d'Alexandrie*, Patristica Sorbonensia 7 (Paris 1966) 238, Van den Hoek *op. cit.* (n. 3) 71-72.

[23] *Op. cit.* (n. 17) 144.

[24] A very similar procedure occurs at *Str.* 5.73, as I pointed out in *op. cit.* (n. 1) 147.

[25] I take section XV = §66-73 as a single unit in the argument.

[26] Cf. my remarks on his use of the celebrated text *Tim.* 22b on the juvenility of the Greeks compared with the Egyptians at *op. cit.* (n. 15) 77.

[27] "Die Therapeuten und die philonische Schrift vom beschaulichen Leben", *Jahrbuch für die Philologie* Supplbd 22 (1896) 770, cf. 709-715. Van den Hoek *op. cit.* (n. 3) 179 classifies the text as D, i.e. non-dependence on Philo, but this should be qualified.

[28] There is no need to document what follows in detail. Particularly influential have been the studies of J. Glucker; see esp. his *Antiochus and the Late Academy*, Hypomnemata 56 (Göttingen 1978), esp. 174ff., and "Cicero's Philosophical Affiliations", in J. M. Dillon and A. A. Long (edd.), *The Question of "Eclecticism"* (Berkeley 1988) 34-69 (where he promotes the terms "affiliation" and "membership").

[29] On the public position of philosophers in the 2nd century see now J. Hahn, *Der Philosoph und die Gesellschaft: Selbstverständnis, öffentliches Auftreten und populäre Erwartungen in der hohen Kaiserzeit* (Stuttgart 1989), on Athens 118ff.

[30] Cf. texts cited at *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* 31A11, 82A10 Diels-Kranz, and cf. J. Mansfeld, *Heresiography in Context: Hippolytus' Elenchos as a Source for Greek Philosophy*, Philosophia Antiqua 56 (Leiden 1992), esp. chap. 8.

[31] For the references see the useful overview in the GCS edition of Clement (ed. Stählin-Früchtel-Treu), 4.171-172, s.v. Πυθαγόρειος and Πυθαγορικός.

[32] *Str.* 1.71.1, cf. 5.8.4.

[33] See esp. Plut. *Numa* 1.2-3, and cf. 8.4-10, 14.2-3, 22.3-4.

[34] *Str.* 5.102.2.

[35] Cf. for example U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922) 251: "Pythagoreisches läßt sich bei Pindar durchaus nichts nachweisen, es sei denn die Seelenwanderung, die doch in Hintergrunde bleibt"; also E. Thummer, *Die Religiosität Pindars* (Innsbruck 1957) 121-130, W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Oxford 1985) 300-301.

[36] The term Πλατωνικός is a late development, emerging towards the end of the 1st cent. A.D. See Glucker *op. cit.* (n. 28) 134-137, 206-225; also my "Philosophical heresiography:

evidence in two recently published inscriptions", *ZPE* 72 (1988) 243. Clement also does not use the earlier term 'Ακαδημαϊκός; instead he speaks of οἱ ἐκ τῆς 'Ακαδημίας in his long doxography on the *telos* at *Str.* 2.129.8 (the only case).

[37] *Str.* 5.88.5 (Clement mentions the title probably in order to emphasize that four separate schools regard matter as one of the *archai*). At *Str.* 1.63.4 in the survey of the successions of the philosophers Aristotle is recorded as having founded the περιπατητικὴ αἵρεσις.

[38] See the list in the GCS edition of Clement (ed. Stählin-Früchtel-Treu), 4.163.

[39] The standard work remains by N. Walter, *Der Thoraausleger Aristobulos: Untersuchungen zu seinen Fragmenten und zu pseudepigraphischen Resten der jüdisch-hellenistischen Literatur*, TU 86 (Berlin 1964). Walter appears to have succeeded in dispelling the sceptical views of 19th and early 20th century. An English translation of the fragments by A. Yarbro Collins is found in J. H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (London 1983-85) 2.837-842. Further bibliography is given at E. Schürer, G. Vermes *et al.*, *The History of the Jewish people in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 3 vols. in 4 (Edinburgh 1973-87) 3.587. I have derived much profit from an unpublished paper by C. R. Holladay, who is about to publish a new edition and commentary.

[40] Lucid overview at Walter, *op. cit.* 7-9. Presumably a copy was taken by Origen to Caesarea, as happened in the case of the Philonic corpus.

[41] Fr. 5 at Eus. *Praep. Evang.* 13.12.9ff. (which also includes the reference to the Peripatetics). The non-literal interpretation of the creation account, which anticipates Philo's later interpretation, is not the same as denying creation altogether.

[42] Walter *op. cit.* 12, followed by Holladay (see n. 39 above).

[43] M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*, = Eng. trans. of German 2nd edition, 1973 (London 1974) 164 and n. 373; cf. Schürer *op. cit.* (n. 39) 3.579, where it is suggested that he might have even been a member of the Alexandrian museum.

[44] R. Radice, *La filosofia di Aristobulo e i suoi nessi con il De Mundo attribuito ad Aristotele* (Milan 1994), esp. 29 and 73-95.

[45] There is only evidence from silence. The other independent witnesses to Aristobulus, the author of 2 Macc. and Bishop Anatolius, say nothing about philosophical affiliation, and stress only his Jewishness.

[46] Fr. 4 = Eus. *Praep. Evang.* 13.12.8.

[47] *Str.* 1.150.1-3.

[48] I prefer this formulation to that of Walter when he says the term indicates Aristobulus' "Bildung" (and draws the parallel with Philo as Pythagorean). Clement is not concerned with his education (about which he presumably knows nothing), but with the direction of his thought.

[49] Philo himself does not use the phrase ἡ αἵρεσις τοῦ Μωυσέως, but note the very common expression οἱ γνώριμοι τοῦ Μωυσέως (e.g. at *Det.* 86, *Spec.* 1.345 etc.), the reference to the schools (διδασκαλεῖα) where Jews devote themselves on the sabbath to the acquisition of knowledge, and the description of the Therapeutae as having τῆς αἱρέσεως ἀρχηγέται who have shown them the way in allegorical exegesis (*Contempl.* 29).

[50] Nine references in all: *Opif.* 100, *Leg.* 1.15, *QG* 1.17, 1.99, 3.16, 3.49, 4.8, *Prob.* 2, *Aet.* 12. This is a relatively large number if compared with Philo's practice in the case of other Greek philosophers. For example he mentions Plato only 14 times, of which half are in *Aet.*

[51] Best recent treatment in H. R. Moehring, "Arithmology as an Exegetical Tool in the Writings of Philo of Alexandria", *SBL Seminar Papers* 13 (1978) 1.191-229; about to be reprinted in J.P. Kenney (ed.), *Moehring Memorial Volume* (Atlanta 1995).

[52] *Opif.* 100 and *Leg.* 1.15 (hebdomad and monad), *QG* 3.49 (thirty-six), 4.8 (triad).

[53] On these texts see further Van den Hoek *op. cit.* (n. 3) 152-160, 196, 205 (she should have included this last passage in her group of "short sequences" instead of among the "isolated references").

[54] J. M. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* (London 1977) 156 regards these statements by Philo as "an essentially rhetorical flourish", but does see a connection with the Pythagorizing early Middle Platonist Eudorus.

[55] Cf. also Radice *op. cit.* (n. 44) 20.

[56] E.g. the injunction "not to walk on the highways", cited by Philo at *Prob.* 2 and also referred to by Clement at *Str.* 5.31.1, which could be taken in an esoteric rather than a protreptic sense. At *Str.* 4.3.1 Clement takes over the Platonic language of the greater and lesser mysteries; cf. Philo *Sacr.* 62 and Van den Hoek *op. cit.* (n. 3) 188. This possible interpretation of the epithet "Pythagorean" for Philo is suggested by Radice, *op. cit.* (n. 44) 21, who also points to the prominence of the "contemplative life" in Pythagorean thought. Note, however, that Pythagoras or Pythagoreanism are not mentioned at all in Philo's *De vita contemplativa*.

[57] Cf. *Migr.* 128-131, *Abr.* 60, taken over by Clement in *Str.* 2.69.4, cf. 2.100.4. In the former text Clement brings out the connection with Pythagoras more clearly than Philo, although he does not mention him by name (τις τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι σοφῶν). The latter text follows just a few lines after the mention of Philo as the Pythagorean (see the text cited at the beginning of the article). But it would be wrong to see a direct connection with the Pythagorean formula ἕπεσθαι θεῷ, which Clement does not even mention here, unlike Philo, who refers to it twice at *Migr.* 128 and 131.

[58] Referred to by Clement at *Str.* 7.32.8. It is far from clear that Philo subscribes to the doctrine of metempsychosis (cf. Runia, *op. cit.* (n. 15) 346-349), but there are a few isolated passages which an interpreter could read in this way if he wished (cf. esp. *Somn.* 1.139).

[59] As investigated at length in my doctoral dissertation cited above in n. 15.

[60] See n. 53.

[61] See Dörrie-Baltes, *op. cit* (n. 16), texts at 24, commentary 253ff.

[62] *Str.* 1.166.1, 5.114.4. The second text attributes a passage to Timaeus Locrus, but it is not found in the work under his name still extant; cf. W. Marg, *Timaeus Locrus De natura mundi et animae* (Leiden 1972) 85ff.

[63] The last word has not been said on this question. See the comments of J. Whittaker, "Platonic Philosophy in the Early Empire", *ANRW* 2.36.1 (Berlin-New York 1987) 117-121, J. M. Dillon in Dillon and Long, *op. cit.* (n. 28) 119-125, D. J. O'Meara, *Pythagoras Revived* (Oxford 1989) 9ff. But the question of the "institutional" relation between the two movements is still far from clear.

[64] Dörrie-Baltes, *op. cit.* 247, who for the phrase ὁ Πλάτων πυθαγορίξει refer to Aëtius 2.6.6 Diels, Numenius fr. 24.57 Des Places, Apuleius *Flor.* 15.

[65] As noted by Whittaker, *art. cit.* (n. 63) 120.

[66] *Ibid.* 119. Cf. also M. Frede, "Numenius", *ANRW* 2.36.2 (Berlin-New York 1987) 1047, who says of this case: "Jedenfalls is soviel klar, daß der Ausdruck "Pythagoreer" selbst für einen Platoniker nicht ausschließt, daß es sich bei der bezeichneten Person um

einen Platoniker handelt..." But his observation that mainly Christian authors call Numenius a "Pythagorean" is a red herring.

[67] *Str.* 1.68.2, 3.12.1, 5.29.3, 5.58.6, 5.88.1 and 89.5 (with Aristotle as well), 5.99.3 (with Socrates, citing Aristobulus).

[68] *Str.* 6.27.2, 1.48.2; on the relation between Pythagoras and Plato in Clement, see further Lilla *op. cit.* (n. 15) 41-45. He points at 43 to the revealing text at Justin *Dial.* 5.6, where the young Justin, who is studying in a Platonist school (cf. 2.6) is made to say that Plato *and* Pythagoras were "wise men, who have been a wall and a pillar for philosophy".

[69] As Prof. Eric Osborn points out to me.

[70] See our discussion of the passage earlier in the article.

[71] At *The Studia Philonica Annual* 5 (1993) 145-6, in response to my article "Was Philo a Middle Platonist?" at *ibid.* 112-140.

[72] On Walter's view that the epithet indicates Philo's "philosophische Bildung" see above n. 48. Better is the explanation of D. Wyrwa, *op. cit.* (n. 17) 85, who argues in passing that it means "die Gefolgschaft in einer philosophischen Richtung".

[73] *Philo about the Contemplative Life* (Oxford 1895, repr. New York 1987) 328-329. His first example (left out in the quote) is Justin, but the works cited are pseudonymous.

[74] Cf. my remarks at *op. cit.* (n. 1) 149-150 (with further references). At *Str.* 2.2.1 Clement states that he will use some scripture texts in the hope that "the Jew may hear his words and convert from what he believed to the One in whom he did not believe". As Eric Osborn remarks, "Clement wanted to convert Jews and to do it quietly. There was traffic in the opposite direction. Clement attacked Judaisers in a separate work" (p. 148 in his forthcoming article in *Origeniana Sexta*). But according to Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 6.12.3 this work, entitled Κάνων ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἢ Πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαΐζοντας, was dedicated to Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, with whom Clement had close contact after his departure from Alexandria, and so may be the product of a quite different situation than the *Stromateis* written a decade or more earlier.

[75] On Origen see also N. R. M. De Lange, *Origen and the Jews: Studies in Jewish-Christian Relations in Third-Century Palestine* (Cambridge 1976).

[76] See my conclusions at *op. cit.* (n. 1) 344-346.

[77] *Str.* 1.147.2, to my knowledge the only named non-biblical person to be called such in his works.

[78] For the title cf. the splendid description of H. Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition: Studies in Justin, Clement and Origen* (Oxford 1966, 1984[2]) chap. 2, "The Liberal Puritan".

[79] *Str.* 3.12-13; on this text see A. Le Boulluec, *La notion d'hérésie dans la littérature grecque II[e]-III[e] siècles*, 2 vols. (Paris 1985) 290.

[80] *Refutatio* 6.29.1: τοιαύτη τις... ἡ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος συνέστηκε δόξα, ἀφ' ἧς Οὐαλεντῖνος, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν εὐαγγελίων, τὴν αἵρεσιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συναγαγών, ὡς ἐπιδείξομεν, δικαίως Πυθαγορικός καὶ Πλατωνικός, οὐ Χριστιανὸς λογισθείη. Note how the author both times connects the philosophers with καὶ, implying that they represent the same "direction of thought". On this text and its context see further Mansfeld, *op. cit.* (n. 30) 177-203. Hippolytus takes over this attitude from (his teacher?) Irenaeus, cf. *Adv. haer.* 2.14.6.

[81] Jerome *Ep.* 133.3, cited by H. Chadwick, *The Sentences of Sextus* (Cambridge 1959) 120.

[82] *Ibid.* 160 (with an elegant adaptation of Tertullian's claim *Seneca saepe noster*, *De anima* 20.1) and *passim*.

[83] See above n. 8 and text thereto.

[84] See above n. 2 and text thereto.

[85] *Hist. Eccl.* 2.4.3 (description of Philo), 2.5.2-5 (citation of Josephus).

[86] See above n. 9 on his knowledge of the *Stromateis*.

[87] On which his catalogue of Philo's writings in *Hist. Eccl.* 2.18 is based.

[88] As I suggest at *op. cit.* (n. 1) 7.

[89] The extant history shows a great dependence on the earlier work of Socrates Ecclesiasticus. Prof. J. Bremmer suggests to me that Sozomen may have concluded that Philo was a Pythagorean because he drew a connection between the Pythagorean contemplative life and Philo's account of early monasticism (as he read it). I do not know if Sozomen was sophisticated enough to be capable of this. As mentioned above (n. 56), Philo makes no mention of Pythagoreanism in *Contempl.*, but Sozomen most likely had not read this work anyway.

[90] In the note at B. Grillet, G. Sabbah and A.-J. Festugière, *Sozomène Histoire Ecclésiastique*, SC 308 (Paris 1983) 166.

[91] As argued at *ibid.* 116.

[92] On this saying see Runia *op. cit.* (n. 1) 4, 208, 313, 319 (where I argue that "the Greeks" among whom according to Jerome the proverb circulates are likely to be Greek-speaking Church fathers).

[93] On which see above n. 64.

[94] My thanks to the editors of this journal, to my colleagues J. Mansfeld and A. P. Bos, to Prof. Eric Osborn (Melbourne), and finally to the members of the Dutch Patristisch Genootschap voor Oudchristelijke Studien for various constructive remarks, which helped me formulate my views with more precision.

As this article was going to the press Dr. Annewies van den Hoek (Harvard) kindly drew my attention to an important text that I had overlooked. Codex Baroccianus gr. 142, fol. 216 records a notice in which the fifth-century Church historian Philip of Side gives a list of the succession of the heads of the Alexandrian catechetical school, beginning with Athenagoras and ending with Rhodon. In this list Pantaenus (who is described as Clement's pupil!) is called an Athenian and "a Pythagorean philopher" (text at G.C. Hansen, *Theodoros Anagnostes Kirchengeschichte*, GCS (Berlin 1971) 160). This statement contradicts the report of Eusebius in *HE* 5.10.2, who says that according to tradition Pantaenus had "started from the philosphical school of thought (φιλόσοφος ἀγωγή) of the so-called Stoics". Philip's statement is too short to interpret with any confidence. If it has any factual basis, it can be read in a similar way to my interpretation of "Philo the Pythagorean", i.e. as referring to an affinity of thought. On the other hand, the formulation of Eusebius' statement suggests it may refer to Pantaenus' affiliation *before* he turned to Christianity. On the notice of Philip see now the detailed analysis of B. Pouderon, "Le témoignage du codex Baroccianus 142 sur Athénagore et les origines du Didaskaleion d'Alexandrie', *Archipel Égéen: Publication de l'Université de Tours, Département d'Études Helléniques*, fascicule 1, 1992, 23-63.

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KARPOKRATIANISCHES

VON

WINRICH A. LÖHR

Die folgenden Ausführungen wollen unter anderem die Frage klären, inwieweit es berechtigt ist, Karpokrates bzw. die Karpokratianer als »Libertinisten« zu charakterisieren. Dazu wird zunächst die Karpokratesnotiz bei Irenäus v. Lyon, haer. I,25,1-6 analysiert, um dann auch noch weitere, unsere Fragestellung betreffende Quellen heranzuziehen. Gleichzeitig soll eine erste Profilierung des Karpokrates oder der Karpokratianer im theologiegeschichtlichen Kontext des 2.Jahrhunderts versucht werden.

I

Die Karpokratesnotiz (haer. I,25,2-6)[1] ist bei Irenäus v. Lyon in den Zusammenhang eines Ketzerkatalogs (haer. I,23-38) gestellt, der den Stammbaum der zuvor behandelten (haer. I,1-9; 11-21) valentinianischen bzw. ptolemäischen Schule aufweisen soll (vgl. haer. I,22,2). Irenäus wendet sich Karpokrates zu, nachdem er zuvor Simon Magus, Menander, Satornil und Basilides behandelt hat. Während er zwischen diesen Häretikern ein Verhältnis der Schülerschaft oder geistigen Beeinflussung konstatiert, ist die Karpokratesnotiz recht unverbunden zwischen der Basilidesnotiz und der Kerinthnotiz eingereiht; ihre Stellung wird jedoch insofern verständlich, als Karpokrates zum einen mit Satornil und Basilides darin übereinstimmt, daß die Welt von Engeln geschaffen wurde (vgl. haer. I,24,1 [Satornil]; haer. I,24,3 [Basilides]), zum anderen aber seine Lehre darin mit derjenigen des Kerinth vereinbar ist, daß Jesus ein bloßer Mensch ist, der Joseph zum Vater hat.

Die häresiologische Perspektive des Irenäus in Bezug auf Karpokrates und seine Anhänger wird durch seine Einschätzung der Karpokratianer als Libertinisten bestimmt (vgl. haer. I,28,2; 32,2). Ein weiterer Aspekt der Lehren des Karpokrates, der durch die Polemik des Irenäus besonders hervorgehoben wird, ist die Seelenwanderung; Irenäus widmet der karpokratianischen These in haer. II,33,1-34,1 eine ausführliche Widerlegung.

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Vigiliae Christianae 49, 23-48

II

Beschäftigen wir uns zunächst mit dem Abschnitt haer. I,25,1-2, so läßt sich — nach einer einleitenden Bemerkung über die Weltschöpferengel und den ungewordenen Vater (Z.1-3) — deutlich eine chiastische Struktur der Gliederung erheben:

Z.3-11 ist der Christologie gewidmet: Jesus ist Sohn des Joseph; er ist allen Menschen gleich, nur daß seine Seele rein und stark (εὔτονον καὶ καθαράν)[2] war und sich in ihrer irdischen Existenz an das erinnerte, was sie in der »περιφορά« des ungewordenen Gottes schaute. Dieser Erinnerung wegen wurde Jesus eine »δύναμις« geschickt, die es ihm ermöglichte, den Weltschöpferengeln zu entfliehen und durch ihre Herrschaftszonen zur Transzendenz emporzusteigen. Der Abschnitt schließt mit der Bemerkung, daß ähnliche Seelen Ähnliches vermöchten. (Soteriologie = Thema A)

Z.11-15 ist der Ethik Jesu gewidmet: Er wuchs in den jüdischen Sitten auf; freilich verachtete er diese und empfing deshalb »δυνάμεις«, mit denen er die Affekte vernichten[3] konnte, die den Menschen als Strafen besetzen. (Ethik = Thema B)

Z.16-24 wird die (Ethik = Thema B) der Gläubigen behandelt: Wenn sie die Weltschöpferarchonten verachten können, so empfangen sie ebenso wie Jesus Kräfte,[4] um Gleiches zu wirken. Irenäus notiert weiterhin, daß sich die Karpokratianer Jesus und seinen Jüngern gleich oder gar überlegen fühlten.

Z.24-27 behandelt am Beispiel der Karpokratianer die Soteriologie (= Thema A): Die Seelen der Gläubigen seien aus der gleichen »περιφορά« wie die Seele Jesu; deswegen verachteten sie die Weltschöpferengel ebenso wie er und hätten deshalb die gleiche »δύναμις« erhalten, um an den gleichen Ort wie er zurückzukehren.

Z.27-29 stellt noch einmal die Lehre der Karpokratianer fest, daß jemand, der die Welt mehr verachtet als Jesus, ihm sogar überlegen sein könne. Dieser Abschnitt stellt schon die Überleitung zu haer. III,25,3 dar, wo die Magie der Karpokratianer notiert wird, mit deren Hilfe sie die Schöpfer und die Schöpfung beherrschen wollen.

Die chiastische Gliederung dieses Abschittes dient offenbar dazu, die Parallelität zwischen der jeweils in Soteriologie und Ethik gegliederten Christologie und Anthropologie der Karpokratianer herauszustellen. Soteriologie und Ethik der Karpokratianer sind nach der Darstellung des Irenäus von dem Gedanken einer durch die Seelenlehre vermittelten

»imitatio Christi« geprägt.[5] Irenäus will so die seiner Meinung nach skandalöse Lehre der Karpokratianer anprangern, derzufolge die Gläubigen Christus und seinen Jüngern gleich, wenn nicht sogar überlegen sind.[6]

Nachdem die Gliederung von haer. I,25,1-2 erhoben wurde, ist es nützlich, die angeschlagenen Themen mit Hilfe von Parallelen etwas näher zu eruieren. Zunächst also zur Soteriologie (Thema A):

Es fällt auf, daß die hier notierte Seelenlehre und Anthropologie der Karpokratianer einen gewissen »color Platonicus« aufweisen. Dies läßt sich u.a. terminologisch fixieren:

Wenn Irenäus notiert, die Seele Jesu sei derjenigen anderer Menschen darin überlegen gewesen, daß sie eine Erinnerung an die περιφορὰ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου Θεοῦ bewahrt habe, so scheint dies eine deutliche Anspielung auf Plato, Phdr. 247c darzustellen,[7] wo es über die unsterblichen Seelen heißt:

»στάσας δὲ αὐτὰς περιάγει ἡ περιφορά, αἱ δὲ θεωροῦσι τὰ ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.«

Der Kontext dieses Zitates im Phaidros ist die zweite Rede des Sokrates über den Eros. Nunmehr stimmt Sokrates ein Loblied auf den Eros an und wird in Verfolgung dieses Themas auf die Frage nach dem Wesen der Seele geführt. Sokrates gebraucht ein berühmtes Bild, um die Seele zu charakterisieren: Sie ist einem Wagenlenker mit einem Gespann zweier geflügelter Rosse vergleichbar; das eine Ross ist edel und fügsam, das andere störrisch und plump. Auf ihren Schwingen steigt die Seele zum Reigen der ewigen Götter empor; aber nur mühsam vermag sie sich dort zu halten, denn das unedle Ross mit seinem sinnlichen Verlangen zieht sie immer wieder hinab.[8] Nur die besten Seelen gelangen so hoch hinauf, daß der Wagenlenker einen Blick in die jenseitigen Regionen werfen kann, d.h. die Ideen und ewigen Wahrheiten schauen darf. Von diesen Seelen ist in dem angeführten Phaidroszitat die Rede; sie werden durch den Umschwung des Himmels mitgeführt.[9]

Stimmt die Vermutung, daß die Karpokratesnotiz eine Anspielung auf den platonischen Phaidros enthält, so wird hier die Christologie und Soteriologie in bemerkenswerter Weise mit Hilfe der platonischen Seelenlehre formuliert: Es ist das Charakteristikum Jesu (wie auch des wahren Gläubigen, vgl. Z.24-25), daß er zu jenen Seelen gehört, welche auf dem Umschwung des Himmels die jenseitige Region der ewigen Wahrheit schauen durften.[10] Jesus bewahrt in seinem irdischen Leben eine Erinnerung an das in der Transzendenz Geschaute: Auch dieses Motiv findet sich (u.a.) im platonischen Phaidros[11] — freilich dort nicht in

soteriologischer Perspektive, sondern um die menschliche Erkenntnis nach Begriffen zu erklären.

In der Logik des platonischen Phaidros liegt es nun weiterhin, den Grund für die Inkarnation der Seele in einer bestimmten Person in einem Seelenfall, in »λήθη« und »κακία« zu suchen. Doch deutet das knappe Referat des Irenäus nicht an, ob Karpokrates Ähnliches für Jesus annahm.

Nach dem platonischen Phaidros geht von den Seelen, die sich in der Transzendenz nicht halten können, diejenige Seele, die am meisten von den Ideen geschaut hat, in einen musischen und philosophischen Menschen ein.[12] Die Notiz in haer. I,25,6, wonach die Karpokratianerin Marcellina und ihre Gemeinde in Rom ein Jesusbildnis zusammen mit Bildern des Pythagoras, Plato, Aristoteles und anderer Philosophen verehrten, läßt vermuten, daß die Karpokratianer Jesus ebenfalls als einen musischen, philosophischen Lehrer verstanden.[13] In unserer Notiz wird die Jesusseele schlicht als »εὔτονος«[14] und »καθαρά« qualifiziert; vor allem aber erhält die so beschaffene Seele aus der Transzendenz, d.h. vom ungewordenen Vater, eine »δύναμις«, die es ihr ermöglichen soll, den — vom obersten Gott ausdrücklich unterschiedenen — Weltschöpferengeln zu entfliehen und durch deren Herrschaftszonen zur Transzendenz emporzusteigen.[15] Diejenigen, die es ihm gleich tun wollen, werden auf den Weg einer »imitatio Jesu« gewiesen.

Die Idee, daß die besonders qualifizierte Jesusseele — vermutlich nach oder bei dem Kreuzestod[16] — mit einer Kraft (δύναμις) zum Wiederaufstieg in die Transzendenz versehen wird, findet eine gewisse Parallele im »Corpus Hermeticum«, wo der Gläubige auch die Begabung mit einer Kraft erfährt[17] und darum bittet.[18]

Laut Karpokrates wurde Jesus als Jude erzogen; doch habe er das »ἔθος« der Juden verachtet[19] und habe deshalb »δυνάμεις« erhalten, um die »πάθη« zu vernichten, die den Menschen als Strafe anhaften. —

Es ist nicht ganz einfach, das hier in referierender Verknappung Gesagte zu verstehen: Grundlegend ist zunächst die Vorstellung, daß Jesus Kräfte erhielt, um seine Leidenschaften und Affekte zu vernichten.[20] Wichtig ist, daß diese von Jesus bekämpften »πάθη« als »κολάσεις« bezeichnet werden; die Leidenschaften selbst sind Strafen. Zugrundezuliegen scheint hier die alte, z.B. im »Corpus Hermeticum« anzutreffende Anschauung, daß die Sündenstrafe für eine Seele eben darin besteht, in einen neuen Körper und dessen Laster und Leidenschaften zu wandern.[21] Wichtig ist in diesem Zusammenhang auch die von

F.Cumont studierte psychologisch-ethische Deutung des Hades und seiner Strafen und Qualen z.B. bei Lukrez und Philo.[22]

III

Im folgenden (haer. I,25,3) notiert Irenäus zunächst (Z.30-35) magische Praktiken bei den Karpokratianern;[23] die Karpokratianer behaupten von sich, daß sie nicht nur Macht haben, die Archonten zu beherrschen, sondern auch die Dinge, die in der Welt sind. Dann folgt eine lange Parenthese (Z.35-42), die offenbar zum Abschnitt haer. I,25,4 überleiten soll: Die Parenthese beklagt sich zunächst, daß die Karpokratianer die Christen beim heidnischen Publikum in Verruf bringen, um sich dann scharf von ihnen abzugrenzen (Z.41-43):

»... omnes nos blasphement in nullo eis communicantes neque in doctrina neque in moribus neque in quotidiana conversatione.«

Die Parenthese soll den in haer. I,25,4 formulierten Vorwurf des Libertinismus vorbereiten helfen; in deutlicher Klimax zu Z.32f heißt es dann Z.47-49:

»Et in tantum insania ineffrenati sunt, uti et omnia quaecumque sunt irreligiosa et impia in potestate habere et operari se dicant.«

Und Irenäus fährt fort (Z.49-50):

»Sola enim humana opinione negotia mala et bona dicunt.«

Dieser Vorwurf wird am Ende von Abschnitt I,25,5 wiederholt, so daß er die Ausführungen des Irenäus über den Libertinismus der Karpokratianer einrahmt (Z.92-95):

»reliqua vero, indifferentia cum sint, secundum opinionem hominum quaedam quidem bona, quaedam autem mala vocari, cum nihil natura malum sit.«

Hier wird also zusätzlich der Begriff »indifferens« eingeführt; die Karpokratianer lehren angeblich, daß alles — außer Glauben und Liebe — moralisch indifferent sei, und die moralische Bewertung nur auf die Bezeichnung der Menschen zurückzuführen sei; von Natur aus sei nichts böse. A. Le Boulluec hat gezeigt, wie Irenäus den aus der stoischen Ethik stammenden Begriff »ἀδιάφορος« zunächst verwendet, um die Einstellung der Häretiker zum Götzenopferfleischgenuß zu kennzeichnen,[24] dann aber auch, um im weiteren Sinne alle unmoralischen Handlungen der Häretiker so zu charakterisieren.[25]

Irenäus wollte diese Sätze zweifellos so verstanden wissen, daß die Karpokratianer lehrten, die Wertungen von »gut« und »böse« seien

bloße menschliche Meinung (opinio/δόξα); deshalb seien sie nicht verbindlich und deshalb sei alles erlaubt.

Doch möglicherweise liegt hier ein polemischer (Fehl)-Schluß des Irenäus vor: Die Karpokratianer können durchaus bestimmte ethische Wertungen relativiert oder gar abgewertet haben, ohne doch damit das Vorhandensein objektiver, wahrer, nicht bloß »gemeinter« Werte bestritten zu haben. So ist wahrscheinlich, daß sie mit Verweis auf Jesus z.B. das »ἔθος« der Juden abwerten wollten (haer. I,25,1), doch liegt andererseits die Annahme nahe, daß Jesus für die Karpokratianer der Lehrer einer höheren Moral und Weisheit war.[26] Vielleicht liegt bei den Karpokratianern auch die Rezeption einer antiken philosophischen Tradition vor, welche die Sitten und moralischen Wertungen verschiedener Völker pointiert auf die freie Entscheidung der Menschen zurückführte.[27]

Eine instruktive Parallele bietet die Simon Magus-Notiz (haer. I,23,3/Z.75-78):

»Nec enim esse naturaliter operationes iustas, sed ex accidentia, quemadmodum posuerunt qui mundum fecerunt Angeli, per huiusmodi praecepta in servitutem deducentes homines.«

Auffällig ist, daß im Simon-Magus-Referat die ethischen Wertungen als Setzungen »ex accidentia« der die Welt schlecht verwaltenden Weltschöpferengel bezeichnet werden. Man kann diesem Regime der Weltschöpferengel nicht durch Werke, sondern nur durch die von Simon und Helena vermittelte Gnade entkommen.[28]

Die Differenz zwischen der Simon Magus-Notiz und der Karpokratesnotiz könnte freilich eine bewußte häresiologische Manipulation des Irenäus darstellen: Hätte er nämlich auch bei den Karpokratianern die ethischen Wertungen auf die Weltschöpferengel zurückgeführt, so hätte er seinen Libertinismus-Vorwurf nicht aufrechterhalten können, da aus dem Referat der karpokratianischen Exegese (s.u.) klar wird, daß die Menschen nicht durch die Gnade befreit werden können, sondern nur durch akkurate Rückzahlung des den Weltschöpferengeln Geschuldeten. So aber erscheint das Regime der Weltschöpferengel als ethisch indifferent.

Irenäus begnügt sich jedoch nicht damit, seinen Libertinismusverdacht nur mit der Behauptung zu begründen, die karpokratianer führten Gut und Böse allein auf die bloße menschliche Meinung zurück. Vielmehr vollendet sich der Libertinismusverdacht erst, indem er diese Behauptung mit dem durch die karpokratianische Exegese belegten

Verweis auf die Seelenwanderungslehre verknüpft. Irenäus formuliert seinen Verdacht in einer bemerkenswerten Parenthese (haer. I,25,4/Z.52-57):

»... si non praeoccupans quis in uno adventu omnia agat semel et pariter, quae non tantum dicere et audire non est fas nobis, sed ne quidem in mentis conceptionem venire, nec credere si apud homines conversantes in his quae sunt secundum nos civitates tale aliquid agitatur.«

Nach der Deutung des Irenäus kann man nach karpokratianischer Lehre dem Kreislauf der Seelenwanderung nur dann entgehen, wenn man in einem Leben alle möglichen *schändlichen*[29] Handlungen ausführt. Laut Irenäus müssen sich die Karpokratianer bemühen, daß nichts an ihrer Freiheit fehlt, damit sie nicht wieder in einen Körper gezwungen werden (»adoperandum autem in eo, ne forte, propterea quod deest libertati aliqua res, cogantur iterum mitti in corpus.« [haer. I,25,4/Z.60-62]). Die Voraussetzung ist hier ein un- oder amoralisches Verständnis dieser »libertas«.

Es folgt das Referat der karpokratianischen Exegese (s.Abschnitt IV); danach nimmt Irenäus seinen Gedanken wieder auf, indem er wiederum die Alternative formuliert, welche der karpokratianischen Lehre seiner Meinung nach zugrundeliegt (haer. I,25,4/Z.80-83):

»sic quoque salvari et omnes animas, sive ipsae praeoccupantes in uno adventu in omnibus misceantur operationibus, sive de corpore in corpus transmigrantes...«

Auch hier deutet Irenäus seinen Libertinismusverdacht nur leicht an, besonders durch das Verb »miscere«. In haer. I,25,5 fragt sich Irenäus sogar selbst, ob der Libertinismusverdacht wirklich gerechtfertigt sei (Z.86-89):

»Et si quidem fiant haec apud eos quae sunt irreligiosa et vetita, ego nequaquam credam. In conscriptionibus autem illorum sic conscriptum est et ipsi ita exponunt...«

Irenäus fährt dann mit einem Hinweis auf die angeblich von Jesus ausgehende esoterische Tradition fort, um die Lehre der Karpokratianer so zusammenzufassen (Z.92-95):

»Per fidem enim et caritatem salvari; reliqua vero, indifferentia cum sint, secundum opinionem hominum quaedam quidem bona, quaedam autem mala vocari, cum nihil natura malum sit.«

Resümierend läßt sich feststellen, daß Irenäus in haer. I,25,1-2 noch nichts von einem Libertinismusverdacht explizit verlauten läßt. Viel-

mehr wird dieser Verdacht erst in haer. I,25,4 formuliert; er wurde mit dem Verweis auf die Magie und mit der polemischen Parenthese in haer. I,25,3 vorbereitet. In haer. I,25,5 wird der Libertinismusverdacht von Irenäus selbst bezweifelt.

IV

Betrachten wir die in haer. I,25,4 von Irenäus referierte karpokratianische Exegese noch etwas genauer. Irenäus schreibt (haer. I,25,4/Z.62-80):

»Propter hoc dicunt Iesum hanc dixisse parabolam: Cum es cum adversario tuo in via, da operam ut libereris ab eo, ne forte te det iudici et iudex ministro et mittat te in carcerem. Amen dico tibi, non exies inde, donec reddas novissimum quadrantem. Et adversarium dicunt unum ex Angelis qui sunt in mundo, quem diabolum vocant, dicentes factum eum ad id ut ducat eas quae perierunt animas a mundo ad Principem. Et hunc dicunt esse primum ex mundi fabricatoribus, et illum altero Angelo, ei qui ministrat ei, tradere tales animas, uti in alia corpora includat: corpus enim dicunt esse carcerem. Et id quod ait: Non exies inde, quoadusque novissimum quadrantem reddas, interpretantur quasi non exeat quis a potestate Angelorum eorum qui mundum fabricaverunt, sed sic[30] transcorporatus semper, quoadusque in omni omnino operatione quae in mundo est fiat; et cum nihil defuerit ei, tum liberatam eius animam eliberari ad illum Deum qui est supra Angelos mundi fabricatores...«

Nach dem Referat des Irenäus glossiert die karpokratianische Exegese die Schriftpassage Vers für Vers. Zunächst wird Mt 5,25 (Lk 12,58) ausgelegt, die in diesem Vers genannten Figuren werden nacheinander identifiziert: Der Widersacher ist der Teufel,[31] der die (schuldige) Seele vor den Richter, d.h. den Obersten der Weltschöpferengel[32] führt. Dieser wiederum übergibt die Seele dem Büttel, d.h. einem weiteren Engel, der sie wieder in einen neuen Körper einschließt.[33] Für die karpokratianische Auslegung ist dabei entscheidend, daß der in der Schriftpassage genannte »Kerker« in platonisierender Weise mit dem Körper identifiziert wird.[34]

Dann wird das Jesuslogion in Mt 5,26 (Lk 12,59) ausgelegt: Hier ist davon die Rede, daß jemand den ganzen Kreislauf der Reinkarnation durchlaufen muß, bevor er befreit zum transzendenten Gott über den Weltschöpferengeln aufsteigen kann.

Soweit ist die Vorstellung recht klar und einfach: Die Wiedereinkörperung der Seele nach ihrem Tod ist offenbar eine Art Strafe für eine Seele, die etwas schuldig geblieben ist.[35]

Die »Schulden« der Seele bestehen anscheinend gegenüber den Weltschöpferengeln insgesamt, und nicht nur gegenüber einem von ihnen, dem Teufel.[36] Die Bezahlung der Schulden besteht darin, daß die Seele auf ihrem Weg durch die verschiedenen Körper alle Bereiche der Welt und damit alle Herrschaftszonen der Weltschöpferengel durchwandert.

Das Profil der karpokratianischen Exegese von Mt 5,25f/Lk 12,58-59 wird noch deutlicher, wenn man Parallelen heranzieht:

Da sind zunächst die Sextussentenzen zu nennen, die vielleicht ebenfalls aus dem Alexandrien des zweiten Jahrhunderts stammen. Dort heißt es:

»κακῶς ζῶντα μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐθυνεῖ κακὸς δαίμων μέχρις οὗ καὶ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην ἀπολάβῃ.«[37]

Hier ist also die Vorstellung etwas variiert: Jemand, der schlecht gelebt hat, wird nach dem Tode von einem schlechten Dämon gezüchtigt, »bis dieser ihm den letzten Heller nimmt«, d.h., bis er auch die letzte Sünde gesühnt hat.[38] Die Vorstellung, daß die vom Körper getrennte Seele bei ihrem Aufstieg zur Transzendenz Engeln und Dämonen schuldige Bezahlung zu entrichten habe (und so ihre Sünden sühnt), findet sich z.B. auch bei Clemens von Alexandrien.[39]

Besonders interessant aber ist die Auslegung von Lk 12,58-59 durch Origines.[40] Der große Alexandriner deutet, wie die Karpokratianer und die Sextussentenzen, die im Gleichnis auftretenden Figuren — mit Ausnahme des Richters — als Engel. Anders als die Karpokratianer ist bei ihm jedoch — jedenfalls in der Übersetzung des Hieronymus — von Seelenwanderung nicht die Rede: Die Identifizierung des »Kerkers« als Körper fehlt. Origenes diskutiert ausführlich die Unterschiede zwischen Mt und Lk, besonders was die einzelnen Figuren betrifft. Laut Origenes ist der Widersacher ein persönlicher Dämon, der jeden Menschen begleitet und versucht, ihn zu Sünden zu verleiten.[41] Der Fürst ist der oberste Engel einer Nation;[42] der persönliche Widersacher versucht den von ihm begleiteten Menschen dem jeweiligen Völkerengel untertan zu halten. Der Mensch auf dem Wege kann von dem Widersacher loskommen, wenn er sich um die vier Kardinaltugenden Weisheit, Gerechtigkeit, Tapferkeit und Mäßigkeit bemüht.[43] Der Richter, vor den der Widersacher den Menschen zerrt, ist Christus; er erkennt die Strafe für die Sünden zu.[44] Im Kerker muß die Seele ihre Schuld »per laborem et opera

sive per poenas atque supplicia« abbezahlen.[45] Origenes lehnt es aber ab, näher darüber nachzudenken, wie sich die Abzahlung der Schuld vollzieht.[46]

Im Unterschied zu Origenes ist nach der karpokratianischen Exegese der Widersacher nicht ein persönlicher Dämon, sondern der Teufel schlechthin. Die Karpokratianer differenzieren auch nicht zwischen Richter und Archonten; die von Origenes ausdrücklich ins Auge gefaßte Möglichkeit eines gnädigen Straferlasses durch den Richter Christus entfällt somit.[47]

Fragt man jedoch, was die Aussage in dem Karpokratianerreferat bedeuten soll, wenn in dem Karpokratianerreferat davon die Rede ist, daß einige Seelen alle (wie Irenäus suggeriert: schändlichen) Handlungen »in uno adventu« vollbringen und auf eben diese Weise der Wiedereinkörperung entgehen, so fällt auf, daß sie sich nur schwerlich in die den Schrifttext glossierende karpokratianische Exegese einordnen läßt. Sie müßte sich irgendwie auf den vorigen der beiden Verse beziehen; sie müßte also den Versabschnitt: »cum es cum adversario tuo in via, da operam ut libereris ab eo« glossieren — aber genau dies ist m.E. überhaupt nicht zu erkennen. Vielmehr wird die betreffende Aussage zum ersten Mal in der oben bereits zitierten polemischen Parenthese (Z.52-57) erwähnt und zum zweiten Mal in einer möglicherweise von Irenäus selbst formulierten Zusammenfassung der karpokratianischen Soteriologie (Z.80-85), die eigentlich sachlich nichts Neues enthält.[48] Schließlich wird diese Aussage zum Angriffspunkt der antikarpokratianischen Polemik des Irenäus in haer. II,32,1-2.

Es ist also durchaus möglich, daß die Aussage, manche Seelen vollbrächten in einem Leben alle möglichen Taten, bloß eine häresiologische Schlußfolgerung des Irenäus ist. In der karpokratianischen Vorlage war möglicherweise lediglich davon die Rede, daß das Jesuslogion Mt 5,26 (Lk 12,59) sagen will, daß die schuldige Seele den gesamten Zyklus der Reinkarnationen mit allen Lebensformen durchlaufen muß, bevor sie befreit zur Transzendenz aufsteigen kann. Irenäus war dann derjenige, der mit häresiologischem Scharfsinn die Möglichkeit erwog, ob es nicht in der Logik der karpokratianischen Exegese lag, daß einige Seelen auch die Möglichkeit haben müßten, auf einmal und in einem Leben ihrer Schulden ledig zu werden.

Erwähnt sei aber noch ein suggestiver Interpretationsvorschlag der französischen Gelehrten S.Pétrement.[49] Die karpokratianische Idee, man müsse alle möglichen Lebensformen und Handlungen ausprobie-

ren, um dem Kreislauf der Seelenwanderung zu entkommen und in die Transzendenz aufzusteigen, wird von ihr als Reflex der Passage R. 619b — 620d gelesen: Dort werde gezeigt, wie viele Seelen bei der Lebenswahl falsch wählten;, weil sie nur eine einzige Weise des Lebens kennengelernt hätten. S.Pétrement schließt ihre Analyse mit der Bemerkung:

»On a probablement tort d'en conclure que les Carpocratiens enseignaient à mener une vie dissolue. On n'a jamais prétendu que Platon, dans le mythe de la *République*, enseignait l'immoralité.«[50]

Der Hinweis der französischen Gelehrten auf Plato, R. 619b-620d[51] ist durchaus diskutabel; freilich bleibt bei dieser Interpretation die Schwierigkeit, daß im Unterschied zu Plato bei den Karpokratianern von einer eigentlichen Lebens*wahl* nicht die Rede gewesen zu sein scheint: Während die platonische Seelenwanderungslehre eine ausgeklügelte Balance von Freiheit und Notwendigkeit charakterisiert, handelt es sich bei der karpokratianischen Vorstellung um eine niedere Gerechtigkeit mit ausgesprochenem Zwangscharakter.

Es gibt weitere Indizien, die gegen eine libertinistische Deutung der karpokratianischen Exegese sprechen:

— Zum einen würde ein möglicher Libertinismus schlecht zu dem in haer. I,25,1 Referierten passen. Dort wird — wie bereits oben gezeigt — ausdrücklich notiert, daß die Seele Jesu »rein« und »stark« war; sie empfing aus der Transzendenz »δυνάμεις«, die es ihr ermöglichten, der Affekte ledig zu werden, die normalerweise die menschlichen Seelen als Strafen befallen. Diese »ἀπάθεια« der Seele Jesu paßt überaus schlecht zum Libertinismusverdacht des Irenäus.

Freilich bleibt zu beachten, daß die Angaben in haer. I,25,1f und in haer. III,25,4 nicht völlig deckungsgleich sind: In der karpokratianischen Exegese taucht das Motiv der Verachtung für die Weltschöpferengel nicht auf; allerdings wird auch hier klar, daß diese als Agenten der Seelenwanderung eine Art niederer Gerechtigkeit verkörpern.

— Zum anderen paßt der platonisierende Hintergrund der Seelenwanderungslehre schlecht zu diesem Verdacht. Die mehr oder weniger engen Parallelen aus zeitgenössischen Schriften legen einen derartigen Verdacht ebenfalls nicht nahe.

— Weiterhin ist daran zu erinnern, daß Irenäus selbst in haer. I,25,5 als Lehre der Karpokratianer referiert, daß die Menschen durch »Glauben und Liebe gerettet« würden. Der Hinweis auf die christliche »ἀγάπη« klingt nicht gerade libertinistisch.[52]

— Schließlich ist in diesem Zusammenhang auch auffällig, wie stark

Irenäus einerseits den esoterischen Charakter der Sekte betont, andererseits aber deren Missionserfolg notiert und gleichzeitig befürchtet, daß die christliche Großkirche von außenstehenden Heiden mit den Karpokratianern verwechselt werden und so zum Ziel der gleichen Anklagen werden könnte.[53] Es scheint, als wolle sich Irenäus hier von einer christlichen Gruppe distanzieren, die einiges Aufsehen erregt hat, aber wegen ihrer Arkandisziplin in einer auch die Großkirche gefährdenden Weise den Verdacht der heidnischen Öffentlichkeit erregte. Mit seinem Libertinismusverdacht schließt sich Irenäus also der Haltung außenstehender Heiden an; er versucht gleichzeitig, die eigene Kirche vor diesem gefährlichen Verdacht zu schützen.[54]

Der Libertinismusverdacht gegen die Karpokratianer machte natürlich Schule: Er findet sich — oft in vergröberter Form und ohne den bei Irenäus offen ausgesprochenen Zweifel — in der von Irenäus direkt oder indirekt abhängigen Väterliteratur.[55]

Besonders interessant ist hier Clemens von Alexandrien: Im dritten Buch der »Stromateis« ordnet er die Karpokratianer ebenfalls unter die Libertinisten ein; freilich begründet er diesen Libertinismus nicht mit der gleichen Argumentation wie Irenäus, sondern verweist hauptsächlich auf ein Fragment aus einer Schrift des Karpokratessohnes Epiphanes, wo — nach der Interpretation des Clemens — die Weibergemeinschaft und das Gemeineigentum empfohlen wird. Wesentlich mehr Argumente für den Libertinismus der Karpokratianer hat Clemens im dritten Buch der »Stromateis« offenbar nicht zu bieten; was er direkt im Anschluß an das Zitat der Epiphanesfragmente vorbringt, sind bloße Gerüchte, die vermutlich die Karpokratianer nicht einmnal exklusiv betreffen.[56]

Schließlich muß bei der Durchmusterung der antiken Zeugnisse über die Karpokratianer[57] auch noch kurz das Fragment eines angeblichen Clemensbriefes erwähnt werden, das Morton Smith im Mar Saba Kloster gefunden hat und der das bekannte Fragment des geheimen Markusevangeliums enthält.[58] Dieser Brief stimmt mit Irenäus und dem Clemens von Str. III darin überein, daß er offenbar die Karpokratianer als Libertinisten einschätzt. Völlig neu ist hingegen die Behauptung, Karpokrates habe einen Presbyter der alexandrinischen Kirche (möglicherweise durch Magie) gezwungen, das zweite, geheime Markusevangelium herauszugeben; Karpokrates habe dieses Evangelium dann verfälscht und seine Lehre darauf aufgebaut.[59] Über diese Lehre der Karpokratianer werden in dem Brief keine näheren Angaben gemacht;

Zitate aus dem geheimen Markusevangelium suggerieren jedoch, daß die Karpokratianer einen homoerotisch gefärbten Libertinismus empfahlen.[60]

Das Clemensbrieffragment ist in seiner Authentizität zweifelhaft: Schon die Tatsache, daß Clemens auf der einen Seite die das geheime Markusevangelium betreffende Arkandisziplin gegenüber seinem Briefkorrespondenten Theodor[61] scheinbar umstandslos bricht, auf der anderen Seite aber Theodor auffordert, notfalls falsch zu schwören, um das Geheimnis zu wahren, ist recht verdächtig. Weiterhin berichtet Clemens in seinen sonstigen Schriften — besonders in den Hypotyposen — nichts von einem Alexandrienaufenthalt des Markus und von einem geheimen Markusevangelium. Schließlich gibt es keine andere Quelle, die ein geheimes Markusevangelium erwähnt oder Hinweise darauf gibt.[62]

Selbst wenn der Brief authentisch sein sollte,[63] bleibt zweifelhaft, ob das hier über Karpokrates Mitgeteilte stimmt. Auch Gelehrte, welche die Authentizität des Briefes verteidigen, scheinen nicht bereits zu sein, die über Karpokrates erzählte Geschichte für bare Münze zu nehmen.[64] Es bleibt die resümierende Feststellung, daß die »epistula ad Theodorem« des (Ps.?)-Clemens v. Alexandrien keine Quelle ist, die dem durch die häresiologische Tradition geprägten libertinistischen Karpokratesbild das Gütesiegel der Authentizität verleihen könnte. Bestenfalls stoßen wir hier auf eine weitere häresiologische Tradition, deren historischer Wahrheitsgehalt nach Lage der Dinge nicht kontrollierbar ist.

V

Wenden wir uns dem letzten Abschnitt der Irenäusnotiz, haer. I,25,6, zu:

Dort wird von Marcellina berichtet, die unter Bischof Anicet nach Rom kam; in der von ihr geleiteten Karpokratianergemeinschaft markierten sich die Eingeweihten durch ein Brandzeichen am rechten Ohrläppchen.[65] Die Marcellina-Anhänger bezeichneten sich selbst als »Gnostiker«; sie besaßen gemalte Bilder und Büsten aus verschiedenem Material, Kopien eines angeblich von Pilatus verfertigten Jesusbildnisses. Die römischen Karpokratianer bekränzten diese Bildnisse zusammen mit Bildnissen der Philosophen Pythagoras, Plato und Aristoteles und erwiesen diesen Bildern Ehre, wie die Heiden es tun.

Diese Notizen über den Kult der römischen Karpokratianer sind recht

aufschlußreich. Offenbar handelt es sich hierbei um eine karpokratianische Variante des auch aus anderen philosophischen Schulen bekannten Musenkultes: Durch besondere Weisheit und besonderes Wissen hervorragende Philosophen (z.B. Pythagoras, Plato) wurden in entsprechenden philosophischen Zirkeln zusammen mit den Musen als vergöttlichte, heroische Seelen verehrt.[66]

Wichtig ist, daß diese Notiz über die Heroisation des exemplarischen Weisen und Philosophen Jesus durch die römischen Karpokratianer recht gut zu dem paßt, was Clemens v. Alexandrien über den Kult um den 17-jährig verstorbenen Karpokratessohn Epiphanes in Same auf Kephallenia[67] zu berichten weiß:

»...καὶ θεὸς ἐν Σάμῃ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας τετίμηται, ἔνθα αὐτῷ ἱερὸν ῥυτῶν λίθων, βωμοί, τεμένη, μουσεῖον ᾠκοδόμηται τε καὶ καθιέρωται, καὶ συνιόντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν οἱ Κεφαλλῆνες κατὰ νουμηνίαν γενέθλιον ἀποθέωσιν θύουσιν Ἐπιφάνει, σπένδουσί τε καὶ εὐωχοῦνται καὶ ὕμνοι ᾄδονται.«[68]

P. Boyancé hat diese Clemensnotiz mit erwägenswerten Gründen in den Kontext des antiken Philosophenkultes eingeordnet;[69] Zum dem Epiphanes geweihten Tempel gehörte nach Clemens ein »Mouseion«;[70] der Tempel ist nach Clemens »ῥυτῶν λίθων« gebaut: Nach P. Boyancé könnte hiermit ein poröser Naturstein (Bimsstein) gemeint sein, der — wie Plinius der Ältere berichtet — zum Bau von künstlichen Grotten als »Museen« verwendet wurde.[71] Die Kephallenier feierten in diesem Tempel am Monatsanfang,[72] daß Epiphanes mit seinem Tode zur Unsterblichkeit und Göttlichkeit geboren ist; sie opferten, sie tanzten und sangen Hymnen.[73]

Die Angaben bei Clemens und die Irenäusnotiz stimmen also in einem wesentlichen Punkt überein: Die Karpokratianer bildeten nicht nur wie viele Gnostiker eine Art theologischer Schule, sie hatten sich möglicherweise auch insofern zeitgenössischen philosophischen Schulen und Zirkeln assimiliert, daß sie deren religiöse Dimension, eben den Musenkult auf ihre Weise nachahmten. Interessant ist, daß nicht der Gründer, Karpokrates selbst heroisiert wurde, sondern sein frühverstorbenes Wunderkind Epiphanes; doch beschränkte sich die Epiphanesverehrung in der Sekte offenbar i.W. auf seine vermutliche Begräbnisstätte in Same. Die römischen Karpokratianer unter Marcellinas Leitung verehrten neben den übrigen Philosophen Jesus selber; auf ihn führten sie auch ihre platonisierende (bzw. pythagorisierende) Bibelauslegung zurück. Vielleicht verstanden sich die römischen und samischen Karpokratianer als eine Art Christus- oder Epiphanes-Thiasos.

VI

Einige Überlegungen zum Abschluß:

Die Irenäusnotiz etabliert ihren Libertinismusverdacht gegen die Karpokratianer durch eine bestimmte häresiologische Strategie: Der Bischof von Lyon greift heidnische, den Christen insgemein gemachte Vorwürfe auf und wendet sie exklusiv und in denunziatorischer Absicht gegen die Karpokratianergemeinschaft. Mangels eigener konkreter Anschauuung versucht er dann, diese Gerüchte durch den Rekurs auf die ihm zugänglichen Schriften der Karpokratianer zu erhärten. Er wird fündig bei der Exegese einer Schriftstelle, die sich mit einiger polemischer Geschicklichkeit libertinistisch deuten läßt.

Bei Clemens v. Alexandrien ist die Strategie offenbar dieselbe: Wiederum recht vage und clichéhaft anmutende Gerüchte und Anekdoten, wiederum der Rekurs auf eine ausdeutbare Passage aus einer karpokratianischen Schrift.

Diese häresiologischen Strategien wecken nicht eben das Vertrauen des modernen Historikers. Fragt man nach den historischen Informationen, die sich aus der Irenäusnotiz gewinnen lassen, so trifft man theologiegeschichtlich auf eine interessante und offenbar durchdachte platonisierende (oder: pythagorisierende) Interpretation des Christentums. Christus ist ein exemplarischer weiser Mann, ja ein Philosoph und rechter Psychagoge; seine Seele erinnert sich der Transzendenz und überwindet mit göttlicher Hilfe die irdische Welt und ihre Gesetze. Die Gläubigen werden zur aktiven »imitatio Christi« aufgefordet, um wie der Meister die Welt und ihre Affekte zu überwinden und zur seligen Schau der Transzendenz emporzusteigen.

Wir wissen nicht, inwieweit dieser theologische Entwurf auf den Alexandriner Karpokrates selbst zurückgeht; wir wissen auch nicht, ob die von Irenäus erwähnten Schriften Karpokrates zum Autor haben. Es kann durchaus sein, daß beides erst in der römischen, von Marcellina[74] zur Zeit des Bischofs Anicet geleiteten Karpokratianergemeinschaft entstanden ist.

Auf jeden Fall handelt es sich bei der hier vertretenen Theologie nicht um einen nachträglich und oberflächlich christianisierten Synkretismus,[75] sondern vielmehr um den eindrucksvollen Versuch, die christliche Überlieferung mit Hilfe platonisierender philosophischer Topoi zu verstehen.

Vergleicht man die Irenäusnotiz mit dem Fragment der Schrift »Περὶ

δικαιοσύνης« des Karpokratessohnes Epiphanes, das von Clemens von Alexandrien zitiert wird, so ergibt sich eine gewisse Gemeinsamkeit im Hinblick auf die Wertung des alttestamentlichen Gesetzes: Während für Epiphanes das Gesetz und der Gott des Gesetzes absurd sind, da sie der in der Schöpfung aufweisbaren »ἰσότης«, die mit der göttlichen Gerechtigkeit identisch ist, widersprechen,[76] wird das jüdische Gesetz in der Notiz bei Irenäus offenbar polemisch als Bestandteil einer niederen, durch den wahren Weisen zu überwindenden Moral gesehen. Doch scheint bei Epiphanes eine Radikalisierung und Präzisierung vorzuliegen: Zum einen wird die kosmologisch-heilsgeschichtliche Einordnung des Gesetzes (oder der hinter dem Gesetz stehenden Mächte) gar nicht mehr versucht, zum anderen aber wird die das absurde Gesetz überbietende Norm als Schöpfungsordnung innerweltlich positiv identifiziert. Bei Epiphanes wird das Gesetz durch eine Norm überboten, die nicht bloß im Aufstieg zur Transzendenz realisiert wird, sondern innerweltlich wahrnehmbar und erfahrbar ist.

Die Karpokratianer dehnten sich offenbar — wie auch die valentinianische Schule — von Alexandrien nach Rom aus. Versuchen wir eine grobe Einordnung in den theologiegeschichtlichen Kontext des zweiten Jahrhunderts, so wäre zu bemerken, daß die Karpokratianer mit Basilides und Isidor sowie Valentin und der valentinianischen Schule darin vergleichbar sind, daß sie — von theologischen Interessen geleitet — platonische philosophische Motive rezipieren; in ihrer ablehnenden Haltung zum jüdischen Gesetz gehen sie freilich entschieden weiter als etwa der Valentinianer Ptolemäus. Betrachtet man das bei Clemens mitgeteilte Epiphanesfragment, das sowohl durch Ablehnung des Gesetzes als auch durch eine Bewunderung der Schöpfungsordnung gekennzeichnet ist, so wird klar, daß man der karpokratianischen Theologie — wie auch z.B. den Valentinianern — mit simplen Charakterisierungen wie 'Monismus' oder 'Dualismus' nicht gerecht wird. In einem von platonisierender Religiosität geprägten theologischen Kontext ist grundsätzlich eine Juxtaposition von beiden möglich (wie z.B. Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride oder das Corpus Hermeticum zeigen); wichtig ist es, das jeweilige argumentative Profil der Texte zu erheben, bevor man mit allzu grobem Pinsel weltanschauliche Haltungen ausmalt.

Einen besonderen Akzent karpokratianischer Theologie scheint eine philosophisch eingefärbte Jesusfrömmigkeit, sowie besonders der Heroenkult darzustellen; es ist möglich, daß sie in letzterem mit den Simonianern sowie den Menander-Anhängern übereinstimmen. Ein durchaus

möglicher judenchristlicher Einfluß (Jesus als Sohn des Joseph) darf gewiß nicht zu hoch veranschlagt werden.[77]

Kommen wir zum Schluß auf unsere Ausgangsfrage zurück, so ergibt sich die Antwort aus unseren vorstehenden Bemerkungen: Die Karpokratianer waren Libertinisten in dem recht unspezifischen Sinn, daß sie das jüdische Gesetz mehr oder weniger scharf abwerteten. Ob sie darüber hinaus aber Libertinisten in dem spezifischen Sinne waren, daß sie jegliche Moral ablehnten, der freien Liebe lebten und sich Ausschweifungen jeglicher Art ergaben — dies darf durchaus zweifelhaft bleiben.

Wir mögen uns fragen, ob eine platonisierende Theologie zu Recht beansprucht, unter Ablehnung des Gesetzes zu einer höheren Moral zu gelangen. In gedankenloser Übernahme altkirchlicher Ketzerclichés die hier beanspruchte höhere Moral umstandslos als Unmoral zu denunzieren, wäre gleichwohl vorschnell.

ANMERKUNGEN

[1] Für freundliche Hinweise der Redaktion sei gedankt. — Irenäus v. Lyon wird im folgenden nach der französischen SC-Ausgabe zitiert. Meine Kommentierung der Irenäusnotiz sowie die Dokumentation von Quellen und Sekundärliteratur in den Fußnoten will nur ein Anfang sein und beansprucht keine Vollständigkeit. Ausdrücklich hingewiesen sei hier auf die lesenswerten Beobachtungen und Nachweise von R. Massuet, in: PG 7 (I), 139-142.

[2] Der griechische Text ist für den Abschnitt Irenäus, *haer.* I,25,1-2 der — z.T. freien — Wiedergabe bei Hippolyt, *haer.* VII,32 entnommen, der nach der Wendlandschen GCS-Ausgabe in der SC-Ausgabe abgedruckt ist. Ich benutze aber die Ausgabe von M. Marcovich. Für den Abschnitt Irenäus, *haer.* I,25,5 vgl. Theodoret, *haer.* I,5.

[3] Hippolyt (Marcovich 315,12) hat »κατήργησε«.

[4] Hier hat die lateinische Übersetzung »virtutes« (Epiphanius, *haer.* 27,2,7 »δυνάμεις«), Hippolyt aber (Marcovich 315,14) »δύναμιν«. Der Plural dürfte in Parallele zu Z.13 ursprünglich sein; der Singular ist eine sekundäre Angleichung an Z.26.

[5] Eine ähnliche Konzeption der »imitatio Christi« findet sich auch in der Basilidesnotiz des Irenäus, vgl. *haer.* I,24,6.

[6] Für den Gedanken der Christusgleichheit bzw. Überlegenheit über Christus, vgl. EpJac, p. 7, in: W. Schneemelcher, Neutestamentliche Apokryphen I, Tübingen 1990[6], 241. Vgl. weiterhin die von K. Beyschlag, *Kerygma und Dogma* 18 (1972), 51 (Anm.50) gesammelten Belege. Vgl. schließlich A. Guillaumont, *Les »Képhalaia Gnostica« d'Évagre le Pontique* (Patristica Sorbonensia 5), Paris 1962, 147ff. Für den Gedanken einer Gottgleichheit oder Überlegenheit, vgl. *C.H.* X, 24-25; XI,20; XII,1. Vgl. dazu G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes. A Historical Approach*, Cambridge 1986, 110ff (mit Anmm.).

[7] Dies ist schon oft bemerkt worden, z.B. von G. Krüger, in: *RE*[3] 10 (1901), 98; S. Pétrement, *Le Dieu séparé. Les Origines du gnosticisme*, Paris 1984, 476. M. Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark*, Cambridge 1973, 270f versucht den Platonismus der Karpokratesnotiz herunterzuspielen.

[8] Vgl. dazu jetzt auch E. Heitsch, *Phaidros. Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Platon Werke. Band III 4), Göttingen 1993, 93-100.

[9] Vgl. H. Liboron, *Die karpokratianische Gnosis. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Anschauungswelt eines spätgnostischen Systems*, Leipzig 1938, 22; 36f.

[10] Man beachte freilich die theologische Präzisierung: Die Karpokratianer sprechen von der »περιφορά« des »ἀγέννητος«.

[11] *Phdr.* 249 b5ff. Vgl. dazu den Kommentar von E. Heitsch, *a.a.O.* (vgl. Anm.8), 110-114. Vgl. auch S. Pétrement, *Le Dieu séparé. Les origines du gnosticisme*, Paris 1984, 476.

[12] Vgl. *Phdr.* 248 d1f; vgl. dazu E. Heitsch, *a.a.O.* (Anm. 8), 113f.

[13] Zum Musenkult der Karpokratianer, s.u. — Das Christusbild soll von Pilatus stammen; diese Nachricht setzt m.E. ein positives Pilatusbild bei den römischen Karpokratianern voraus, wie vielleicht schon Justin, *1 apol.* 35; 48 sowie gewiß Tertullian, *Apologeticum* XXXI,24 (CC 127,124f). Vgl. auch die Pilatusakten, bearbeitet von F. Scheidweiler, in: W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* I, Tübingen 1990[6] 395ff. — In *haer.* I,23,4 notiert Irenäus, daß die Simonianer Simon mit dem Bild des Zeus, Helena mit dem Bild der Athena verehren.

[14] Eine stoische Reminiszenz? Vgl. *SVF* IV (Index), s.v.

[15] Zu dieser Vorstellung eines Aufstiegs durch die Herrschaftszonen der Engel, vgl. Irenäus, *haer.* I,24,6; weitere Belege bei J. Daniélou, Les traditions secrètes des apôtres, in: *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 31 (1962), 207f; ders. *The theology of Jeiwsh Christianity* (*A History of Early Christian Doctrine I*), London 1964, 248ff. Der Basilidesnotiz zufolge vollzieht sich der Aufstieg durch Gestaltwandlung (d.h. der Nous-Sohn verbirgt sich vor den Archonten); nach der Karpokratesnotiz hingegen steigt die Jesusseele »in omnibus liberata« auf. Inwiefern und wovon die Jesusseele ganz befreit ist, wird nicht klar: Es könnte gemeint sein, daß die Seele beim Aufstieg durch die Sphären ihre diversen Laster und Affekte in der jeweiligen Planetensphäre ablegt, vgl. *C.H.* I,25 (Nock-Festugière I 15-16) und dazu den Kommentar bei J. Büchli, *Der Poimandres. Ein paganisiertes Evangelium* (WUNT 2.Reihe Bd.27). Tübingen 1987, 121-143. Oder hier ist, wie m.E. im Abschnitt *haer.* I,25,4 (s.u.), davon die Rede, daß die Seele aktiv durch Werke im Sinne der Weltschöpferengel ihre Schulden abgezahlt hat. Auch Magie, wie bei den Ophiten (vgl. Origines, *Cels.* VI,30-31 sowie die Fußnoten von H. Chadwick), ist nicht auszuschließen. Zum Aufstieg der Seele in Mithraskult, vgl. Origines, *Cels.* VI,22 (Chadwick 334 mit Anm.2 [Lit.!]). Vgl. schließlich M. Smith, *a.a.O.* (Anm.7), 238ff; A.F. Segal, *Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity and their Environment*, in: ANRW II 23,2, Berlin-New York 1980, 1333-1394.

[16] Vgl. die Kerinthnotiz bei Irenäus, *haer.* 26,1; vgl. auch *haer.* I,24,4 (Basilidesnotiz). Vgl. schließlich das *Petrusevangelium* V,19: Jesus spricht vor dem Verscheiden am Kreuz: « «Ἡ δύναμις μου, ἡ δύναμις (μου), κατέλειψάς με«. Καὶ εἰπὼν ἀνελήφθη« (Text und spanische Übersetzung bei A. de Santos Otero, *Los evangelios apocrifos*, Madrid 1984, 385). Vgl. weiterhin die bei K. Beyschlag, *Simon Magus und die christliche Gnosis* (WUNT 16), Tübingen 1974, 106-121, bes. 114 (Anm.34) angegebenen Quellen und Sekundärliteratur. Vgl. auch E. Fascher, Dynamis, in: *RAC* 4 (1959), 415-458, bes.419ff. M. Smith, *a.a.O.* (wie Anm.7), 272 meint, daß hier von der Geistbegabung Christi bei der Taufe die Rede sei. Vgl. schließlich Seneca, *ep.* 41,4-5.

[17] Vgl. *C.H.* I,27 und dazu den gelehrten Kommentar von Nock-Festugière I 25-26 (Anm.68). Zu den dortigen Belegen ist hinzuzufügen: Clemens Alexandrinus, *exc.Thdot.* 5,3 (Stählin-Früchtel-Treu III 107,7-8).

[18] Vgl. *C.H.* I,32. Vgl. dazu jetzt auch J. Büchli, *a.a.O.* (Anm.15), 176ff.

[19] Vgl. dazu den Kommentar in SC 263, 288f.

[20] Die hier behauptete Kausalität zwischen der Verachtung des jüdischen Ethos und der Begabung mit »δυνάμεις« dürfte so zu verstehen sein, daß Jesus — paradigmatisch für seine Gläubigen — von einer niederen, jüdischen Moral zu einer höheren, philosophischen Moral der Affektlosigkeit fortschritt. Es ist verwunderlich, daß diese äußerst polemische Einschätzung des jüdischen Ethos die im jüdischen Kontext unternommenen Versuche, das eigene Gesetz philosophisch-ethisch zu verstehen (man denke nur an Philo!) schlicht ignoriert. Ich vermute, daß diese Ignoranz absichtlich ist.

[21] *C.H.* XIII,7 (Nock-Festugière II 203). In *C.H.* XIII,8f wird dann beschrieben, wie verschiedene »δυνάμεις« die Leidenschaften-Laster austreiben. — Vgl. *C.H.* X,20 sowie dazu die Anm. 64 u.65 in Nock-Festugière I 133, Anm.65.

[22] Vgl. Lukrez III 978-1023; Philo, *Her.* 45; 78 (das auf das Sinnliche gerichtete Leben als Hades), vgl. auch *Post.* 31; *Cong.* 57; *Cher.* 78; *Her. 269-270; Decal.* 149; *Spec.* IV,81). Vgl. F. Cumont, Lucrèce et le symbolisme pythagoricien des Enfers, in: *Revue de Philologie* XLIV, 1920, 229-240 (dort auch weitere Belege).

[23] Vgl. die Aufzählung im einzelnen: »....et incantationes philtra quoque et charitesia et paredros et oniropompos et reliquas malignationes...« Gemeint sein dürfte — wie es sich bei Libertinisten gehört — vor allem Liebeszauber. Vgl. die Simon Magus-Notiz, *haer.* I,23,4.

[24] Vgl. A. Le Boulluec, *La notion d'hérésie dans la littérature grecque, IIe-IIIe siècles*, Paris 1985, 131 mit Hinweis auf u.a. Irenäus, *haer.* I,6,3; I,26,3. Le Boulluec vermutet im Hintergrund die Charakterisierung des Nikolaiten in *Offb* 2,14-15.

[25] Vgl. Irenäus v. Lyon, *haer.* I,25,5.

[26] Vgl. S. Pétrement, *Le Dieu séparé. Les origines du gnosticisme*, Paris 1984, 476 verweist auf Plato, *R.* 443c-444a.

[27] Vgl. Bardesanes v. Edessa, bei Eusebius v. Cäsarea, *p.e.* VI,10,11-36, wo mit Frontstellung gegen die Astrologie und die stoische Schicksalslehre von den verschiedenen Sitten und Gesetzen der Länder die Rede ist, die auf den freien Willen der Menschen zurückgeführt werden, vgl. dazu D. Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté dans l'antiquité grecque*, Louvain 1945 (Ndr. Amsterdam 1973), 55-59, der hier den Einfluß der skeptischen Akademie vermutet (vgl. Cicero, *De re publica* III,10 (17) f[K. Büchner/Stuttgart 1979]). Anders A. Dihle, Die Verschiedenheit der Sitten als Argument ethischer Theorie, in: V. Pöschl/H. Petersmann (Hrsgg.), *Antike und Orient* (Supplemente zu den Sitzungsberichten der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse Bd. 2 1983), Heidelberg 1984, 191-200 (mit Hinweis auf Philo, *De providentia*, I,84f.). Vgl. auch A. Dihle, *Zur Schicksalslehre des Bardesanes*, ibidem, 161-173. Vgl. schließlich H.J.W. Drijvers, *Bardaisan of Edessa*, Assen 1966, 60-95.

[28] Vgl. Irenäus, *haer.* I,23,3. Man beachte die Ausdrucksweise: »ex accidentia« (gr. = κατὰ συμβεβηκός) sowie »quemadmodum posuerunt ... Angeli«, d.h. hier ist die Antithese »θέσει« — »φύσει« im Blick. Vgl. die Hinweise bei F. Heinimann, *Nomos und Physis. Herkunft und Bedeutung einer Antithese im griechischen Denken des 5.Jahrhunderts* (Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 1), Basel 1945, 163 (Anm.2). Philosophisch ist diese Antithese besonders in der Sprachphilosophie, und zwar im Anschluß an Platos Dialog »Kratylos«, einschlägig, vgl. Alkinoos, *Did.* VI (Hermann 160,2ff/Whittaker-Louis 14; vgl. den Kommentar von Whittaker ad locum 91f mit reichhaltigem Belegmaterial). Theologisch wird später der eine Sohn Gottes »φύσει« von den

vielen Söhnen »θέσει« unterschieden. — Vgl. die stracks entgegengesetzte These bei Chrysipp, apud *SVF* III 308 (= Diogenes Laertios VII 128); vgl. auch Clemens Alexandrinus, *Str.* I,351. — Vgl. die bei Bardesanes v. Edessa bezeugte Vorstellung, daß die sieben Planeten die Gesetze in der ihnen zugeordneten Erdzone bestimmen, vgl. Eusebius v. Cäsarea, *p.e.* VI,10,36 (Des Places [SC 266] 226). Bei den Simonianern ist der astrologische Bezug gestrichen. S. Pétrement, *Le Dieu séparé. Les origines du gnosticisme*, Paris 1984, 102f bestreitet einen ursprünglichen Bezug der sieben Weltschöpferengel bei Satornil (vgl. Irenäus, *haer.* I,24,1) zu den Planeten. Vielmehr verweise die Siebenzahl auf das AT und seinen Gott, da der Schöpfungsbericht sieben Tage zählt.

[29] Vgl. Hippolyt, *haer.* VII,32,7.8 (Marcovich 316,34; 316,39), der die Suggestion des Irenäus aufnimmt und von »ἁμαρτήματα« redet.

[30] Zu diesem von der SC-Ausgabe abweichenden Text, vgl. S. Lundström, *Die Überlieferung der lateinischen Irenäusübersetzung*, Uppsala 1985, 150-151.

[31] Der Teufel ist hier derjenige Engel, der dazu geschaffen ist (Z.68-69) »ut ducat eas quae perierunt animas a mundo ad Principem«, d.h. er ist der »ψυχοπομπός«. Vgl. dazu Hippolyt v. Rom. *haer.* V,7,30 (Hermes als Psychopomp).

[32] Im Gegensatz zu *Mt* 5,25-26 ist *Lk* 12,57f neben dem Widersacher, dem Richter und dem Büttel auch noch vom »ἀρχών« die Rede; für eine Diskussion der Unterschiede zwischen den Synoptikern, vgl. Origenes, *hom.* 35,1-2 *in Lc.* — Daß die Karpokratianer einen Mt/Lk-Mischtext benutzen, ist im 2.Jahrhundert durchaus nicht ungewöhnlich; Ähnliches findet sich auch bei Justin, vgl. dazu A.J. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr*, Suppl.Nov.Test. 17, Leiden 1967; H. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels. Their history and development*, London-Philadelphia 1990, 365ff. Freilich ist nicht sicher, wie genau Irenäus zitiert, vgl. schließlich auch B. Aland, Die Rezeption des neutestamentlichen Textes in den ersten Jahrhunderten, in: J.-M. Sevrin (Hrsg.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity* (BEThL LXXXVI), Leuven 1989, 15 (Anm.43).

[33] Das Gleichnis hatte schon ursprünglich das Endgericht im Blick (vgl. z.B. U. Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus (Mt 1-7)* [EKK], 1989², 260); von daher erscheint die karpokratianische Exegese als — nach antiken Maßstäben — durchaus sachgemäß.

[34] S. folgende Anm.

[35] Vgl. Plato, *Cra.* 400c: Plato führt diese Vorstellungen auf die Orphiker zurück; der Leib wird als »δεσμωτήριον« (vgl. die Formulierung der Karpokratianer: »corpus enim dicunt esse carcerem«) bezeichnet, aus dem es kein Entrinnen gibt »ἕως ἂν ἐκτείσῃ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα«. Es ist klar, daß solche und ähnliche Formulierungen sehr suggestiv für einen Exegeten der Bibelstelle klangen. Vgl. Cicero, *Hortensius*, Frgm. 95 (O. Schönberger, *Iamblichos. Aufruf zur Philosophie. Mit zweisprachiger Ausgabe von Ciceros Hortensius*, Würzburg 1984, 102-103) = Augustin, *c. Iulian. Pelag.* 4,15,78; Iamblichus, *Protr.* VIII 134 K (Pistelli 47,21ff). Weitere Stellen bei O. Kern, *Orphicorum fragmenta* II 8, vgl. H. Leisegang, *Die Gnosis*, 1985⁵, 263 (Anm.2). W. Stettner, *Die Seelenwanderung bei Griechen und Römern*, Stuttgart 1934, 49-50 unterscheidet bei den Seelenwanderungslehren mit moralischer Tendenz zwei Richtungen: »Die eine läßt die Seelen von Körper zu Körper wandern, ohne einen Zwischenaufenthalt zwischen den einzelnen Einkörperungen zu erwähnen, die andere berichtet auch von dem Verweilen der Seelen in der Unterwelt. Aber beide Richtungen gehen auf Platon zurück; der Unterschied rührt nur daher, daß die eine sich ganz an den Timaios anschließt, während die andere die ganze Fülle der platonischen Darstellungen übernimmt.« Die Karpokratianer scheinen also der ersten Richtung anzugehören. — Für die Rezeption der Vorstellung vom Körper als Kerker bei Philo, vgl. *Mig.*

9; *Som.* I,139; *L.A.* III,21-22; 42; *Her.* 109; *Deus* 111ff. Vgl. schließlich auch das von P. Courcelle gesammelte Material, in: *RAC* 9 (1976), 294-318 sowie *RAC* 12 (1981), 455-467.

[36] Vgl. Origenes, *hom.* 23,5-6 in Lc. (Sieben I 256-259). Vgl. dazu S.T. Bettencourt, *Doctrina Ascetica Origenis* (StudAns XVI), Città del Vaticano 1945, 6 (Anm.30). Vgl. weiterhin: J. Rivière, Le »droit« du démon sur les pecheurs avant saint Augustin, in: *RThAM* 3 (1931), 113-119 (nicht eingesehen); ders., Rôle du démon au jugement particulier chez les Pères, in: *RevSR* 4 (1924), 43-64.

[37] *Sent.*39 (Chadwick). Vgl. auch den Kommentar in der Ausgabe von Chadwick, 165 mit dem Verweis u.a. auf *Sent.* 347-349 sowie Origenes, *hom.* 35 in Lc (s.u. Anm. 40ff). Vgl. auch *Pistis Sophia* 111 (Schmidt-MacDermot 285f), vgl. dazu K. Hoheisel, Das frühe Christentum und die Seelenwanderung, in: *JAC* 27/28 (1984/1985), 42f.

[38] Die karpokratianische Exegese bleibt insofern enger am Text, als sie von einem (aktiven) Bezahlen der Schulden ausgeht, nicht von einem (passiven) Weggenommenwerden des letzten Hellers.

[39] Vgl. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Str.* IV,95,2 (Andeutung einer exegetischen Kontroverse, vgl. auch U. Riedinger, in: *ZNW* 51 [1960], 182f); IV,116,2-117,2; *exc.Thdot.* 52,1f; *q.d.s.* 40,5-6. Vgl. den Kommentar von Chadwick (in seiner Ausgabe der Sextussentenzen), 165; M. Smith, *a.a.O.* (wie Anm.7), 259. Vgl. weiterhin *Str.* VII,83,1 mit dem Kommentar von Hort-Mayor ad locum. Vgl. schließlich Irenäus, *haer.* 1,31,2: Hier wird eine kainitische Deutung des die Seele begleitenden Engels referiert. Irenäus vergleicht die Kainiten als Libertinisten mit den Karpokratianer; doch scheint mir auch die Deutung der Kainiten als Libertinisten anfechtbar zu sein. Vgl. schließlich schon Plato, *Phd.* 107d-8c.

[40] Vgl. Origenes, *hom.* 35 in Lc. (Sieben II [Fontes Christiani] 346-365).

[41] Vgl. Origenes, *hom.* 35,5 in Lc. (Sieben II 350,27-352,12).

[42] Vgl. Origenes, *hom.* 35,6 in Lc. (Sieben II 352,13-354,28) — Zur Lehre von den Völkerenglen bei Origenes, vgl. S.T. Bettencourt, *a.a.O.* (Anm.36), 126-130; J. Daniélou, *Origène*, Paris 1948, 222-235.

[43] Vgl. Origenes, *hom.* 35,9 in Lc. (Sieben II 356,8ff).

[44] Vgl. Origenes, *hom.* 35,10 in Lc. (Sieben II 358,5ff).

[45] Vgl. Origenes, *hom.* 35,14 in Lc. (Sieben II 362,19-20).

[46] Vgl. Origenes, *hom.* 35,15 in Lc. (Sieben II 3645ff).

[47] Vgl. Origenes, *hom.* 35,13 in Lc. (Sieben II 362,10ff).

[48] Neu ist lediglich die Behauptung eines soteriologischen Universalismus, einer »ἀποκατάστασις παντῶν« (Z.80-81): »sic quoque salvari et omnes animas...«

[49] Vgl. S. Pétrement, *Le Dieu séparé. Les origines du gnosticisme*, Paris 1984, 476-477.

[50] Vgl. S. Pétrement, *a.a.O.* (s. vorige Anmerkung), 477. Vgl. weiterhin die differenzierenden Bemerkungen von K. Beyschlag, *a.a.O.* (wie Anm.6), 41f. (Anm.32). Schon G. Krüger (*RE*[3] 10 [1901], 99) äußerte Zweifel am Libertinismus der Karpokratianer: »Was ließe sich alles dem Plato nachsagen auf Grund und unter Verdrehung der gerade im Phädrus, aber auch im Staat und in den Gesetzen, dargelegten Gedanken!«

[51] Vgl. besonders *R.* 619d 1-3.

[52] Vgl. dazu das Simon-Magus-Referat, Irenäus, *haer.* III,23,3: »secundum enim ipsius gratiam salvari homines, sed non secundum operas iustas...«

[53] Vgl. Irenäus, *haer.* I,25,3: »Qui et ipsi ad detractionem divini Ecclesiae nominis, quemadmodum et gentes, a Satana praemissi sunt, uti secundum alium et alium modum quae sunt illorum audientes homines et putantes omnes nos tales esse, avertant aures suas a praeconio veritatis, aut et videntes quae sunt illorum omnes nos blasphement in nullo

eis communicantes neque in doctrina neque in moribus neque in cotidiana conversatione.«

[54] Vgl. auch das ähnliche Vorgehen bei Justin, *1 apol.* 26,7-8, wo der Apologet zunächst die Häretiker mit vorsichtigen Andeutungen denunziert, um dann die Kaiser (offenbar für weitere Informationen) auf sein Syntagma gegen die Häresien zu verweisen. Die Häresiologie sowohl des Justin als auch des Irenäus hatte eine politisch-rechtliche Dimension, die man nicht übersehen darf. Vgl. auch K. Beyschlag, *a.a.O.* (wie Anm.6), 41f (Anm.32). — Für Spekulation halte ich die Annahme von P. Nautin, *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études* t. XC (1981-1982), 335-336, daß zum einen bei Justin, *1 apol.* 35,6, die Karpokratianer ebenfalls in den Text zu konjizieren seien, und daß zum anderen Justins Syntagma schon Marcellina zusammen mit Karpokrates erwähnte. Ich finde keine zwingenden Belege dafür, die Karpokratesnotiz des Irenäus umstandslos auf Justin zurückzuführen. Man beachte aber auch die von P. Nautin, *ibidem*, erwähnte Bezeugung der Karpokratianer bei Hegesipp (vgl. Eusebius v. Cäsarea, *h.e.* IV,22,5).

[55] Vgl. die Zusammenstellung der Stellen bei Tertullian (*De an.* XXIII,2; XXXV,1-5), Hippolyt (*haer.* VII,32), Eusebius v. Cäsarea (*h.e.* IV,7,9-11) etc. von M. Smith, *a.a.O.* (wie Anm.7), 295-350. — Es ist freilich bemerkenswert, daß Ps.-Tertullian, *haer.* III,1 und Filastrius v. Brescia, *div.haer.* XXXV,1-4 (vgl. allerdings *div.haer.* XXIX) nichts von dem angeblichen Libertinismus des Karpokrates verlauten lassen. Ps.-Tertullian referiert folgende christologische Aussage: »...sane prae ceteris iustitiae cultu, vitae integritate meliorem« (vgl. dazu Hippolyt v. Rom, *haer.* VII,32,1 [Marcovich 314,4]: »δικαιότερον τῶν λοιπῶν γενέσθαι«; eine Kontamination mit der Kerinthnotiz bei Irenäus, *haer.* I,26,1: »et plus potuisse iustitia et prudentia et sapientia ab omnibus« [Hippolyt, *haer.* VII,33,1] scheint mir wahrscheinlich). Falls Ps.-Tertullian zusammen mit Filastrius v. Brescia und Epiphanius v. Salamis eine Zeuge des verlorenen Hippolytschen Syntagmas ist, so könnte dieses »nichtlibertinistische«, ganz auf die Gotteslehre, Christologie und Soteriologie konzentrierte Karpokratesporträt auf Hippolyt zurückgehen. Vgl. jetzt auch die Analyse bei Aline Pourkier, *L'hérésiologie chez Épiphane de Salamine*, Paris 1992, 257-289, bes. 289.

[56] Vgl. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Str.* III,10,1 (Stählin-Früchtel-Treu II 200, 5-6: »τούτους φασὶ καί τινας ἄλλους ζηλωτὰς τῶν ὁμίων κακῶν...« Der folgende Vorwurf, bei sogenannten »Agapen« sei es nach umgestürzten Licht zu sexuellen Orgien gekommen zu sein, scheint wiederum ein heidnisches, gegen die Christen insgemein gerichtetes Argument zu übernehmen, vgl. Justin, *1 apol.* 26,7 (vgl. K. Beyschlag, *a.a.O.* [wie Anm.6] 41f [Anm.32]). Für weitere Erwähnungen der Karpokratianer bei Clemens, vgl. *Str.* III,25,5; III,54,1f. An der letztgenannten Stelle versucht Clemens, eine libertinistische Deutung von *Mt* 5,42 zu widerlegen; er nimmt dabei Bezug auf *Str.* III,27,3, wo er anekdotisch berichtet, ein Libertinist habe mit Berufung auf diese Bibelstelle ein junge Christin zu verführen gesucht. Nun spricht *Str.* III,27,1ff nicht explizit von Karpokratianern, sondern von »οἳ τὴν πάνδημον Ἀφροδίτην κοινωνίαν μυστικὴν ἀναγορεύουσιν« (Stählin-Früchtel-Treu II 208,10); auch *Str.* III,54,1 läßt die Formulierung ('Η δὲ Καρποκράτους δικαιοσύνη καὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἴσης αὐτῷ τὴν ἀκόλαστον μετιόντων κοινωνίαν) die Vermutung zu, daß noch andere im Blick sind. Jedenfalls ist es zumindestens riskant, mit F. Bolgiani *Str.* III,27,1ff auf die Karpokratianer zu beziehen, um dann aus *Str.* III,29,1f eine enge Verbindung zwischen Karpokratianern und Prodikianern zu folgern (F. Bolgiani, La polemica di Clemente Alessandrino contro gli Gnostici libertini nell III libro degli »Stromati«, in: *Studi in onore di Alberto Pincherle* [SMSR 38,1-2], Rom 1967, 91f; 118 [Anm.71]). Auf jeden Fall muß die häresiologische Strategie dieser Passagen analysiert werden, bevor man sie historisch auswertet. Dies kann hier nicht en détail geschehen. Doch soviel sei bemerkt: Clemens baut in *Str.* III seine

gesamte, mit dem Libertinismusverdacht arbeitende Polemik gegen die Karpokratianer auf das Epiphanesfragment auf, wo — wie ich anderenorts (vgl. Anm. 76) gezeigt habe — im Rahmen einer präzisen theologischen Polemik gegen die Gesetzgebung des alttestamentlichen Gottes gelehrt wird, daß nur die Weibergemeinschaft der in der Natur geoffenbarten ursprünglichen Gerechtigkeit Gottes konform geht. Denn der Schöpfergott gab — wie Epiphanes in Übereinstimmung mit jüdischen und heidnisch philosophischen Traditionen behauptet — den Menschen die Begierde »εἰς τὴν τῶν γενῶν παραμονήν«.

[57] Die oft ebenfalls herangezogene Stelle bei Origenes, *Cels.* V,62 ist so konfus, daß aus ihr kaum historische Schlüsse zu ziehen sind. Celsus dürfte hier von christlicher, antihäretischer Polemik abhängig sein, vgl. H. Chadwick, *Alexandrian Christianity* (The Library of Christian Classics II), London 1954, 24. Schließlich werden die Karpokratianer noch in einer Aufzählung bei Hegesipp erwähnt (bei Eusebius v. Cäsarea, *h.e.* IV, 22,4-6).

[58] Vgl. dazu M. Smith, *a.a.O.* (wie Anm.7).

[59] Vgl. M. Smith, *a.a.O.* (wie Anm.7), 48. — Smith meint, der Brief stimme mit der Irenäusnotiz auch darin überein, »that the Carpocratians claimed to be possessors of a secret apostolic tradition which justified their libertine practices« (*a.a.O.*, 8). Es folgt das Zitat (aus der griechischen Version bei Theodoret, *haer.* I,5: »τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγοντες ἐν μυστηρίῳ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποστόλοις κατ' ἰδίαν λελακηκέναι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶσαι τοῖς ἀξίοις καὶ τοῖς πειθομένοις κατ' ἰδίαν ταῦτα παραδιδόναι.«/Smith zitiert nicht vollständig). In diesem Zitat ist freilich nicht von einem geheimen Markusevangelium die Rede, sondern — wie der Kontext anzeigt — es scheint vielmehr gemeint zu sein, daß Jesus seinen Jüngern esoterische Auslegungen zu kanonischen Schriftworten gab, s.o. Außerdem ist es nach dem angeblichen Clemensbrief nicht sicher, ob die Karpokratianer eine esoterische Markustradition hatten; der Vorwurf des Clemens geht ja eher dahin, daß sie eine esoterische Tradition profanierten und verfälschten.

[60] Vgl. die Edition des Briefes bei M. Smith, *a.a.O.* (wie Anm.7), 452,4ff; 452,13: »τὸ δὲ γυμνὸς γυμνῷ...« Skeptisch dazu H. Koester (*a.a.O.* [Anm.32]), 302. Clemens macht in den »Stromateis« den Karpokratianern nur den Vorwurf des heterosexuellen Libertinismus; freilich könnte man diese Diskrepanz damit erklären, daß Clemens in seinem großen Werk eben nur auf die Ehefragen reflektierte.

[61] Der Brief scheint vorauszusetzen, daß Theodor kein Mitglied der alexandrinischen Kirche ist; vgl. auch M. Smith, *a.a.O.* (wie Anm.7) 7; 285f, der vermutet, Theodor könnte in Palästina ansässig sein.

[62] Man denke z.B. an das Schweigen des Origenes. Vgl. dazu aber die Überlegungen von M. Smith, *a.a.O.* (wie Anm.7), 284; 287.

[63] Hier wäre eine sorgfältige kodikologische Untersuchung schon deshalb wichtig, um positiv auszuschließen daß es sich um eine Fälschung aus dem 20.Jahrhundert handelt. Nach dem Erscheinen der Stählinschen GCS-Indices im Jahre 1936 wäre eine Imitation clementinischer Stileigentümlichkeiten viel leichter zu bewerkstelligen gewesen als vorher, vgl. S. Levin, *The Early History of Christianity in Light* (sic!) *of the »Secret Gospel« of Mark*, in: ANRW 25,6 (1988), 4270-4292; bes. 4273f.

[64] Vgl. M. Smith, *a.a.O.* (wie Anm.7), 49; H. Köster, *a.a.O.* (wie Anm.32), 295; S. Levin, *a.a.O.* (vorige Anm.).

[65] Vgl. Clemens Alexandrinus, *ecl.* 25,1 (Stählin-Früchtel-Treu III 143,20ff; vgl. auch die im Apparat angegebene Lit.).

[66] Vgl. schon E. Peterson, in: *EC* 3 (1949), 929-930. Zum Musenkult, vgl. die klassische Darstellung von P. Boyancé, *Le culte des Muses chez les Philosophes Grecs. Études*

d'Histoire et de Psychologie religieuses, Paris 1937, bes. 231-327. Vgl. auch H.I. Marrou, *ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ. Études sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains*, Rom 1964, 231-257. — zu vergöttlichten Toten, vgl. auch M.P. Nillson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion II* (HAW V/2), München 1961², 115ff.

[67] Die Mutter des Epiphanes — Alexandria war ihr Name — kam von der Insel Kephallenia, der Vater aus Alexandria, vgl. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Str.* III,5,2.

[68] Clemens Alexandrinus, *Str.* III,5,2 (Stählin-Früchtel-Treu II 197,21-25).

[69] Vgl. P. Boyancé, *a.a.O.* (Anm.66), 291ff. Die Ausführungen Boyancés haben in der Forschung zu Karpokrates nicht die verdiente Aufmerksamkeit gefunden (aber vgl. den Hinweis bei A. Le Boulluec, *La notion d'hérésie dans la littérature grecque, IIe-IIIe siècles* [Études Augustiniennes], Paris 1985, 300 [Anm.86]). Schon E. Rohde, *Psyche* I, Freiburg-Tübingen 1898² [Nachdruck Darmstadt 1980], 234-235 [mit Anmm.]) verwies auf die Heroenfeiern, u.a. für Kaiser schon zu Lebzeiten (Vgl. auch in den Abschnitt bei H.J. Marrou über die frühverstorbenen »Wunderkinder« [*a.a.O.*. (Anm.66), 197-207]). Vgl. H. Liboron, *a.a.O.* (Anm.9), 18. Abzulehnen sind die verschiedentlich in der Forschung gemachten Versuche, die irdische Existenz des Karpokrates und seines Sohnes Epiphanes zu leugnen (vgl. zuletzt H. Kraft, Gab es einen Gnostiker Karpokrates? in: *ThZ* 8 [1952], 434-443), vgl. die überzeugenden Ausführungen von H. Chadwick, *a.a.O.* (Anm.57), 26ff (dort weitere Angaben zu Quellen und Sukundärliteratur). Daß der Sohn der Schüler des Vaters war, ist auch sonst bezeugt, vgl. nur Basilides — Isidor sowie Bardesanes — Harmonios.

[70] Vgl. P. Boyancé, *a.a.O.*, (Anm.66), 292-293.

[71] Vgl. Plinius d. Ä., *H.N.* 36,154 (Eichholz [LCL] 122-123): »Non praetermittenda est et pumicum natura. Appellantur quidem ita erosa saxa in aedificiis, quae musaea vocant, dependentia ad imaginem specus arte reddendam.« Eichholz merkt freilich zu »musaea« an: »A kind of gazebo of summer house, the interior of which was arranged as a grotto.« Vgl. dazu P. Boyancé, *a.a.O.* (wie Anm.66), 293 (Anm.1). Boyancé verweist auch auf Plato, Lg. 947d, wo in Bezug auf Gräbern von »λίθων ποτίμων« die Rede ist (vgl. dazu Boyancé, 269f) und wendet sich gegen eine Auslegung, die hier eine Anspielung auf Homer, *Od.* ζ 267 erblicken will; vgl. z.B. die Anmerkung in der GCS-Ausgabe Stählin-Früchtel-Treu II 528.

[72] Zur monatlichen Geburtstagfeier, vgl. die im Apparat der GCS-Ausgabe ad locum angegebene Literatur.

[73] Vgl. P. Boyancé, *a.a.O.* (Anm.66), 294 (mit Anmm.), der u.a. auf Martial VII, 21,1-2; 22,3 verweist.

[74] Vgl. P. Lampe, *Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten* (WUNT 2.Reihe 18), Tübingen 1987, 269-270.

[75] So zumindest der Tendenz nach G. Kretschmar, Karpokrates, in: *RGG*³ 3 (1959), 1159.

[76] In Ergänzung zu meinem Aufsatz: Epiphanes' Schrift »Περὶ δικαιοσύνης« (= Clemens Alexandrinus, *Str.* III,6,1-9,3), in: H.C. Brennecke/E.L. Grasmück/C. Markschies (Hrsgg.), *Logos. Festschrift für Luise Abramowski zum 8.Juli 1993, Berlin-New York 1993, 12-29* ist mit K. Beyschlag, *a.a.O.* (wie Anm.16), 198 (Anm.128) zu erwägen, ob bei Epiphanes nicht auch die erstmals von den Sophisten klar formulierte Antithese «νόμος« — »φύσις« rezipiert ist. Immerhin könnte ja in der Karpokratesnotiz bei Irenäus eine derartige Antithese im Hintergrund stehen. Ich neige aber weiterhin zu der Annahme, daß bei Epiphanes vor allem jüdisch-hellenistische Positionen — wie sie etwa bei Philo artikuliert werden — polemisch aufgenommen werden. Nachträglich bemerke ich, daß auch K.

Beyschlag (*ibidem*; vgl. ders., *Kerygma und Dogma* 18 [1972], 43-43 [Anm.33]) bereits auf Philo, *SpecLeg* IV,231 hingewiesen hat.

[77] Für einen judenchristlich-gnostischen Karpokrates hat J. Daniélou, *Theology* (wie Anm.15), 84-85 folgende Argumente angeführt: 1. Die karpokratianische Konzeption der Weltschöpferengel hat Parallelen in der jüdischen Heterodoxie. Daniélou nennt u.a. (unter Hinweis auf G. Quispel, Christliche Gnosis und jüdische Heterodoxie, in: *Evangelische Theologie* 14 [1954], 474-484, bes. 475f) *NHC* I,5,112 als Beleg. 2. Ebionitisch ist die Konzeption von Jesus als Sohn des Joseph; der Aufstieg der Jesusseele durch die Sphären ist judenchristlich, nicht gnostisch. 3. Der moralische Indifferentismus der Karpokratianer könnte etwas mit judenchristlichen Chiliasmus zu tun haben. Daniélou resümiert sein Karpokratesbild so: »He seems to be essentially dependent on heterodox Jewish gnosis which accepts that the angels created the world, and believes in metempsychosis. On the other hand he shows no trace of Samaritan Gnosticism, his Gnosticism is strictly Jewish. Moreover, Carpocrates is a heterodox Jew who accepts Christ, but only in the manner of the Ebionites, seeing in him no more than a prophet and a model. Finally, he seems to be affected by Zealot Messianism.« Zu den Ausführungen Daniélous ist folgendes zu bemerken: 1. Hinsichtlich der Konzeption der Weltschöpferengel ist es plausibel, daß die Karpokratianer von jüdischen (vielleicht alexandrinischen) Traditionen beeinflußt sind, vgl. jetzt den Exkurs bei C. Markschies, *Valentinus gnosticus?* (WUNT 65), Tübingen 1992, 18-24 (mit reichen Literatur- und Quellenangaben). Freilich vermutet Markschies aufgrund der stereotypen Formulierung in den Irenäusreferaten hier die »gestaltende Hand« des Häresiologen Irenäus (*a.a.O.*, 22). 2. Daß die Vorstellung eines Aufstiegs durch die Engelsphären typisch (und exklusiv) judenchristlich sei, hat Daniélou auch durch das auf den Seiten 248-263 seiner Studie gesammelte Material m.E. nicht bewiesen. In eine Diskussion seiner Charakterisierung einzelner Schriften als »judenchristlich« kann hier freilich nicht eingetreten werden. — Die Auffassung, daß Jesus Sohn des Joseph sei, teilt Karpokrates nach Irenäus mit den Ebioniten und Kerinth (vgl. *haer.* I,26,1; 26,2). Hier ist also eine Rezeption judenchristlicher Vorstellungen nicht auszuschließen, wobei ich aber meine, daß auch Kerinth kein Judenchrist war (anders Daniélou, *a.a.O.*, 68-69; vgl. dagegen vorläufig G. Krüger, in: *RE*[3] 3 [1897], 777). 3. Wenn Daniélou Karpokrates als judenchristlichen Chiliast kennzeichnet, der Jesus als Prophet sieht und durch einen zelotischen Messianismus beeinflußt sei, so hat das keinerlei Anhalt am Text der Irenäusnotiz. Daniélou scheint hier Karpokrates in den gleichen Farben zu malen, die er schon bei seinem Kerinthportrait verwendete. Bei Karpokrates liegt keine Spielart irgendeines messianischen Antinomismus vor (vgl. dazu J.E. Fossum, *The name of God and the Angel of the Lord* [WUNT 36], Tübingen 1985, 62ff). 4. Weiterhin übersieht Daniélou völlig, daß laut der Irenäusnotiz die Karpokratianer zwar historisch korrekt festhielten, daß Jesus ein Jude und jüdisch erzogen war; daß sie aber andererseits behaupteten, Jesus habe die jüdischen Sitten verachtet. Ich weiß auch nicht, wie J.E. Fossum in seiner überaus gelehrten Studie (*a.a.O.*, 16) zu folgender Behauptung kommt: »Satornil and Carpocrates, however, both gave Jesus a place in their systems, but an anti-Jewish bias is completely lacking in the latter's teaching ..« Ich glaube im Gegenteil, daß bei den Karpokratianern eine prononciert antijüdische Haltung vorliegt; hier wird nicht mehr theologisch gegen den Gott des AT argumentiert, sondern hier wird polemisch jüdische Sitte und jüdisches Gesetz als niedere Moral denunziert (vgl. Irenäus, *haer.* I,25,1: Nach der lateinischen Übersetzung bezog sich die Verachtung Jesu auf die Juden; der griechische Text läßt auch die Interpretation zu, daß sich die Verachtung auf die jüdischen Sitten bezieht). Wenn Fossum, *a.a.O.*,16,

folgendermaßen fortfährt: »There is no evidence that Carpocrates identified the world-creating angels, whose band did not include the devil, with the God of the Old Testament and his angels«, so ist das bestenfalls zum Teil zutreffend, vgl. Irenäus, *haer.* I,25,4) (Z.66f): »Et adversarium dicunt unum ex Angelis qui sunt in mundo, quem diabolum vocant...« Und hat Fossum wirklich das Fragment des Karpokratessohnes Epiphanes bei Clemens Alexandrien, *Str.* III,6,1-9,3 ausreichend meditiert? 5. Grundsätzlich ist schließlich festzuhalten, daß sorgfältig unterschieden werden muß zwischen der Rezeption jüdischer oder judenchristlicher Traditionen (sie ist bei Karpokrates und Epiphanes nicht ernstlich zu bestreiten, vgl. auch meinen in Anm.76 genannten Aufsatz) und einer jüdischen oder judenchristlichen Theologie. Jede Theologie rezipiert vorgegebene Tradition — aber die Art und Weise der Rezeption ist entscheidend. Bei Karpokrates wird Jüdisches (und Judenchristliches) rezipiert und gleichzeitig polemisch umgedeutet. Ähnliches ließe sich auch bei anderen »Gnostikern« beobachten. Vielleicht inspirieren solche historischen Beobachtungen auch die heutige christliche Theologie zu einer Reflexion des Ethos ihrer Rezeptionsweisen.

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RELIGIOUS DISSENT, HERESY AND HOUSEHOLDS IN LATE ANTIQUITY*

BY

HARRY O. MAIER

When scholars have turned their attention to the function of domestic space as a place for Christian assembly in fourth- and fifth-century Christianity, they have tended to focus on the influence of structural features of the Greek and Roman household in the development of ecclesiastical architecture. This may be seen for example in those accounts which discover in the ancient household the constitutive elements of the Constantinian basilica: the New Testament house church developed into the *domus ecclesiae* of the second and third centuries, which in turn evolved into the basilica.[1] If such a continuous line of development can no longer be sustained,[2] it is still the case that when attention is given to the place of the household in the architecture of post-Constantinian Christianity, it is primarily with a view to identifying whatever traces of earlier domestic or more private structures lay buried beneath or have been incorporated by monumental Christian assembly places (as, for example, in studies of Roman *tituli* and their conversion into basilicas).[3] In one way or another, domestic worship space has been studied in terms of its relationship to monumental structures.

This essay seeks to redirect this focus of attention by identifying some of the ways the household functioned in the life of fourth- and fifth-century Christian groups not sanctioned by Emperor and Church. This is a topic to which virtually no attention has been given, a surprising oversight given the abundance of evidence.[4] In their condemnation of 'heretical' movements the framers of the Theodosian Code and conciliar decrees, ecclesiastical historians, and polemicists often list amongst the complaints of allegedly exotic teachings and practices the private assemblies of devotees. What follows broadly surveys this evidence by furnishing representative examples of different ways in which domestic space functioned for communities meeting apart from official meeting spaces. Households played an important role in the survival, propaganda, self-definition and characteristic disciplines of pro-

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scribed groups. This essay is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather to serve as stimulus to fuller investigation of this much-ignored aspect of late antiquity.

The anti-heretical decrees of the Theodosian Code provide significant evidence for determining the degree to which domestic space was used as proscribed Christian movements struggled to survive in hostile circumstances. The measures described by Eusebius in his *Life of Constantine* (3.65), forbidding meetings of 'heretics' not only in public 'but in any private house or place whatsoever,' are an early example of anti-heretical legislation that was to be regularly published, with some notable exceptions, in the century and a half that followed. One may describe the policy of Church and State, especially from the reign of Theodosius onward, as a form of 'territoriality,' by which is meant a strategy to 'affect, influence, or control people, phenomena and relationships by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area.'[5] Initially exercised against the Manichaeans and Donatists, the scope of such territoriality spread in the course of time to include Arians, Montanists, Apollinarians and a host of others.[6] This territoriality sometimes took the form of a kind of 'ecclesiastical cleansing,' with decrees ordering the purging of all heretics from public worship places.[7] But more usually it involved proscriptions of private meetings.[8] Excluded from public worship, household space provided groups with a relatively safe place to meet and even flourish. The retreat to private space explains how many movements were able to survive in a hostile environment, and the difficulty those in control of officially sanctioned churches must have had in suppressing them. One may imagine in the places where such legislation was enforced two Christian topographies: an imperially supported one housed in official buildings; the other constituted by private households or analogous structures, formed outside more public assembly places. We can expect that these co-existed in a kind of *détente* until the shifting winds of political and ecclesiastical fortunes created opportunities for suppressed movements to enjoy more public profiles.[9]

The more general portrayal of private meetings presented by the Theodosian legislation gains more detail when compared with the descriptions of ancient ecclesiastical historians. Charting the rise and fall of Arian fortunes from the 360s onward, Sozomen on several occasions describes the exclusion of Arians from official basilicas and their retreat to domestic assembly places. In Alexandria in 361, upon the

appearance of Athanasius (having emerged from the domestic hiding place of a female ascetic's cell and having escaped the Arian bishop George's attempts to prosecute him), the Arian community was expelled from the city's basilicas and was forced to gather around its new bishop Lucius in private homes.[10] This same Lucius will lead the opposition against Athanasius in the years that follow, surfacing briefly upon the death of Athanasius from Arian households after his elevation by Valens to the patriarchate as bishop in control of Alexandria's basilicas.[11]

We next meet Lucius in Constantinople where he migrated according to Sozomen (*Hist. eccl.* 7.5.6) after his expulsion from the throne by the pro-Nicene Alexandrian populace. Here he joined forces with the Arian bishop Demophilus. Like Alexandria, in Constantinople there was also a tradition of meeting in households when met with persecution. In 360 the Arian bishop Macedonius held church in private when supplanted by the pro-Nicene Paul.[12] Later, in 375 when Demophilus controlled the basilicas, a fledgling pro-Nicene community was able to survive and flourish under the leadership of Gregory Nazianzus, who gathered the community in the Anastasis, a relative's private residence converted into an assembly place.[13] The fortunes of Arians and Nicenes were reversed when Demophilus and his flock, having been given the choice upon the accession of Theodosius to subscribe to the Nicene faith or be exiled, migrated to the Constantinopolitan suburbs. Judging from the anti-Constantinopolitan decrees from the period that followed, it is likely that the community and others like it, stripped according to Sozomen of their official meeting places, began to worship in house churches.[14] In *C.Th.* 16.5.11, published in Constantinople in 383, amongst the condemned activities of Arians and others is the furnishing of the walls of homes after the likeness of churches and worshiping privately, a description strikingly similar in content to Sozomen's depiction of Gregory Nazianzus' house church, Anastasia.

Like Demophilus, the Anomoean Eunomius, having also been banished to the suburbs of Constantinople in 381, held 'frequent churches in private houses.'[15] Again, it was these meetings that Theodosian legislation was published to extinguish.[16] Consistent with Sozomen's description of Eunomius' private meetings is the language of *C.Th.* 16.5.13, which refers to the domestic Eunomian meeting described in 16.5.11 and 12 as 'hiding places' that are to be diligently searched for. Evidently, such conventicles provided a means for condemned move-

ments to survive and assemble when faced with hostility. The leaders of forbidden conventicles were thus able to form relatively safe congregations, beachheads in hostile religious territory, in which causes could be kept alive until, as in the case of the Arian and Nicene communities of Lucius and Gregory respectively, the opportune moment arrived to move from private churches to official basilicas.

Not only did domestic space provide a place to conduct worship when more official buildings were unavailable, it also served as a means of promoting ideas and a place to win adherents. It was one thing for an emperor or bishop to establish control over basilicas and Christian monuments, another thing entirely to control the kinds of contacts the rank and file might have with representatives of forbidden movements outside such spaces. The household provided the venue to meet with and win over potential supporters.

There are numerous examples of the uses of private space to propagate teaching. Theodoret portrays Arius as going from household to household teaching his ideas.[17] And Socrates states that Eunomius, upon assembling his supporters in homes, read his works to them.[18] Thus could theologians, bereft of official pulpits, spread their ideas. Further, households could be the venue of important theological debate. Gaudentius describes Philaster of Brescia, during the halcyon days of western Arianism when Auxentius controlled Milan and Liberius was in exile, as a kind of circuit preacher and apologist for the Nicene cause, touring the countryside around Rome and 'winning many over by public and private disputation.'[19] But it was not only the professional theologians who engaged in these domestic forms of propaganda. In the case of the Donatists, the movement was spread from North Africa to Spain largely through the enthusiastic promotion of Lucilla, probably the Spanish *impresario* whom Augustine describes as welcoming a Donatist community to worship on her estate.[20]

The use of private space to promote ideas meant that in many instances the household formed a kind of frontier dividing orthodox and heterodox topographies. We discover this, for example, in the social world of domestic ascetics whose contacts brought them in contact with individuals circulating outside official congregations. This world was for the representatives of the ecclesiastical establishment maddeningly uncontrollable. Jerome complains in *Ep.* 22.34 of the activities of domestic ascetics named Remnuoth who form economically

self-sufficient households of two or three ascetics and who circulate in the homes of domestic virgins throughout northern Italy and promote their own teachings. The complaint forms part of a larger discussion of ascetic abuses. Earlier in the same epistle (22.14) he complains of female domestics who live with male ascetics, thus becoming 'one man whores.' At the same time, John Chrysostom complains of male and female ascetics who practise 'spiritual marriage' in domestic cells, a practice over which he, like his contemporaries, apparently had little control.[21] His arguments against such arrangements make clear not only that such domestic relationships were part of an ascetic discourse that celebrated the perfect control of desire,[22] but that those domestic ascetics who were engaging in spiritual marriages were parading themselves at eucharistic assemblies as show pieces promoting their own ascetic ideals.[23]

It was not only the theology and practice of celibate ascetic marriage that was promoted in such households, but other ideas as well, as may be seen in evidence that comes from the domestic cells of late fourth- and early fifth-century Rome. Elizabeth Clark, building on the ground-breaking essays of Peter Brown, has identified the ways 'elite networks' of Roman domestic ascetics, alligned with Jerome or Rufinus and, later, for or against Pelagius, helped to determine the course of events and flow of information in the Origenist and Pelagian controversies.[24] In the latter case, circulation through more private networks continued throughout the course of the controversy. In its heyday, from 390-410, teachings associated with Pelagius were propagated in elite aristocratic households, a continuation of a tradition of domestic spiritual/philosophical care beginning in the pre-Christian period. Whether or not Pelagius is the unnamed opponent of Jerome's treatise against Jovinian, who frequents the homes of well-to-do women and promotes his own teaching concerning marriage and celibacy, the context is exactly right for identifying how Pelagian ideas were spead.[25] Whether in Rome, North Africa, Palestine, or Sicily, through contacts with domestic cells of protégées like Demetrias, Pinianus and Melania, Ctesiphon, and others the household provides the stage for the promotion of Pelagian ideas.[26] The pattern continues through the first half of the fifth century. In the 440s Leo the Great complains that the clergy of Aquileia, a stronghold of 'Pelagian' ideas, are being too lax in their suppression of 'Caelestian' teachers, who wander from household to household spreading their 'heresy.'[27]

Pelagius furnishes us with a famous example. There are others.

Jerome in several passages rails against Jovinian for circulating in the homes of well-to-do benefactors and propagating what seemed to Jerome libertarian ideas concerning celibacy and marriage.[28] Proscribed by pope and emperor alike, Jovininianism lingered on in the suburbs through to the end of the first decade of the fifth century, perhaps in the households of supporters as in other movements. Again, at roughly the same time, Jerome wrote his domestic monastic disciple Marcella, to offer correction to ideas received by her during a household visit by a Montanist.[29] These two illustrations belong to a much larger portrait in which households were the setting for transmitting ideas, testing allegiances, even raising the profile of proscribed movements. To win over someone like Marcella to one's point of view was to gain not only a wealthy benefactor but also access to an extensive network of associates and clients. Thus propagation of ideas in households, necessitated as it often must have been by hostile circumstances, could be profoundly strategic. In a society where relationships were hierarchically embedded, to win a well-placed adherent could alter the circulation of power for or against oneself and one's movement.[30]

In addition to enabling movements to survive in a hostile environment and providing a means to promote particular ideas, the retreat to household space was a way of expressing protest against those officially in control of local basilicas and their religious ideologies. In *c.* 428, for example, Philip, a presbyter of Constantinople, protesting the teaching of Nestorius, broke off communion with the patriarch and began celebrating the eucharist in private where he had gathered a church.[31] The defense of Philip and his supporters was that his action was justified as a response to a crisis of orthodoxy. But meeting in private, whether by necessity or choice, not only provided an important means of expressing protest, it also contributed to self-definition and reinforced social identity. Intriguingly, when, according to Sozomen, the Arian bishop Demophilus, was forced to make his choice between exile and Nicaea, his reponse was to quote Matt. 10:23, in which Jesus instructs his disciples that when persecuted in one city they are to flee to another. The use of scriptural motifs and prophecies of persecution as a means of reinforcing identity in the face of suppression is predictable. More striking is an analogous use of Matthean motifs of persecution in the roughly contemporary Arian commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel, the so-called *Opus imperfectum*.[32] Here, developing the theme

sounded by Demophilus much more extensively, the commentator links exclusion of Arians from official basilicas and their retreat to private space as the hallmark of God's faithful elect. Repeatedly the author portrays his audience and himself without an official church.[33] He depicts a geographically dispersed series of communities whose bishops and clergy wander from one Arian conventicle to another and gather the church wherever they may happen to find themselves.[34] In this commentary, not only are these wandering clerics interpreted as the disciples of Matt. 10, journeying without provisions from town to town, the communities who host them are depicted as the persecuted just who witness in their conventicles the fulfilment of apocalyptic tribulation prophesied in Matt. 24:3ff. The decrees of Theodosius against the Arians, the expropriation of Arian churches, and the exile of bishops are portents of the end of the age. For by these actions is the true catholic church delivered by the heretical pro-Nicene Anti-Christ to tribulation, hated by nations and led astray by false teachers.[35] Huddled together in households in expectation of the Lord's return, these Arians derive from the decrees directed against them and their private community setting self-definition and identity. In contrasting the catholic persecuted remnant with the Nicene heretics who oppress it, the author repeatedly calls attention to the fact that the faithful are to be found outside official basilicas, wherever his wandering colleagues preach, celebrate the eucharist and baptize.[36] Orthodoxy's exclusive domain is the world of hidden meeting places, beyond the basilica and outside the control of imperially supported clergy. Thus was one of the more inventive ways virtue was made of necessity.

Equally opposed to the official church, this time because of its alleged sympathies to arianizing views, the allies of Lucifer of Cagliari similarly derived and reinforced an identity of protest by meeting in households.[37] Having rejected any *rapprochement* with erstwhile signatories of the Homoean creed of Ariminum, the followers of Lucifer boycotted the basilicas of the imperially sponsored cult in Rome and met in private. In 384 the Roman Luciferian priests Faustinus and Marcellinus petitioned Theodosius to protect the adherents of Lucifer against persecution. Sometime earlier, pope Damasus had sought to suppress a Luciferian church which was meeting outside Rome's basilicas in the home of Macarius, a priest and ascetic.[38] Like the Arian commentator on Matthew's Gospel, Faustinus and Marcellinus lend much significance to place and setting in defining the character of the

true faith. In contrast to the laxist, luxury-loving Damasus and his supporters, who not only retain communion with clergy once party to the heretical christology of Ariminum but also surround themselves with the splendour and wealth of marble and guilded basilicas, the true witnesses to orthodoxy meet in humble homes.[39] Faustinus and Marcellinus' protest is not only against the persecution of a household conventicle of their movement, it is also directed against a luke-warm church grown fat from its care-free dealings with the world.[40] Meeting outside the basilicas in households must have gone some way to help reinforce an identity of sobriety and protest against an allegedly indolent church.

The Luciferians were not the only group to express dissent by boycotting basilicas and meeting in households. Forty years earlier a synod convened at Gangra in Asia Minor to condemn the separatist meetings of the followers of the ascetic rigorist Eustathius (perhaps the semi-Arian Eustathius of Sebaste).[41] The synod's enumeration of Eustathian practices as well as its canons describe an ascetical splinter group that expresses protest against the church by congregating in private.[42] Adopting monastic dress, militantly continent and boycotting any eucharistic or agape celebration where married clergy celebrate, this group retreated to its own private conventicles where like-minded women and men led by celibate priests pursued their ascetic regime. It is clear from the canons directed against them that private eucharists were constitutive of the community's self-identity of protest.

In each of these examples, the use of private space replicates an ideology of protest. The use and interpretation of private space helps to give focus to each community's identity, the nature of its protest against the establishment church, and the ideals its leaders want its followers to pursue.

Meeting together in households finally provided the venue for adding to the more routine discipline of the Church distinctive celebrations, ascetic regimes, and practices. This could result in some striking ambiguities. In the second century Irenaeus had complained about the influence of the Valentinian Marcus on his community. He deplores the fact that Marcus has duped a number of 'silly women' and 'more simple' believers. Some have apostasized, but there are a number of others, Irenaeus complains, who are 'neither inside nor without' the Church, who—one gathers from the description of Marcus' activities in the

home of at least one deacon—seem to worship in the bishop's church and simultaneously flirt with Valentinian theology and dabble in its ritual, and who express surprise when Irenaeus' followers keep themselves aloof from Gnostics.[43] Writing in the fourth century, this time chronicling the condemnation and persecution of Priscillianism, Sulpicius Severus anachronistically makes Marcus the teacher of Priscillian of Avila.[44] Severus thus mistakenly links Priscillian with Gnosticism, but there are interesting similarities between the complaints of Irenaeus regarding the private extra-ecclesial devotion of those linked in lesser degrees with Marcus and the censure of more private disciplines of Priscillian's followers. The teaching of Priscillian was first anathematized at the Council of Saragossa, probably in 350.[45] Its canons complain about the activities of Priscillian and his female and male supporters outside the church. These include withdrawal from the common worshiping assembly to the seclusion of household, villa or mountain hideaways during Lent and from 17 December to 6 January (canon 4); meeting at private retreats ('*latibula cubiculorum ac montium...ad alienas villas*,' canon 2); and women visiting the homes of men for the reading of scripture (canon 1). In addition the canons deplore Priscillian and his disciples for ascetic irregularities and excesses. Henry Chadwick argues that far from being the Manichaean heretic Priscillian's enemies denounced him as, the Spaniard was a lay ascetic committed to leading the Catholic faithful to increased Christian discipline and the reform of the Church from within.[46] Periods of common retreat and study trained and prepared Priscillian's zealous followers for the absolute faithfulnes they believed Christ demanded.[47] Priscillian's writings make clear that there is no sense in which ascetic withdrawal and renunciation of sexual relations implies rejection of ordinary Christians.[48] The risk is rather that the complacent will make themselves the enemies of those who seek the more rigorous path.[49] Private space provided Priscillian and his followers with the setting for the formation of an ascetic continent elite committed to the life of the Church, but looking outside the walls of the regular congregation for a more rigorous discipline.[50]

Once again, as in the case of other movements we have been discussing, when met with suppression, the home of a sympathizer or patron provided Priscillian with the venues for gathering his supporters. Sulpicius Severus states, recounting the itinerary of Priscillian and his entourage as they journied to Rome to offer their defense before

Damasus against the charge of heresy, that when refused welcome by Delphinus, bishop of Bordeaux, they were hosted by Euchrotia and her daughter, presumably on their estate.[51] The later Priscillianist Pauline canons, collected under the name of an otherwise unknown bishop of uncertain date named Peregrinus, celebrates the faithfulness of those who have received Priscillianist followers into their own homes.[52]

The use of private space for particular disciplines not shared by the rank and file of the local community could result in some surprising devotional permutations and alliances. Just as in the second century there were those who saw no contradiction between dual participation in the public worship of the Church and dabbling in more private Gnostic rituals, so in late antiquity some simultaneously pursued ideologically opposing public and more private devotion, with interesting results. Fourth- and fifth-century anti-Manichaean polemic provides us with some good examples. The sermons and letters of Leo the Great, responding to the arrival in Rome and Italy of Manichaean refugees who had fled the Vandal invasion of North Africa, reveal that Manichaeans not only attended public worship, but won sympathizers to their movement. Leo repeatedly warns his hearers to be on guard for Manichaean wolves masquerading as sheep in the church.[53] More to the point, he admonishes those who have been duped by Manichaean asceticism into fasting on inappropriate days, who have been captured by lofty promises of exorcisms, predictions of the future and the driving away of apparitions, and who reveal their sympathies by bowing to the sun before entering St. Peter's basilica.[54] Leo accounts for the presence of Manichaeans in public worship as a means to avoid detection by persecuting authorities.[55] But it is clear that they also meet outside the church in private for extra teaching sessions and celebrations. Hence Leo's instructions in *Serm.* 16.5 to the faithful to give information about 'where they dwell, where they teach, and whose houses they frequent.'[56] Clearly we are to imagine from these descriptions an interesting Manichaean appropriation of 'catholic' Christian worship and discipline, supplemented with characteristic disciplines promoted in private space.

Leo was not the first to deplore such a mixture: the later commentator Eutychius no doubt is exaggerating when he claims that the majority of fourth-century Egyptian clergy were Manichaean.[57] But his report regarding the attempts of Timothy, bishop of Alexandria (380-85), to ferret out Manichaeans amongst the clergy by permitting clergy to eat

meat on Sunday, a Manichaean day of fasting, is consistent with Augustine's description of an African sub-deacon, Victorinus of Malliana, who was also a Manichaean Hearer and promoter of the cult, most probably in private cells.[58] These examples furnish us with intriguing evidence not only of joint allegiances to differing religious communities, but also of how private space was used to supplement officially supported worship and devotional life with Manichaean instruction and disciplines.

By locating proscribed and dissenting religious movements in a domestic context we are better able to understand the ways in which they were able to survive, expand, define themselves, and pursue their characteristic religious devotion. While emperors like Theodosius promoted an orthodoxy housed in official church buildings and defined by subscription to Nicaea, outside the walls of officially recognized meeting places we may imagine a 'heterodox' mosaic of more private conventicles, a diverse series of movements oriented around particular figures, ideas and practices, in varying degrees exotic and virtually impossible to control. When Cyril of Jerusalem instructed his catechumens when arriving in a city not to ask where 'the house of the Lord is,' but rather where they might find 'the catholic Church' (*Cat.* 18.26) he was pointing not only to the proper use of vocabulary (only the orthodox can claim to be the 'Church'), he was also warning his listeners of the rich diversity of communities which must have existed in lesser or greater numbers in any city of the Empire. Such diversity survived, as in an earlier era when Christians were faced by a hostile Empire, to no small degree because of the use of households by the movements we have been discussing. Thus the primitive pattern continued and was promoted as the new enemies of the now Christian establishment responded to and struggled to pursue their characteristic devotion within an environment of religious intolerance and hostility.

NOTES

* Research for this article was made possible by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

[1] In the nineteenth century this position was systematically developed by G. Dehio, *Die Genesis der christlichen Basilika, Sitzungsbericht der k. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-historische Klasse* 12 (Munich 1882) 301ff. In this century the same theory, with certain variations, has been promoted by Walter Lowrie, *Monuments of the*

Early Church (New York 1901) 94-101; Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London 1945) 18-35; and L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution.* Trans. M.L. McClure (London 1903) 11f.

[2] L.M. White, 'Domus Ecclesiae—Domus Dei: Adaptation and Development in the Setting for Early Christian Assembly.' Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University 1982 18f. outlines the reasons for the rejection of this theory. The new consensus, which argues that the origin of the basilica is to be found in monumental public architecture, is based on the ground-breaking essays of Richard Krautheimer, 'The Beginnings of Early Christian Architecture', *Review of Religion* 3 (1939) 144f. and J.B. Ward-Perkins, 'Constantine and the Origins of the Christian Basilica', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 12 (1954) 69-90.

[3] A typical instance is the work of Richard Krautheimer and his associates in their investigation of the *tituli* foundations of certain Roman basilicas discussed in *Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae* I-V (Vatican City 1937-77): for example, titulus Clementis and S. Clemente (*Corpus* 1: 117-36); titulus Byzantis and SS. Giovanni e Paolo (1: 267-303); titulus Equitii and SS. Silvestri e Martini (3 [1967]: 87-124); titulus Corsogoni and S. Chrysogone (1: 144-64); titulus Anastasiae and Sta. Anastasia (1: 42-61); titulus Pudentis and Sta. Pudentiana (3: 277-305), all nicely summarized by Graydon F. Snyder, *Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life Before Constantine* (Macon 1985) 75-82.

[4] Exceptions include Johannes Wagner, 'Altchristliche Eucharistiefeier im kleinen Kreis' Ph.D. Dissertation, rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität, Bonn 1949, where brief examples of conciliar decisions concerning eucharists celebrated in households are discussed; Emin Tengström, *Donatisten und Katholiken: soziale, wirtschaftliche und politische Aspekte einer nordafrikanischen Kirchenspaltung,* Studia graeca et latina Gothoburgensia XVIII (Göteborg 1964), who investigates the place of Donatist churches on the private estates of landowners; Peter Brown, 'Pelagius and His Supporters' and 'The Patrons of Pelagius: The Roman Aristocracy Between East and West', *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine* (London 1972) 183-207, 208-226; Elizabeth Clark, *The Origenist Controversy* (Princeton 1992), who, building on Brown, investigates (11-42) the place of Roman domestic monastic networks in the spread of Origenist ideas; and, most recently, Richard Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals* (Berkeley 1983) 28ff., who argues that Constantine's earliest ecclesiastical foundations in Rome were distinctly private; see also Andrew Alföldi, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome.* Trans. Harold Mattingly (Oxford 1969) 51-2.

[5] Robert Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History* (Cambridge 1986) 19.

[6] For a history of the earlier policies against Donatists see Gunther Gottlieb, *Ambrosius von Mailand und Kaiser Gratian* (Göttingen 1973) 52ff. and Tengström 91-117; for Manichaeans, Samuel N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China. A Historical Survey* (Manchester 1985) 154-77.

[7] For example *C. Th.* 16.5.6,3-381; 16.5.12-383.

[8] I cite here representative examples: Manichaeans: *C. Th.* 16.5.3-372; 16.5.40,7-407; 16.5.9-382; Arians: 16.5.11,12-both 383; 16.5.58,5-415; Apollinarians: 16.5.14-388; 16.5.33-397; Montanists: 16.5.34-398; 16.5.40,7-407; 16.5.57-415; Donatists: 16.6.2,1-377; 16.6.4,1-405; 16.5.40,7-407; 16.5.54,6-414; Nestorians: 16.5.66-435; other lesser known movements, 16.5.11-383; cf. 16.5-20-391.

[9] As for example in the case of the Arian bishop Julian Valens of Poetevio who led a community in private space in Milan and plotted with his followers against Ambrose (Amb. *Gesta Ep.* 3.3. [CSEL 82.3 183-4,30-40]); for violent competition during the toleration of the emperor Julian see his *Ep.* 41, 436A-D (ed. Wright).

[10] Sozomen *Hist. eccl.* 5.7.1; Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 3.4 (PG 67 176A-B) describes the same event but states that the Arians retreated to 'low and obscure buildings.'

[11] Sozomen *Hist. eccl.* 6.19.1-6.

[12] Ibid. 3.24.4.

[13] Ibid. 7.5.1.

[14] Thus *C. Th.* 16.5.11 and 12; Socrates (*Hist. eccl.* 5.20 PG 67 289C) portrays a Constantinopolitan religious environment in sharp contrast to what one finds in the decrees, when he portrays a Theodosian policy of religious toleration (with the exception of antipathy toward the Eunomians), with imperial permission given to Arians and others to construct churches and worship freely outside Constantinople; the account is directly contradicted by Sozomen (*Hist. eccl.* 7.12.11) in a description wholly consistent with the legislative evidence. I am not arguing that proscribed groups *only* met in households (in Antioch, for example, dissenting groups met in different official churches—cf. Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 3.9 (PG 67 184C), though again, Sozomen *Hist. eccl.* 3.20.4 provides more precise details about meetings of pro-Nicene Eustathians in households). I am rather suggesting that the household was one important way amongst others for such groups to survive and even flourish.

[15] Sozomen *Hist. eccl.* 7.17.1.

[16] *C. Th.* 16.5.11 and 12, both 383; 16.5.13, 384; cf. 16.5.58-415, another Constantinopolitan decree where private assemblies in the homes of Eunomian clergy for baptisms are condemned.

[17] *Hist. eccl.* 1.1 (PG 82 726C); this report gains some measure of support from Alexander of Alexandria's *Ep. ad Alexandrum* 1 and 13 (PG 18 550B and 570B), where Alexander complains that Arius enjoys the support of certain women and dismisses Arius' success as being akin to that enjoyed by the false teachers of 2 Tim. 3.6, a passage that explicity describes reception of false teachers by women into their homes. That the connection is not entirely rhetorical may be seen by recalling that when it was Athanasius who was in hiding in Alexandria he enjoyed hospitality from a female domestic ascetic (see note 10). It is more than possible that Arius was propagating his teaching amongst Arian domestic virgins. For further discussion and literature see Virginia Burrus, 'The Heretical Woman as Symbol in Alexander, Athanasius, Epiphanius, and Jerome' *Harvard Theological Review* 84 (1991) 229-48 at 234-5.

[18] Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 5.20 (PG 67 288B).

[19] *Sermo* 21 (PL 20 999B).

[20] *Contra Pet.* 2.108.247; cf. Optatus *De schism.* 1.16.

[21] The practice is attacked in the two treatises against the so-called *Subintroductae, Adversus eos qui apud se habent subintroductas virgines* and *Quod regulares feminae viris cohabitare non debeant* (PG 47). It was condemned by at least six church councils in the fourth century (see Pierre de Labriolle, 'Le 'Mariage Spirituel' dans l'Antiquité Chrétienne', *Revue historique* 137 [1921] 222 for citations). For general commentary with further references to primary and secondary sources see Elizabeth A. Clark, 'John Chrysostom and the *Subintroductae', Church History* 46 (1977) 171-185.

[22] For the theology underlying such arrangements see the classic treatment of Hans

Achelis, *Virgines Subintroductae: Ein Beitrag zum VII. Kapitel des I. Korintherbriefs* (Leipzig 1902) esp. 74ff.; *Adv. eos* 4 (PG 47 500) for the claim that superior spiritual power is given to resist sexual sin.

[23] Strutting at eucharistic assemblies, *Adv. eos* 10 (PG 47 510); living together celibately as a means of gaining celebrity and honour in the community, *Quod reg.* 6 (PG 47 524).

[24] Clark, *Controversy* 11-42; Brown, 'Patrons' 208-226 and 'Supporters' 183-207.

[25] *Ep.* 50, the identification of the anonymous detractor with Pelagius has been most cogently argued by Robert F. Evans, *Pelagius. Inquiries and Reappraisals* (New York 1968) 26-42 and most recently rejected by Yves-Marie Duval, 'Pélage est-il le censeur inconnu de l'*Adversus Iovinianum* à Rome en 393? ou: du 'portrait-robot' de l'hérétique chez S. Jérome', *Revue de l'histoire ecclésiastique* 75 (1980) 525-57 at 530-40.

[26] For Pelagius active in Roman households: Georges de Plinval, *Pélage, ses écrits, sa vie, et sa réforme* (Lausanne 1943) 47-71; see Augustine, *Ep.* 188.1-3 to Juliana, Anician mother of Demetrias, for indirect references to contacts of Pelagius with the Roman Anicii; *Ep. ad Dem.* (PL 30 15-45), for Pelagius' spiritual counsel to an Anician domestic ascetic, at the request of Juliana; for Melania and Pinianus in association with Pelagius and his disciple, Timasius, Augustine, *De gratia Christi* 1.1-2; *Ep.* 126.6; for Pelagius' personal contacts with the 'religious, illustrious house' of Ctesiphon see Jerome, *Ep.* 133.11, 13. Brown, 'Supporters' 185-92 and 'Patrons' 209ff. provides further references and prosopography.

[27] *Ep.* 1.

[28] Especially *C. Jov.* 2.36-37 (PL 23, 249A-352A).

[29] *Ep.* 41.

[30] See S.N. Eisenstadt and Louis Ronger, 'Patron-Client Relationships as a Model of Structuring Social Exchange', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (1980) 42-77 for discussion of creation of new networks of power through the courtship of new patrons in societies based on patronage and clientship.

[31] Cyril, *Ep.* 11a, 5-7 (E. Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* [Berlin 1914] 1.1.7, p. 172).

[32] For date and provenance see Joseph H.A. van Banning, 'The Edition of the Arian *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*. Review and Prospects', *Studia Patristica* 20 (1987) 70-75; Michel Meslin, *Les Ariens d'Occident 335-430* (Paris 1967) 168ff. provides a useful introduction and summary of contents.

[33] *Hom.* 46 (PG 56, 890, 896); 49 (907); see also the Arian Maximus' *Dissertatio contra Ambrosium* (c. 395) for expropriation of basilicas (CCSL 87 310^{v} 49, p. 170) and frag. 7^{r} 193, p. 239 of the *Fragmenta theologica ariana*, in the former used as evidence of the persecutors' heresy (311^{r} 52, p. 171; 306^{r} 33, 163), but without the apocalyptic edge of the Matthean commentator.

[34] *Hom.* 26 (PG 56 770-71); the author himself was an exile, persecuted for his Arian faith.

[35] *Hom.* 26 (770), commenting on Matt. 24; *Hom.* 49 (907), in reference to the persecuting Theodosius as Anti-Christ; 48 (900ff.) and 49 (906ff.), referring to the fulfilment of prophecies in Matt. 24; see also 5 (684-85); 23 (755); 24 (756-760); 31 (794); 46 (894).

[36] For example, *Hom.* 7 (673); 43 (876); 47 (898-99).

[37] For the chronology and ideology of the Roman Luciferian community see Gustav

Krüger, *Lucifer Bischof von Calaris und das Schismas der Luciferianer* (New York 1969) 79-90.

[38] *Lib. prec.* 21.78 (CCSL 69 378).

[39] Ibid. 34.121 (390).

[40] Thus, Krüger 66-75.

[41] For the identification see C.J. Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church.* Trans. Henry Nutcombe Oxenham (London 1876) 2.336f. and Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 2.43 (PG 67 158B-C); Sozomen *Hist. eccl.* 3.14.31.

[42] Thus, canons 5,6 and 11—Mansi, 2.1102.

[43] *Adv. haer.* 1.13.5-7; 3.15.2.

[44] *Chronica* 2.46.2-3.

[45] For the text see PL 84 315-18.

[46] *Priscillian of Avila. The Occult and the Charismatic in the Early Church* (Oxford 1976) 10.

[47] Thus, *Tract.* 2,42 (CSEL 18 34f.).

[48] E.g. *Tract.* 2,43 p. 36,3; 9,123 p. 91,4.

[49] *Tract.* 10, pp. 92-102.

[50] As may be seen in the fifth-century, pseudonymous Priscillianist *Epistula Titi*, relations between male and female members became problematic when domestic ascetics elected to practise spiritual marriage; see Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha.* Trans: R. McLean Wilson (Philadelphia 1965) 2.154ff. for the internal debate.

[51] *Chronica* 1.68.

[52] Canon 63 (CSEL 18 136); for the identity of Peregrinus as an early fourth-century figure see Chadwick 59-60.

[53] *Serm.* 16.3-4; *Ep.* 7.1.

[54] Fasting: *Serm.* 24.6; 34.5; 42.4-5; 46.1; 79.2; cf. 34.5 for an exhortation not to be impressed by Manichaean fasting; 24.4, for fasting on Christmas Day; Manichaeans present for eucharist: *Serm.* 42.5; performing spiritual feats: *Serm.* 27.3; bowing to the sun: *Serm.* 27.4.

[55] *Serm.* 16.5.

[56] The Manichaeans were thus continuing a long domestic tradition in Rome; see Augustine, *Mor. Manich.* 20.74; *C. Const.* 5.5. for references to Roman Manichaean household cells in the fourth-century and the efforts of Constantius to regulate the movement by establishing a monastary in his home.

[57] *Annales*, PG 111 1023.

[58] *Ep.* 236 (CSEL 44 523-25).

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A MOSAIC INTERPRETATION OF JEROME, *IN HIEZECHIELEM*

BY

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In a previous study I attempted to demonstrate that the scene in the apsidal mosaic of Santa Pudenziana in Rome is essentially determined by Ez. 40-43 and Jerome's commentary on the passage.[1] In this explanation the mosaic translates the vision of the temple as the prophet narrates and Jerome explicates it. The complex prophecy is rather murkily commented on by Jerome with apologies that show his uncertainty about the meaning of the biblical text.[2] The mosaicist in translating both texts in his medium understandably could afford only significant details from the commentary because of the richness of the prophecy and the complexity of Jerome's explanation. This present study tries to interpret further details of the mosaic. Again, the procedure to be employed in understanding the mosaic requires that the viewer read Ezechiel as Jerome understood him, whether correctly or incorrectly. Employing such a method allows a deeper understanding of this precious relic of the early fifth century.

The prophet has a vision of the *aedificium ciuitatis*, a city that is to be restored, particularly in its temple, with a magnificence that surpasses both the works of Solomon and of Zorobabel.[3] The prophet is transported to a mountain on which is shown him a *similitudo ciuitatis* which Ezechiel specifies is in the land of Israel (40.2) and Jerome identifies with Jerusalem. It is this eschatological Jerusalem and particularly its temple that occupy the prophet and his commentator. From his place in the city, which is in the southern area of the mountain, the prophet looks to the temple site, and the first landmark that captures his attention is a great circuit wall, and of its many gates he selects the eastern one to enter the area (40.5-6). After measuring the gate and describing its architecture, he catches sight in the open area (*atrium*) surrounding the temple sanctuary (*aedes*) the *fenestrae obliquae* in the external circuit wall (40.16). These same windows are noted from within the *atrium* in the porticoes that front the *thalami* or small rooms off the open court surrounding the *aedes*.

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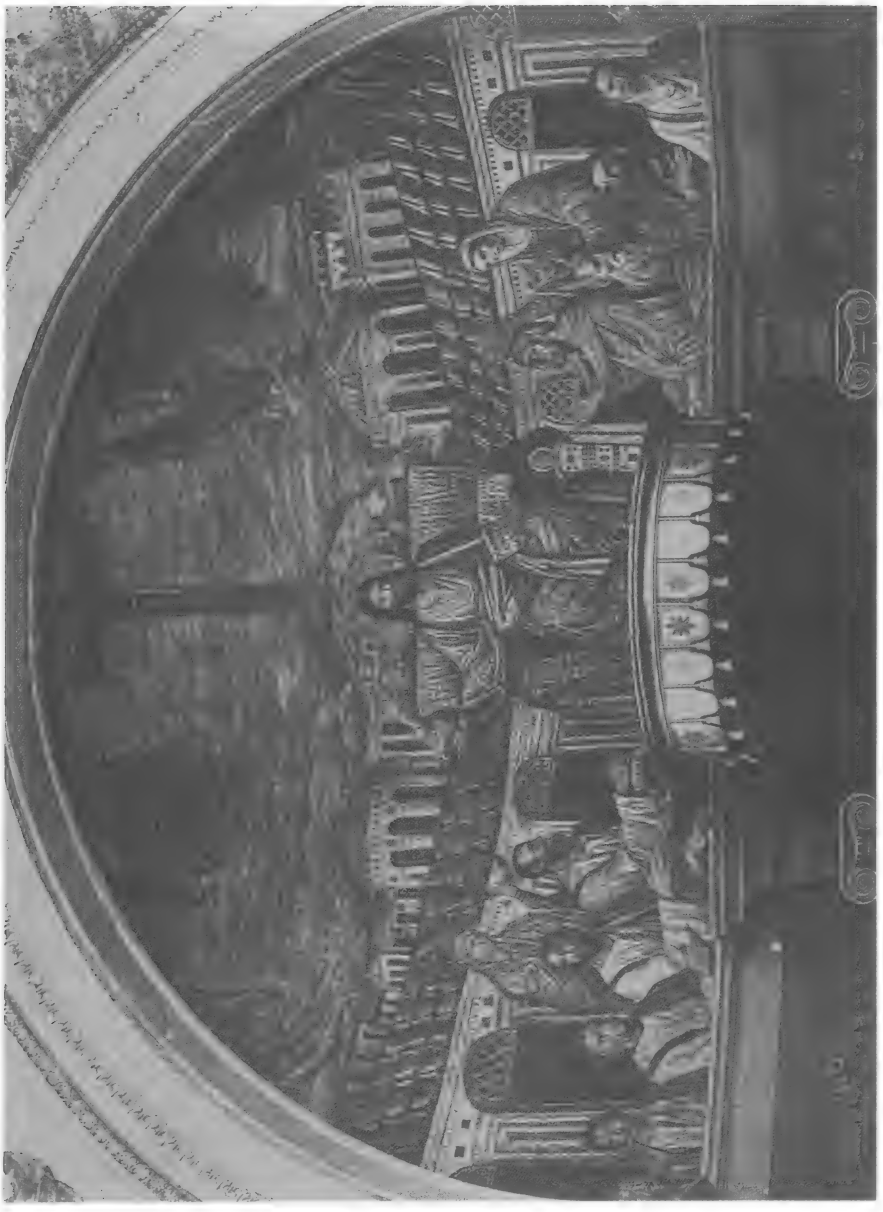

Apse mosaic, S. Pudenziana, Rome

Sarcophagus, right side, Inv. 174
S. Pietro in Vaticano

Turning from the text of Jerome to the mosaic we see this same temple area depicted. The viewer is standing with his back to the eastern gate of the temple compound and is looking west where the main scene is circumscribed by the wall surrounding the interior area of the temple. These walls are pierced by the *thalami* with *fenestrae obliquae.* Behind this wall looms the skyline of the city. The features to be examined here are the circuit wall which encloses the area where the great seated figure presides over the twelve apostles and in the background the architectural items that stand against the sky behind the hill on which the jewelled cross rises.

The interpretation here presented agrees that the circuit wall or portico does represent a detail in the visualization of eschatological

Sarcophagus, left side, Inv. 174
S. Pietro in Vaticano

Jerusalem, but disagrees with previous critics inasmuch as it finds that the architectural details arise from Jerome's understanding of Ezechiel's text. As will be seen later, there is more at stake here than the genesis of an artistic representation. Critics, at least since the eighteenth century, have tried to specify this background. F. Bianchini saw in the architectural details of the mosaic a panorama of the Viminal district of Rome surrounding the church of Santa Pudenziana.[4] G. De Rossi, while basically accepting this thesis, faulted it as too literal an interpretation under the influence of local traditions connected with Saints Pudentia and Praxedes. Ultimately he saw in the architecture a representation of the Heavenly Jerusalem, making use, however, of the actual buildings surrounding the church of Santa Pudenziana.[5]

A new source for interpreting the architecture was provided by the discovery in 1884 of a sixth century geographical mosaic on the floor of a church in Madaba, Jordan. A surviving portion gives a bird's eye view of Jerusalem in considerable detail with important buildings folded out to indicate their appearance. H. Grisar, writing shortly after the discovery of the map, saw in the arcaded wall shown in the mosaic a picture of the grand porticoes the Madaba map depicted within the walls of Byzantine Jerusalem as the *cardo* of the city.[6] Since he found in that map a parallel colonnade further to the east, the *porticus Salomonis*, with its single portico following the configuration of the streets, he was satisfied that this also emerged three times in the closely packed building in the background of the Santa Pudenziana mosaic. In Grisar's explanation, the mosaicist of Santa Pudenziana chose actual structures in contemporary Jerusalem, and among these is the circuit wall on which the present discussion centers. A variation of Grisar's approach is found in the view of E. Dyggve who suggests that the arcaded structures in the foreground represent the colonnade in the atrium of Constantine's Anastasis in Jerusalem.[7]

Whatever the arcade specifically depicts, it matches the description Jerome gives of the circuit wall surrounding the temple area and of the *thalami* or cubicles and porticoes in front of them, both of which contain some kind of windows. Whatever reality *fenestrae obliquae* translates,[8] Jerome provides philological and architectural clues to this understanding of the terms. In his discussion of the Greek equivalents of this term he notes that the Septuagint translates these windows as *fenestras absconditas* (θυρίδες κρυπταί) and that Symmachus renders them as τοξικάς which Jerome understands as a narrow exterior opening

which widens towards the inside wall.[9] He merely records the verbal implications of the term. However, in commenting on Ez. 41.16-17 he makes the description *fenestrae in modum retis factae* as the equivalent of *obliquas fenestras* and ultimately clarifies his understanding of the term by the synonym *cancelli* which he describes as twisted filigree patterns.[10] In selecting this term Jerome would communicate to his Roman readers a design they well knew in their *portae clatratae*, gates with latticed upper panels or completely latticed doors.[11] The upper portions of gates and doorways frequently covered the open area with metal filigrees or lattices. Understandably the mosaicist has seized on this architectural feature and included it in the great circuit wall which the prophet and his commentator view from inside the temple area looking from the eastern gate towards the west.

Into the atrium enters the *maiestas Domini* through the eastern gate from which it had departed according to the prophecy in which Ezechiel foretold the destruction of the temple.[12] As Jerome interprets Ez. 43.4-5 the *gloria Dei Israel* fills the atrium with its revelation which the people of Israel knew in the Old Testament. The *plenitudo gloriae Domini* was in the temple and manifested itself in the sound of many waters, which Jerome with considerable ingenuity links with the Trinity, and in the glory filling the earth, which Jerome finds realized in the preaching of the apostles throughout the world and in the daily life of believers.[13] All these trinitarian and Christian elements Jerome had initiated in an earlier part of the vision when he commented on the measurements of the exterior wall around the temple area.[14] This interpretation has become the sketch for the mosaicist who has portrayed the Trinity and the apostles all within the context of Jerome's commentary.

The final architectural problem concerns the rather specific buildings that appear on the horizon outside the temple area. Critics are divided between those who see nothing but a generic and symbolic representation of the heavenly Jerusalem and those who see the depiction of actual buildings which may or may not have a symbolic meaning.[15] The second group includes, as was noted earlier, Bianchini and De Rossi who see depicted in the mosaic actual buildings in Rome, as well as Grisar and others who detect structures in Jerusalem and Bethlehem.[16] The attempt to identify particular buildings has not met with unanimity, and even with the most meticulous use of the Madaba map it is doubtful that certainty about the hypothesis of a Palestinian locale or identification of a particular structure can be achieved. However, presuming the influ-

ence of Jerome upon the whole conception of the mosaic, perhaps a further examination of the commentary may help to ascertain the general character of the buildings portrayed in the mosaic.

There is a tentative quality about Jerome's treatment of Ezechiel that goes far beyond the usual rhetorical disclaimer about the difficulty of a literary enterprise. He seems genuinely intent on establishing the meaning of the prophet's words[17] and at the end of his efforts he dismisses his commentary as *pro rei magnitudine nihil dignum* and excuses his failure on the grounds of the complexity of the topic and his own lack of skill.[18] He has no doubt about his own expertise as a textual critic which allows him to evaluate the Greek and Latin translations of the Hebrew. He frankly admits that his problems with Ezechiel go beyond textual obscurities (*iuxta litteram obscuram*) and extends even to outlining the meaning of a passage which he is forced to set out not as a reasoned explanation but as an oracular utterance.[19]

This attitude is in marked contrast to the confidence with which he wrote his commentary on Isaiah and completed in 410 A.D., just before undertaking his work on Ezechiel. His prologue to Isaiah sets out his approach: *post historiae ueritatem, spiritaliter accipienda sunt omnia ... ut cuncta quaeramus in sensu et in omnibus his quasi architectus Paulus apostolus iaciat fundamentum, quod non est aliud praeter Christum Iesum.* He further clarifies his intention by promising confidently: *sicque exponam Esaiam, ut illum non solum prophetam, sed euangelistam et apostolum doceam.*[20] Nor is he intimidated because he is writing a commentary which only the capable but flawed Latin author, Victorinus of Pettau,[21] and among the Greeks only Origen and Eusebius had previously attempted. By contrast, in treating Ezechiel Jerome is stunned by the *grande silentium*[22] among Jewish and Christian writers, and in the postscript to Book XI of his commentary, he appends this evaluation of his work up to this point: *Hucusque in Hiezechiel propheta, Deo, ut optamus et credimus, auxiliante et aperiente os nostrum, locuti sumus, non aliorum si qui scripserunt uel deinceps scripturi sunt sententiam destruentes, sed afferentes qualiacumque sunt nostra*, and regarding the rest of the commentary he candidly states: *aperte imperitiam confitemur.*[23] With a rhetorical flourish he repeats the same sentiment in the prologue to Book XII and within a few pages, when about to comment on the vision of the restored temple in Ezechiel, he stresses the pioneering nature of his work on a topic about which all the ages have been silent and urges that any later reader judge exegesis of

Ezechiel in comparison with his efforts *et non nostra, quia sunt minora, contemnat sed propriis gaudet opibus: nisi enim ima fuerint, summa esse non poterunt, et ut maiora laudentur, minorum comparatione succrescunt*,[24] and in his penultimate prologue he rebuts his critics in making use of the sentiment that they jest at scars who never felt a wound.[25] In his commentary on Jeremiah, which he began after Ezechiel, Jerome returns to his easy confidence about his ability to expound the basic meaning of the prophet and to interpret his deeper meaning: *ut eodem labore et spiritus gratia, quo aliorum prophetarum, et praecipue Isaiae, repromissiones interpretati sumus, etiam huius prophetae explanare ualeamus, qui, quantum in uerbis simplex uidetur et facilis, tantum in maiestate sensuum profundissimus est.*[26]

The general tentativeness in Jerome's approach to Ezechiel is further specified. In the prologue to his commentary he alludes to two problematic areas. The first is to establish the fundamental meaning of the text for which complete mastery of language skills (*perfecta scientia*) is required, while the full interpretation of that meaning in its deeper spiritual applications (*mystici intellectus*) is likewise necessary.[27] He paraphrases the same topic when he contrasts *tam littera quam spiritus* and their synonyms *historia et tropologia.*[28] He is reiterating the approach he had already enunciated in his commentary on Isaiah: *post historiae ueritatem, spiritaliter accipienda sunt omnia.*[29] *Historia* is the clear meaning of the text without immediate exegetical application of Origen's triple sense of scripture, in which the tropological or moral sense is distinct from the literal and spiritual sense. *Tropologia* in Jerome comes after the literal explication of the words and the general meaning of the passage. Sometimes the functions of *historia* are served by paraphrasing a passage. A typical example is his treatment of Ez. 35.15. After the text he paraphrases: *Omnis autem ira Dei illuc proficit contra montem Seir, ut cum fuerit dissipatus, et ipse et universa Idumaea cognoscant quia ipse sit Dominus.* He then remarks: *Haec iuxta historiam, et sensum magis quam uerba cursim dixerim; transibo ad* ἀναγωγήν.[30] Here is resumed the same notion he contrasted *in historiae littera* and *in intelligentia spiritali.*[31] Sometimes he reverses the order by first giving the tropological meaning and then turning to the *historia*, e.g., *sin autem post* ἀναγωγὴν *puram tantum sequamur historiam quae simplices nutrire potest.*[32] His treatment of the temple sections of Ezechiel is disproportionately concerned with *historia* because of the obscurity of the text and because of the uncertainties his pioneering effort involves in any suggestions from *tropologia.*

In general, for Jerome there are three possible approaches to the tropological interpretation concerning the restoration of the people of Israel as prophesied in Ez. 28.25-26 and 36.1-15, an event including the rebuilding of Jerusalem and its temple.

The first is the approach of those he dismisses as *quidam imperiti Iudaeorum* who see the fulfillment of the prophecy in the time of Zorobabel.[33] The implication that Jerome is quick to reject is that Ezechiel has no messianic message beyond the shabby restoration under Zorobabel, so modest and in such contrast to the grandeur of the prophesied temple which was to exceed the magnificence of Solomon's structure, as Ezechiel foretold it.

The second approach includes those who see a literal fulfillment in the future *in ultimo tempore et in mille annis.*[34] Proponents of this view are Jews but also Christian writers, both Latin and Greek.[35] Jewish writers in particular on the basis of an expected parallel between the restoration of the Jews after the Babylonian captivity and the restoration prophesied in Ezechiel expected that the restoration would be 430 years after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., i.e., in 500 A.D. Some Christian writers, who accepted the basic approach of these Jewish interpreters, took the baptism of Jesus at the age of thirty as the starting point of these calculations and so arrived at 460 A.D. as the date of the restoration. Using the same starting point but arriving at the number of 430 years from the time the Israelites spent in Egypt, other Christian writers also concluded to the year 460 A.D.[36] Jerome's refutation of these critics is implicit in his insistence on his methodology of spiritual interpretation.

The third approach is not unlike Jerome's inasmuch as it gives an interpretation *secundum intellegentiam spiritalem.*[37] However, he has no sympathy with them, despite their correctness in wanting a spiritual interpretation, because they are at a loss how this is to be presented,[38] presumably because they do not treat the text as he does.

In general, in Jerome's approach the vision of a restored Jerusalem and its temple is only a likeness: *non uere ciuitas, sed ciuitatis similitudo monstratur.*[39] Jerome particularly stresses that the temple which is described is not a physical building and shows his disagreement with Jews who obviously did take these prophetic descriptions as literally to be fulfilled by their expected Messiah. He firmly announces that of four possible interpretations of the word Jerusalem in Ezechiel he rejects any but the allegorical representation of the existing Church.[40] And thus he

sees in the prophet's words a mystical temple which is actually realized in the Church as it is daily built in the lives of saints, just as the prophesied majesty of Ezechiel's God is being actualized in believers in Christ but will reach its fulfillment in the final resurrection.[41]

This mystical quality prevents the heavenly Jerusalem from having quite the precise geographical location Ezechiel attributed to his vision of the temple that was to be destroyed, placed west of the Mount of Olives in Jerome's account and described in contemporary terms as overlooking the ruins of the temple which pilgrims in his day came to view.[42] Jerome significantly omits the slightest tendency to translate the prophecy of Ezechiel into the reality of the new Jerusalem Christian emperors had reared west of the temple site extending north and south, precisely the direction visible to the viewer looking west from the area of the eastern gate. In his understanding of the prophesied temple Jerome finds all the geographical details in Ezechiel as allegorical. The geography is no more real than was the valley of bones: both are prophecies directed to the house of Israel, those who with their minds recognize the spiritual significance of the prophet's message to those who are looking for Christ.[43] Therefore, the expectation the reader of Jerome's commentary has is that ultimately the representation of the city is again a *similitudo* which the mosaicist may or may not have made concrete by depicting landmark buildings from contemporary Jerusalem. If the mosaicist was guided by Jerome's understanding of the text of Ezechiel, the buildings of the background, like the architectural details of the foreground, are images yielding an allegorical meaning. This conclusion was necessary for Jerome who in attempting to explain the prophecy about a new temple had precluded its physical reality and insisted on a spiritual understanding: *nunc ad spiritalem intellegentiam transeamus.*[44]

In his interpretation the promises are not future events but ones already realized in the mystery of the Church in the peace it has after the dreadful devastations inflicted on it, as in the persecutions of Diocletian and Maximian and in the assaults of heretics.[45] Jerome rejects the idea that the great eschatological moment would literally be in a restored Jerusalem. Rather the new Jerusalem of Ezechiel was to be understood *iuxta ecclesiasticam intellegentiam*,[46] an approach that sees in the words of Ezechiel a description of the present and future reality of the Church.

Of the three possible meanings of prophecy, Jerome must indicate

quid eorum sermo uel narret praeteritum uel praesens arguat uel praedicat esse uenturum.[47] Since he denies that the prophecy was fulfilled in times past, his choices are open to finding the fulfillment of the prophecy in the present or the future. He judges that any *prudens lector* finds unsatisfactory any explanation that places the fulfillment of the prophecy in a future heavenly Jerusalem, and for his part he will not accept this exegetical option. Instead: *unde et ad praesens tempus et ad ecclesiam, quae nunc laborat in mundo et ad caelestia ire festinat, referenda sunt omnia*, and we do not expect as future events what has already happened and what we know is being accomplished every day.[48] The prophet's words refer to the future only as the fulfillment of what is presently taking place in the Church. The fullness will be achieved when Jews, gentiles, and heretics take their place in the Church, when the Good Shepherd will rescue his ailing sheep from wicked shepherds, and when sinners, like Lazarus, at the voice of the Lord are called forth from the bandages of their sins.[49] All these events *completa memoramus et cotidie fieri* and in the text of Ezechiel *incredibilia ecclesiae sacramenta panduntur.*[50]

The fundamental innovation of Jerome in all his explanations of Ez. 35-48 is his insistence that the prophecies within that section foretell the present status of the Church and not some future condition to be achieved at the end of time. He has separated the prophecy from the end of the world and therefore maintains that its contents tell the reader about the present, not the future. In this approach he is trying to extricate the whole discussion from the contemporary preoccupation with Antichrist and the end of the world. He obviously rejects the Jewish interpretation of Ezechiel's temple which linked its physical construction with the coming of their Messiah during the millennium.[51] He is equally opposed to Christian writers expecting in the millennium the realization of Ezechiel's prophecy, a realization possible only after the appearance of the Antichrist. He has no doubt that his world is *in extremo fine* and is about to bring forth the mystery of iniquity and that the only obstacle to this catastrophe is the Roman empire which is now crumbling.[52] However, with a deliberate effort he disassociates the end of the world from Ezechiel's prophecy about the restoration of Jerusalem and the temple. He will not allow the promise to be tied to a geographical place with an exaggerated veneration and expectation of *terra Israel.*[53] He will allow Ez. 1-34 to be interpreted as a prediction of the temple's destruction, as it occurred historically, but he will not

countenance Ez. 35-48 as a prophecy of a future event. This section of Ezechiel has already been fulfilled. In the midst of all the gloom that has come with the quenching of Rome's light in 410 A.D. Jerome, prescinding from the present horrors and impending catastrophes, reminds his readers that the *urbs Saluatoris* is the Church and that it already has been constructed. The Church is no *'Hierosolyma' quae interpretatur 'uisio pacis,' sed 'Adonai sam' quod in latinum sermonem uertitur 'Dominus ibidem,'* a city God possesses forever until that dread day at the end of the world.[54] His commentary is a remarkable exhortation to optimism amid the encircling gloom of the approaching last days of persecutions that may come.[55]

This stress on *ecclesiastica intellegentia* of the prophet is emphasized in Jerome's handling of the promised rebuilding of the shattered cities of Judea. In Jerome's translation of Ez. 36.33-35 the prophet announces: *et habitari fecero urbes et instauravero ruinosa, et terra deserta fuerit exculta quae quondam erat desolata in oculis omnis uiatoris.* Significantly in his commentary he paraphrases *urbes* which become *urbes ecclesiae* or *ciuitates* which are defined as *ecclesiae credentium.*[56] *Israel* becomes interchangeable with *ecclesiae* in his designation of the *habitatores urbium Israel* which in turn *intelligimus ecclesiam rectae fidei.*[57]

Another factor in the interpretation is the thought of Origen on which Jerome relies in his comments on Ezechiel. He probably was acquainted with Origen's comments on Joshua, particularly since his arch-foe Rufinus had by 404 circulated a translation of Origen's homilies on Joshua. In these homilies the relation between the physical reality of Israel and the promised land of the covenant occupied Origen's exegesis in explaining the significance of the land allotments described in such geographical detail in Jos. 18-21.[58] For him the details of this passage are dictated only as a prototype for the assignment of the many mansions in heaven to the faithful. Any mention of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, or any other location indicates only a symbolic shadow of the heavenly reality. Furthermore, he rejects identifying the good land flowing with milk and honey with Judea since that land, together with the whole earth, was cursed from the beginning by the works of Adam's transgression.[59] Only the heavenly Jerusalem which Christians have already approached deserves identification with the Jerusalem prefigured in the distribution of the land of Israel. The earthly Jerusalem simply is a shadowy reminder of the heavenly Jerusalem. Jerome and the mosaicist

would not be inclined on the basis of this claim to picture the specific buildings of contemporary Palestine.

Jerome sees the promise fulfilled by all members of the household of Israel when they dwell in the Church, now the promised land of Ezechiel's prophecy,[60] as well as the land the meek inherit: *habitent super terram mitium.*[61] Despite his own predilection for life in the Holy Land, Jerome, in this commentary, implicitly rejects any necessary status for it as a fulfillment of Ezechiel's prophecy. Wherever the baptized submit to the faith of the Church, there in the Church they dwell as in the promised land, where the kingdom is not something to come, but is already being realized in the daily life of the Church.[62]

The mosaic of Santa Pudenziana has caught this aspect of Jerome's interpretation. The vision that greets the congregation of that Roman church does not represent a future reality in another land but the reality of that *Ecclesia Pudentiana* whose name is emblazoned on the pages of the book held by the majestic seated figure who is triumphantly proclaimed its *Conseruator.* In this congregation are fulfilled the promises which Ez. 36.1-15 had so confidently foretold and which Jerome had transferred into the mystery of all the *urbes ecclesiae* as the reality enshrining temple and city. This viewpoint would be consistent with a sense of realized eschatology that finds in the conditions of Rome after 410 A.D. a foretaste of the grander fulfilment in the heavenly Jerusalem: *Romam factam Hierosolymam.*[63] A Roman congregation might well look to its own circumstances as a manifestation of the City of God rather than in localizing the *magnalia Dei* only in the privileged confines of Palestine. The triumphant sense of God's powerful protection in saving the church of Santa Pudenziana from the pillage of 410 A.D.[64] would bind the mosaic which commemorates that delivery, with the advice that Jerome gave to Rusticus in 412 A.D. to seek the direction leading *ad terram repromissionis* in the living and present voice of his own bishop in Marseilles,[65] as another indication of localizing the City of God outside the geographical region of the Holy Land. The impact of Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei* was making a similar application for Dardanus in locating his Theopolis in the French Alps.[66]

If the text of Jerome consciously influenced the mosaicist, the view of Bianchini and De Rossi is not unjustified in seeing the landmarks of the city of Rome, even if these authors may be too specific in locating the buildings in the district of the Viminal surrounding Santa Pudenziana and finding secular buildings portrayed. By 410 Rome boasted

several imposing Christian structures that could also be represented, and two critics have made such a parallel attempt in the case of the Lateran sarcophagus 174,[67] which is nearly contemporary with Santa Pudenziana.

The two sides of this sarcophagus are pertinent. The side to the viewer's right depicts a legend about Peter and a scene of Christ's healing a woman. Behind the kneeling woman is a gabled, rectangular building with curtains parted before open doors. Behind Peter and Christ and the building just described looms a larger, rectangular building with an apse and a door with curtains drawn back. Next to this building is a round structure with an arched lattice opening above closed doors with parted curtains. Behind the head of Christ appears the front of another gabled structure top which is attached a round building. On the left side of the sarcophagus Christ and Peter are again pictured at each end looking towards a cock standing on an elaborate pillar. Behind the scene is another architectural backdrop showing on the right upper level the side of a gabled, rectangular building with two levels of windows. In front of this stands a smaller, gabled building whose drawn curtains reveal closed doors. On the left a circular tower whose doors are similarly presented stands next to a rectangular building with an attached circular structure.

Wilpert and Marucchi find on the side panels of this sarcophagus representations of the Lateran complex of Christian Rome.[68] However, Wilpert disconcertingly deduces this identification from the architectural features of the right short panel, while Marucchi finds it on both side panels. Even more perplexing is Wilpert's conclusion that the right panel, while depicting the tomb of Christ, has also three generic buildings representing the Trinity. For Marucchi one of these basilicas pictures an actual Palestinian basilica, but shows in the background the Lateran basilica with its baptistery, while on the left panel he finds in addition to actual Palestinian buildings the Sessorian palace and the Basilica Heleniana. One regretfully concludes that both authors are too intent on the thesis the titles of their articles proclaim.

While the text of Jerome would support the possibility of a contemporary Roman scene, the effort to further this identification is no more satisfactory than the one suggested by the advocates of a Palestinian set of buildings. A reasonable conclusion is that the mosaicist in depicting the urban background intended no more than did Jerome in writing of *ciuitatis similitudo* for which the tradition of Roman art gave him ample

repertoire. In treating such a motif a mosaicist or a sculptor by reason of his medium could not be as impressionistic as a painter was in the same period when he showed a similar interest in background architecture. The nearly contemporary painter of the Vatican Vergil suggests this practice.[69] What is striking is that the mosaic of Santa Pudenziana, the Lateran sarcophagus, and the Vatican Vergil show a contemporary interest in architectural backgrounds which is quite innovative for that period of the Theodosian renaissance. In the case of the Lateran sarcophagus Kollowitz has detected evidence of Roman workmanship but Constantinopolitan inspiration.[70] Similarly Boncatti has noted the "ferace linfa dell'Ellenesimo" that inspired such works as the Vatican Vergil,[71] and the present article underlines the inspiration that Jerome in Palestine was having on a Roman mosaic. Each of these instances reminds us that while the essence of the Theodosian renaissance is difficult to determine, one common feature is an interchange of artistic idiom which with remarkable homogeneity circulated between Italy and Asia Minor and Constantinople. Kollowitz finds in the years following Constantine a shift from the local workshop tradition of Rome to one reflecting that of Athens and Constantinople, proof again of the artistic interchange in the yet united empire. In the mosaic of Santa Pudenziana we have a thematic shift, reflecting the influence of Jerome's exegesis, and this Christian element prevails over the cultural tradition of Rome. The subject matter transforms the heritage of classicism without creating a new stylistic initiative.

NOTES

[1] Interpreting the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana, *Vigiliae Christianae* 46 (1992) 276-295.

[2] See his elaborate apology in *In Hiez.* 12, prologue (CCSL 75, 549, 1-25) further dramatized by a comparison with his bodyhood terror in Roman catacombs: *In Hiez.* 12.40.5-13 (CCSL 75, 556-558, 242-280), and the disclaimer: *In Hiez.* 12.40.5-13 (CCSL 75, 560, 358-361). There are, however, instances of exegetical confidence, e.g., 1.4.4-6 (CCSL 75, 47, 1348-1352) where he notes that he has solved *difficillimam quaestionem et, ne dicam superbe, a nullo explanatam.*

[3] The details in this paragraph from Jerome are found in *In Hiez.* 12.40.1-4 (CCSL 75, 551, 65; 73-84; 552. 113-116; 550, 51-53); 12.40.5-13 (CCSL 75, 558, 291-297; 559, 306-308); 12.40.14-16 (CCSL 75, 566, 540-543; 567, 559-562).

[4] Anastasius, *Historia de vitis Romanorum Pontificum*, PL 127, 1231.

[5] Musaico dell'abside di santa Pudenziana, *Musaici cristiani e saggi dei pavimenti delle chiese di Roma anteriori al secolo XV* (Roma 1872-1899) 10 recto.

[6] Antichi basiliche di Roma imitanti i santuarii di Gerusalemme e Betlemme, *Analecta Romana* 1 (Romae 1899) 569-572.

[7] *Gravkirken i Jerusalem. Konstantinske problemer i by belysning* (Kobenhavn 1941) 12. See the discussion in G. Hellemo, *Adventus Domini: Eschatological Thought in 4th Century Apses and Catechesis* (Leiden 1989) 51 and plate 17c.

[8] W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezechiel, Chapters 25-48* (Philadelphia 1983) 336, summarizes the interpretation of the Hebrew text: windows which are not completely closed but which grow narrower toward the outer wall (Zimmerli), framed windows (Galling), framed windows with bars (Noth), narrowed windows, loopholes (Driver).

[9] *In Hiez.* 12.40.14-16 (CCSL 75, 567, 547-549).

[10] *In Hiez.* 12.41.13-22 (CCSL 75, 599, 1484-1488). Jerome specifies that the lattice work is made of wood (*lignis interrasibilibus et uermiculatis*) because in this particular passage the text of Ezechiel describes the decoration of the temple as *stratum ligno*. *Cancelli* can be made of any appropriate material.

[11] See 1. V. Borelli, La porta Romana, in S. Salomi, ed., *Le porte di bronzo dall'antichità al secolo XIII* (Roma 1990) v. 1,5; v. 2, tav. VIII-IX, fig. 16-18.

[12] *In Hiez.* 3.10.18-22 (CCSL 75, 116-117, 828-839); 13.43.1-9 (CCSL 75, 622-623, 530-533).

[13] The details of this description are in *In Hiez.* 13.43.1-9 (CCSL 75, 623, 533-558).

[14] *In Hiez.* 13.42.15-20 (CCSL 75, 619, 420-429).

[15] An excellent survey of this topic is found in R.T. O'Callaghan, *s.v.* Madaba (Carte de). Étude des légendes, *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément 5* (1957) 666.

[16] For a summary of these positions and a judicious evaluation, see G. Bovini, I mosaici della chiesa di s. Pudenziana a Roma, *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 18 (1971) 106-107.

[17] *In Hiez.* 5, prologue (CCSL 75, 185, 12-15).

[18] *In Hiez.* 13, prologue (CCSL 7, 605, 22); 12.42.1-12 (CCSL 75, 606, 35-36).

[19] *In Hiez.* 12.40.5-13 (CCSL 75, 559-560, 314-360).

[20] *In Esaiam*, prologue (CCSL 73, 3, 73-80; 1, 18-19).

[21] See this characterization in *In Esaiam*, prologue (CCSL 73, 3, 83-85). For a complete treatment of Jerome and Victorinus, see M. Dulaey, Jérôme, Victorin de Poetevio et le millénarisme, in Y.-M. Duval, ed., *Jérôme entre l'ocident et l'orient* (Paris 1988) 83-98.

[22] *In Hiez.* 12, prologue (CCSL 75, 480, 9).

[23] *In Hiez.* 11.39.17-19 (CCSL 75, 545-546, 2104-2114).

[24] *In Hiez.* 12.40.5-13 (CCSL 75, 280-291).

[25] *In Hiez.* 13, prologue (CCSL 75, 605, 13-20).

[26] *In Hiez.* 6.1 (CCSL 74, 289-290, 7-14).

[27] Prologue (CCSL 75, 4, 29). See also 4.16.12 (CCSL 75, 175, 1249); 12.40.1-4 (CCSL 75, 551, 86). This phrase seems to derive from Origen. It occurs in Jerome's translation of Origen, *Hom. in Ezech.* (PL 25, 749B) where presumably the Greek was μυστικὸς νοῦς as in Origen, *Comm. in Jo.* 1.15 (PG 14.49B). For Origen's usage see H. Crouzel, *Origène et la "connaissance mystique"* (Bruges 1961) 28-29, 41-43. In using the term Jerome is not reflecting the triple sense of scripture in Origen but his own preferred double sense. See the careful analysis of Jerome's usage in P. Jay, Saint Jérôme et le triple sens de l'Écriture, *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 26 (1980) 1214-1227, particularly his general conclusion: "Toute l'admiration qui'il éprouve pour Origène exégète ne le retient pas de préférer à ce schéme tripartite de coloration héllénisante le système binaire, plus conforme aux antinomies néotestamentaires, que reflète sa pratique exégétique habituelle." 227) See

also J. Gribomont, La terminologie exégétique de S. Jérôme, in *La terminologia esegetica nell'antichità* (Bari 1987) 123-134.

[28] *In Hiez.* 40.20-23 (CCSL 75, 573, 733-734).

[29] *In Esaiam*, prologue (CCSL 73, 3, 73-74).

[30] *In Hiez.* 11.35.1-15 (CCSL 75, 492-493, 418-422).

[31] *In Hiez.* 1.3.1 (CCSL 75, 31, 822-823).

[32] *In Hiez.* 14.45.13-14 (CCSL 75, 683.157-157).

[33] *In Hiez.* 12.40.1-4 (CCSL 75, 551, 73-84).

[34] *In Hiez.* 9.28.20-26 (CCSL 75, 400, 494).

[35] *In Hiez.* 11, prologue (CCSL 75, 480, 7-12) and 11.36.1-15 (500, 654-664).

[36] *In Hiez.* 1.4.4-6 (CCSL 75, 47, 1327-1338).

[37] *In Hiez.* 9.28.20-26 (CCSL 75, 400, 495-496).

[38] *In Hiez.* 11, prologue (CCSL 75, 480, 10-12).

[39] *In Hiez.* 12.40.1-4 (CCSL 75, 552, 113-114). The same point is stressed in 13.42.15-20 (CCSL 75, 618,393-394).

[40] *In Hiez.* 4.15.1-3 (CCSL 75, 160-161, 823-831). Jerome, however, does sometimes allow other applications, e.g., *Quod de Hierusalem diximus, referamus ad animam nostram, In Hiez.* 4.16.8 (CCSL 75, 168, 1069-1070). So insistent is his normal practice that he sounds a note of apology: *Omne autem quod dicimus de Hierusalem ne in singulis inhaereamus, et librorum magnitudo taedium legentibus faciat, referamus ad ecclesiam, In Hiez.* 4.16.13 (CCSL 75, 179, 1391-1394).

[41] *In Hiez.* 12.40.5-13 (CCSL 75, 557, 267-268); 13, 43, 1-9 (CCSL 75, 623, 556-558).

[42] *In Hiez.* 3.11.24-25 (CCSL 75, 125, 1122-1125). See R. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History & Thought* (New Haven 1992) 95, 143.

[43] *In Hiez.* 12.40.1-4 (CCSL 75, 551, 65-73; 555, 189-194).

[44] *In Hiez.* 11.36.1-15 (CCSL 75, 500, 652).

[45] *In Hiez.* 11.36.1-15 (CCSL 75, 501, 680-703).

[46] *In Hiez.* 11.36.16-38 (CCSL 75, 505, 811).

[47] *In Hiez.* 8, prologue (CCSL 75, 333, 3-5).

[48] *In Hiez.* 13.45.1-8 (CCSL 75, 673, 2006-2010); 11.37.1-14 (CCSL 75, 522, 1382-1383).

[49] *In Hiez.* 37.1-14 (CCSL 75, 522, 1357-1360); 11.34.1-31 (CCSL 75, 486, 202-216); 11.37.1-14 (CCSL 75, 516, 1177-1185).

[50] *In Hiez.* 11.37.1-14 (CCSL 75, 516, 1178); 11.34.1-31 (CCSL 75, 483, 135-136).

[51] *In Hiez.* 10.31.1-18 (CCSL 75, 440, 206-209); 12.40.5-13 (CCSL 75, 557,265-267).

[52] *In Hiez.* 8, prologue (CCSL 75, 333, 8-15). For a discussion of Jerome's preoccupation and the attitude of Augustine, see J. Doignon, Oracles, prophéties, "on dit" sur la chute de Rome (395-410). Les réactions de Jérôme et d'Augustin, *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 36 (1990) 130-146.

[53] *In Hiez.* 11.37.1-14 (CCSL 75, 522, 1367-1383).

[54] *In Hiez.* 14.30-35 (CCSL 75, 743, 1987-1991).

[55] *In Hiez.* 11.36.1-15 (CCSL 75, 502, 707-717). Jerome is here returning to ideas he had expressed in 406 A.D., *In Amos* 3.9.13-15 (CCSL 76, 348, 453-458).

[56] *In Hiez.* 11.36.16-38 (CCSL 75, 507, 877); 11.36.1-15 (CCSL 75, 502, 711).

[57] *In Hiez.* 11.39.1-16 (CCSL 75, 538, 1879-1881).

[58] *Hom. in Jos.* 23.4 (GCS 7, 444-447).

[59] *Cels.* 7.28-31 (GCS 2, 179-182).

[60] *In Hiez.* 11.36.16-38 (CCSL 75, 508, 910-912): *Quicumque de domo est Israel et cernit*

pacem Christi: Quae exsuperat omnem sensum, habitat in terra sua ecclesia uel in carnis hospitio quod ei a Deo traditum est. The phrase *in carnis hospitio* is problematic, but its meaning and context are parallel to *In Hiez.* 13.43.1-9 (CCSL 75, 624-625, 590-621), where the words apply to the Synagogue.

[61] This phrase echoes the beatitude in Mt. 5.5. For a discussion of the Matthaean passage, see R.L. Wilken, *op. cit.*, 48.

[62] The insistence on this allegorical application to the Church is so marked that J. Harvey finds some parts of Jerome's commentary "allegorisantes à l'excès, singulièrement sa projection de la structure de l'église dans les chapitres 40-48," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 4 (1961), *s.v.* Ézechiel, 2219. It should be noted that Jerome had already in 406 A.D. arrived at the basic interpretation he so fully develops in his commentary on Ezechiel. See the statement of his exegetical principles about any prophetic passages dealing *de aedificatione Hierusalem et templi: In Amos* 3.9.11.12.(CCSL 76, 346, 379-387).

[63] Hieronymus, *Ep.* 127.8.3 (CSEL 56.151-152, 27-28).

[64] F.W. Schlatter, The Text in the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana, *Vigiliae Christianae* 41 (1989) 155-165.

[65] *Ep.* 125.20 (CSEL 56, 141,3-8).

[66] See H.I. Marrou, Un lieu dite 'Cité de Dieu', *Augustinus Magister* 1 (Paris 1954) 101-110; E.D. Hunt, Gaul and the Holy Land in the Early Fifth Century, in J. Drinkwater and H. Elton, edd., *Fifth-century Gaul: A Crisis of Identity?* (Cambridge 1992) 272-273.

[67] Museo Laterano, Inv. 174 *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage* 1 (Wiesbaden 1967) Tafel 106 (677, 2, 3).

[68] G. Wilpert, Pietro fondatore della chiesa di Roma e successore di Cristo come vescovo, *La fede della chiesa nascente secondo i monumenti dell'arte funeraria antica* (Città del Vaticano 1938) 173-189; O. Marucchi, Un insigne sarcofago cristiano lateranense relativo al primato di s. Pietro ed al gruppo dell'antico laterano, *Revista archeologia cristiana* 2 (1925) 84-98.

[69] For examples see Folio 13r, 18v, 27r, 31v, as illustrated in D. H. Wright, *The Vatican Vergil: A Masterpiece of Late Antique Art* (Berkeley 1993), who dates the work around 410 (p. 91). An example of fourth century practice is found in the equally demanding medium of silver in the central medallion of one of the Kaiseraugst plates (Augst, Römermuseum 1962.2), reproduced in K. Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality* (New York 1979) 274. A full treatment of architectural representation in ancient art is provided by M.I. Rostovsteff, Die hellenistich-römische Architekturlandschaft, *Römische Mitteilungen* 26 (1911) 1-186.

[70] J. Kollowitz, Problems der Theodosianischen Kunst Roms, *Revista di archeologia cristiana* 39 (1963) 213.

[71] M. Bonicatti, *Studi di storia dell'arte sulla tarda antichità e sull'alto medioevo* (Roma 1963) 69.

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REVIEWS

J.K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*. A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1993. XXV and 747 pages.

Ascension du prophète Isaïe, par Enrico Norelli, in: Apocryphes, Collection de Poche de L'AELAC. Brepols 1993. 186 pages.

L'évangile de Barthélemy, d'après deux écrits apocryphes. I. *Questions de Barthélemy*. Texte présenté et traduit par Jean-Daniel Kaestli. II. *Livre de la Résurrection de Jésus-Christ par l'apôtre Barthélemy*. Texte présenté et traduit par Jean-Daniel Kaestli et Pierre Cherix, in: idem, Brepols 1993. 281 pages.

Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus. Présentation et traduction du texte syriaque intégral de *La Doctrine d'Addaï* par Alain Desreumaux et en appendices Traduction d'une version grecque par Andrew Palmer. Traduction d'une version éthiopienne par Robert Beylot, in: idem, Brepols 1993. 184 pages.

Before us lie four books with translations of apocryphal writings, (and, therefore,) each meant for a broader group of readers. It again shows the wide-spread popularity of apocryphal literature.

Elliott's book is a thorough revision of M.R. James' famous *Apocryphal New Testament*. The result is a splendid collection of apocryphal writings presented in a beautifully published book. James might be at the basis of the present flurry of activity in the study of the apocryphal literature, as is claimed in the Preface, but Elliott has published a work in its own right as the result of a enormous amount of preparatory work. The introductions to the various writings are concise and to the point, and his surveys of earlier editions and general literature is most helpful.

Anyone who publishes what is called 'a collection' of apocryphal writings is forced to make choices. The text of the *Ascension of Isaiah*, one of the writings in the French Series called 'Apocryphes' is not among Elliott's documents. It is, on the other hand, part of the recently published edition of the Apocryphal Old Testament edited by H.F.D. Sparks at the same publishing house.

Elliott reminds his readers that James already criticized Hone's sug-

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gestion in his *Apocryphal New Testament* of 1820 that these writings are supposed to comprise a recognized collection of texts that had deliberately been excluded from the canon. It is remarkable that a similar idea seems to be favoured by the editors of the Series 'Apocryphes' when they write: "Le *Nouveau Testament* résulte du choix que les autorités ecclésiastiques ont dû opérer parmi des dizaines de textes pour fixer un corpus de reference de la foi chrétienne". We are unable to believe that present day scholars are able to accept this idea about the historical circumstances among which the New Testament canon came about. We are not justified to speak about the canonical writings as those chosen by the authorities and the apocryphal ones as the unauthorised ones. We hope that this remark has not been inspired by the desire to offer the public attractive reading.

The edition of the present three apocryphal writings is nonetheless valuable. The introductions and the information about the manuscripts in which the text is available are much more extensive than those in Elliott's edition. We become aware that the editors have a wealth of information at their disposal which they will put to use in the final edition of these texts in *Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum*. They had to choose how much of this material should be adopted in a 'livre de poche' meant for the general reader who has to rely on a translation and who might wish to receive more information than that which will be offered in the forth-coming edition of the Apocrypha in the series La Pleiade. But we do wonder whether it was necessary to go into preliminary problems that still await a final solution and to offer suggestions that might be better postponed until the publication of the the scholarly editions in the series Corpus Christianorum.

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Christa Krumeich, *Hieronymus und die christlichen feminae clarissimae* (Habelts Dissertationsdrucke; Reihe Alte Geschichte; Heft 36). Habelt, Bonn, 1993. 408 S.

Die Arbeit von Christa Krumeich bietet einen vorzüglichen Überblick über die Stellung und Aktivitäten der christlichen *feminae clarissimae* im Rom des vierten Jahrhunderts, wobei die geistliche Führung des Hieronymus ein Faktor von grosser Wichtigkeit war. Der Einfluss dieser

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christlichen vornehmen Frauen sowie ihr Bildungsniveau und Bibelstudium, ihre Askese und Wohltätigkeit, ihre Stiftungen und Bauten und ihre *peregrinationes* werden gründlich behandelt und kommentiert. In einem grösseren Rahmen werden die Aktivitäten der *clarissimae* einerseits mit den traditionellen Verpflichtungen der reichen senatorialen Familien verglichen, anderseits auch im Licht der Entwicklungen innerhalb der Kirche betrachtet.

Die Verfasserin hat viel Material in übersichtlicher Form verarbeitet. Dabei zeichnet die Formulierung sich durch Klarheit aus. Die wenigen hier gemachten Bemerkungen wollen auch keineswegs den Wert dieser Studie beeinträchtigen. Als Christa Krumeich Hieronymus, *Ep.* 84,3 zitiert, wo dieser von seinem Lehrer Apollinaris von Laodicea sagt: *cum me in sanctis scripturis erudiret, numquam illius contentiosum super sensu dogma suscepi*, schliesst sie daraus »dass er ... von Apollinaris die Schriftlektüre im literarischen Sinn erklärt bekam, und dass es Gregor von Nazianz vorbehalten blieb, ihm weitere Horizonte zu öffnen« (S. 199). Aus dieser Stelle lässt sich jedoch nur entnehmen, dass Apollinaris' christologische Lehre, die nachher verurteilt wurde, keineswegs Hieronymus' Zustimmung fand.

Zu der *Regula Pachomii* wird bemerkt: »in der durch Basilius überlieferten und von Hieronymus für Eustochium übersetzten Regel« (S. 220). Diese Regel hat zwar auf jene des Basilius einen gewissen Einfluss ausgeübt, aber von einer Überlieferung durch Basilius kann nicht die Rede sein.

Es wird immer von der Pilgerin Aetheria gesprochen (S. 341; 349; 353; 354). Man ist sich jedoch längst darüber einig, dass Egeria ihr richtiger Name ist. Für die Zeit ihrer Reise gibt Christa Krumeich verschiedene Data (S. 341: »Aetheria beschrieb ihre um 400 unternommene peregrinatio ins Heilige Land«; S. 354: »Die Reise der Aetheria, die zu Beginn der neunziger Jahre stattfand«). Als erwiesen darf jetzt aber gelten, dass die Pilgerreise der Egeria 381-384 zu datieren ist.

S. 348[19] wird versehentlich statt einer Aussage von Clemens Alex., das »Martyrium der Begierde« sei dem blutigen fast gleichzusetzen, ein Text von Johannes Chrysostomus angeführt. S. 203-204 wird vom Verfasser der *Historia Augusta* gesprochen. Die Kaiservitae sind jedoch von mehreren Autoren verfasst worden. Um einer Verwechslung mit dem Philosophen Seneca vorzubeugen (S. 242: »Seneca erwähnt«) wäre die Bezeichnung Seneca Rhetor zu bevorzugen (das Zitat ist aus den *Suasoriae*).

Beim Angriff der Goten (410) ist Rom nicht »zu einem Trümmerhaufen« geworden (S. 300). Die Stadt wurde drei Tage von den Barbaren geplündert, wobei auch mehrere Häuser und Gebäude niedergebrannt wurden, aber sie blieb von völliger Zerstörung verschont. Zum Wüstenvater Antonius gibt es einige zweifelhafte Bermerkungen. S. 299[1] werden Antonius und Pachomius als die ältesten Klosterväter bezeichnet. Der Titel Klostervater trifft für Pachomius zu, der als Stifter des zönobitischen Lebens gilt, nicht jedoch für Antonius, der zwar anachoretisch lebenden Mönchen geistlichen Rat erteilte, aber selber in vollkommener Einsamkeit lebte. Nirgendwo belegt scheint mir folgende Behauptung: »Athanasius hatte Antonius von Alexandrien (251-356) gegen die Arianer nach Antiochia berufen« (S. 26). Auch eine weitere Mitteilung weicht von der *Vita* ab: »des 356 gestorbenen Eremiten Antonius, der sein Kloster verliess und mit Brot und Salz in die Wüste ging« (S. 26). Die Bemerkung auf S. 71 »hinterliess er (sc. Athanasius) dem Kind (sc. Marcella in Rom) als Abschiedsgeschenk seine Vita Antonii« scheint mir ebenfalls eine blosse Vermutung.

Die Orthographie der griechischen Eigennamen ist nicht konsequent. So findet man neben Basilius auch Basilios (S. 264; 362); neben Athanasius und Palladius begegnen Chrysostomos (S. 296) und Porphyrios (S. 375). S. 218 lese man *in Philippi filio* statt *in Philippo filio*; S. 280 *Dona liberis partes* statt *Dona liberis paras*; S. 310 *de femina virum* statt *de femina ad virum*; S. 3 *flos de radice Iesse* statt *flos radice Iesse*; S. 25 *quo semel est imbuta* statt *quod semel est imbuta*.S. 340 könnte man *sic interrogata respondebat* etwa übersetzen; »sie antwortete, wenn man sie nach etwas gefragt hatte« (statt: »durch Fragen lehrte sie«).S. 220 »zu Unrecht so genannte Gnosis« statt Gnosis.

Aufgrund insbesondere der Schriften des Hieronymus hat die Verfasserin auf verdienstvolle Weise erforscht, welche Bedeutung den christlichen *feminae clarissimae* des vierten Jahrhunderts zukommt. Sie hat klar gezeigt, welche Forderungen er ihnen stellt, wie er dabei die Beispiele der profanen Geschichte und des Alten und Neuen Testaments anführt und schliesslich, wie seine Gebote doch in vielerlei Hinsicht als zeitgebunden zu betrachten sind.

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Douglas Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*. Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism. Oxford University Press, New York-Oxford, 1993. 336 S.

In dieser Studie will Burton-Christie die Verwendung und Interpretation der Bibel im frühen Mönchtum erforschen, um dadurch eine bessere Sicht der Mönchwelt zu gewinnen. Es ist ohne weiteres klar, dass die Bibel eine wichtige Inspirationsquelle gewesen ist. Bibeltexte über Entsagung und Enthaltung haben den Anfang des Asketismus inspiriert, und im Alltag der Mönche war die Bibel nachdrücklich anwesend. Die mönchische Spiritualität war im wesentlichen biblisch.

Der Verfasser versucht eine Antwort zu bekommen auf die zentrale Frage, wie die Verwendung und Auslegung der Schrift dem Heiligkeitsstreben der Mönche in der Wüste in der Anfangszeit die ihm eigene Form gegeben hat, um dadurch diese Welt aus historischer Sicht besser zu erfassen, um zu sehen, wie bei den Mönchen die Schrift interpretiert wurde und welche Stellung die Bibelinterpretation im moralischen und geistlichen Leben einnahm, und schliesslich, um die Bedeutung der »Heiligkeit« in der monastischen Bewegung und die Rolle der Schrift bei der Verwirklichung des Heiligkeitsstrebens näher zu bestimmen.

Textbasis sind namentlich die *Apophthegmata patrum*, die zwar mehrere Schichten enthalten, aber doch die beste Abspieglung der Anfangsphase der Mönchswelt und ihrer Spiritualität bilden, die wir besitzen. Eben diese *Apophthegmata* bieten viel Material über Stellung und Funktion der Schrift. Zwar fehlen bisweilen gewisse Spannungen in der Interpretation nicht, z.B. zwischen den gebildeten und ungebildeten Mönchen. Auch spielten Schrifttexte eine Rolle in der Debatte über das Wesen des asketischen Lebens zwischen den anachoretischen und könobitischen Mönchen.

Es scheint mir äusserst unwahrscheinlich, dass »zum mindesten einige Wurzeln der christlichen *anachorēsis* in Ägypten auf die Antwort auf die Verfolgung der Mitte des dritten Jahrhunderts zurückgeführt werden können« (S. 42). Dass von den Christen, die sich vor der decianischen Verfolgung in die Wüste zurückgezogen hatten (vgl. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6,42), einige in der Wüste zurückgeblieben seien, ist bloss eine Vermutung. Askese in der Wüste bedeutet ein hartes Leben, und nach dieser These seien es eben geflüchtete Christen, welche diese Lebensweise aufgenommen hätten.

Der Text aus der *Vita Ant.* 3, den der Verfasser anführt um eine Ver-

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bindung zwischen den Märtyrern und den ersten Mönchen herzustellen, sagt darüber nichts aus: »we catch occasional hints in the literature on the connection between the martyrs and the first monks. Antony's first master, for example, is said to have been an elderly hermit surviving from the time of the persecutions.« In *Vita Ant.* 3 lesen wir jedoch nur, dass es zu dieser Zeit (um 275) einen alten Mann gab, der von seiner Jugend an das einsame Leben praktiziert hatte. Aber dieser Mann lebte nicht in der Wüste, sondern in der Nähe des Dorfes, und es wird in diesem Text keinerlei Verbindung mit den Verfolgungen hergestellt.

Es gibt zwar einen Text in der *Vita Ant.*, wo von einer Beziehung zwischen Mönch und Märtyrer die Rede ist, aber hier doch nur anlässlich der letzten grossen Christenverfolgung (311). In *Vita Ant.* 46 wird beschrieben, wie Antonius, bereits lange Jahre Mönch, in Alexandrien die Christen unterstützt, denen der Märtyrertod bevorsteht, selber vergebens das Martyrium zu erlangen hofft und sich dann mit dem Gedanken tröstet, das asketische Leben sei einem täglichen Martyrium gleich (*Vita Ant.* 47). Von einer Verbindung des Ursprungs des Mönchtums mit der decianischen Verfolgung ist jedoch in der *Vita Ant.* nirgends die Rede.

Der Verfasser führt mit Recht eine wesentliche Aussage von Abba Agathon an (138), um darzulegen, dass mit παρρησία, einem Terminus, dem in den Kreisen der Mönche gewöhnlich eine positive Bedeutung anhaftet, bei ihnen bisweilen auch ein negativer Sinn verbunden wird. Leider wird von den zahlreichen Studien über παρρησία nur die kurze Zusammenfassung von Miquel aufgeführt (S. 172, Anm. 13). Auch anlässlich ἀλλότριος *peiore sensu* (S. 139) vermisst man einen Hinweis auf Forschungen über die Bedeutung dieses Wortes. Im allgemeinen jedoch ist der Quellennachweis und die Benutzung der Sekundärliteratur musterhaft.

Über die Bedeutung zweier Wörter möchten wir noch eine kleine Bemerkung machen. Erstens wäre »auswendig lernen« als Übersetung von ἀποστηθίζειν (S. 125) der von »meditieren« vorzuziehen. Sodann ist zu ῥῆμα (S. 77) zu bemerken, dass im 4. Jahrhundert die aus dem Hebräischen stammende Nebenbedeutung »Tat« oder »durch ein Wort verkündetes Ereignis«, die sich im Alten und Neuen Testament findet, ganz und gar verschwunden ist. Allerdings stimme ich dem Verfasser völlig bei, wenn er sagt, in der Mönchwelt gelte das Bibelwort als Quelle der Heiligkeit und als wirksames Mittel, um das Leben zu transformieren.

Burton-Christie hat in seiner Studie vorzüglich dargelegt, wie die zen-

tralen Themen in der Spiritualität der Wüstenväter — wie Eschatologie, *penthos*, der Kampf gegen das Böse, Selbstverleugnung, die Wiedergewinnung des Paradieses, Demut und Liebe—in der unaufhörlichen Schriftmeditation ihre wichtigste Quelle fanden.

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1. *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel.* 12. Esaias, edidit Roger Gryson (fasc. 9: Is 30,15-35,5; fasc. 10: Is 35,5-39,8; Pars II, fasc. 1 Introduction; Les manuscrits; fasc. 2 Suite et fin; Is 40,1-41,20). Freiburg, Herder, 1993. S. 641-720; S. 721-795; S. 801-880; 1994. S. 881-960.

2. *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel.* 11/2. Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) herausgegeben von Walter Thiele (5. Lief.: Sir 7,30-11,35). Freiburg, Herder, 1993. S. 321-400.

3. R. Gryson et P.-A. Deproost, *Commentaires de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe, Livres I-IV* (Introduction par Roger Gryson) (Vetus Latina. Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 23). Freiburg, Herder, 1993. 469 S.

4. R. Gryson (Hg.), *Philologia Sacra. Biblische und patristische Studien für Hermann Josef Frede und Walter Thiele zu ihrem 70. Geburtstag* (Vetus Latina. Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 24/1 Altes und Neues Testament; 24/2 Apokryphen, Kirchenväter, Verschiedenes). Freiburg, Herder, 1993. 347, 334 S.

1. Von der *Vetus Latina*-Ausgabe von Jesaja, die 1987 angefangen hat, ist jetzt bereits mehr als die Hälfte erschienen (bis zu Is 41,20). Zu bemerken ist die zusätzliche Ausgabe eines Agraphons (*Maledictus homo qui non suscitaverit semen in Israhel*), das Is 31,9 nahesteht, das jedoch trotz seiner grossen Verbreitung im Westen, nicht von Resch beachtet worden ist. Der zweite Teil des 12. Bandes fängt mit einer Beschreibung der bei der Ausgabe verwendeten Handschriften an.

2. Die Eigenart des lateinischen Sirach-Textes wirft, wie auch diese 5. Lieferung zeigt, Probleme auf, deren Lösung nach Walter Thiele »nicht in der lateinischen Textgeschichte und schon gar nicht in eigenwilligen Änderungen und Zusätzen des Übersetzers, sondern in seiner griechischen Vorlage zu suchen« sind. Im kritischen Apparat wird auf derartige Probleme wiederholt hingewiesen. Der Herausgeber ist sich

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allerdings der Schwierigkeiten wohl bewusst, da es sich ja um Rückschlüsse aus der lateinischen Überlieferung auf nicht mehr erhaltene griechische Texte handelt. Es ist die Grundthese des Herausgebers, dass es die mit mancherlei Eigenheiten behaftete griechische Vorlage gewesen ist, die im lateinischen Sirach zu den vielen Zusätzen und Dubletten geführt hat.

3. Dem ersten Band von Grysons Ausgabe des Jesajakommentars des Hieronymus sind zehn Jahre Vorarbeit vorangegangen. Das Bedürfnis nach einer neuen Ausgabe wurde klar, als Gryson 1983 mit der *Vetus Latina*-Ausgabe des Jesaja-Textes angefangen hatte. Somit hat er die überreiche handschriftliche Tradition dieses Kommentars erforscht und die wichtigsten Textzeugen kollationiert. Jetzt liegen die ersten 4 Bücher vor, noch 14 andere sollen folgen. Neben einer Übersicht der handschriftlichen Überlieferung umfasst die Einführung eine Darlegung der Grundsätze, auf denen die Ausgabe beruht, Studien über das biblische Lemma (u.a. über Hieronymus' Vernachlässigung der LXX in den ersten Bücher), über die griechischen Wörter und die aus dem Hebräischen transskribierten Wörter.

4. Die eindrucksvolle zweiteilige Festschrift *Philologia Sacra*, mit der Hermann Josef Frede und Walter Thiele zu ihrem 70. Geburtstag gefeiert werden, umfasst nicht weniger als 36 Artikel. Beide waren jahrzehntelang die treibenden Kräfte des Vetus Latina Instituts zu Beuron. In entsagungsvoller wissenschaftlicher Arbeit haben sie die *Vetus Latina*-Ausgabe wesentlich vorangebracht. Man sehe dafür nur die Liste der Veröffentlichungen beider Gelehrten (Bd. I, 1-15).

Aus dem reichen Inhalt können wir hier nur einiges hervorheben. Es gibt einige *Inedita*, unter denen man ein erstes Muster der neuen Augustinussermonen findet, welche François Dolbeau in einer Sermones-Sammlung in Mainz (Stadtbibliothek I 9) entdeckt hat. Aus derselben Sammlung veröffentlicht René Etaix eine Predigt des Caesarius von Arles, die bisher nur lückenhaft bekannt war (G. Morin: CChr 103, *Sermo* 17). Und Maurice Geerard bietet uns die Erstausgabe einer bisher unveröffentlichten Legende vom guten Schächer.

Mehrere Beiträge beziehen sich auf die Textkritik, auf Eigenarten eines Bibelcodex oder auf Texttypen, zu deren Erforschung eben die *Vetus Latina*-Ausgabe ein unentbehrliches Instrument ist. Beispielshalber seien hier die Studie von Christian-B. Amphoux über die ersten lateinischen Übersetzungen von Lukas 5 und ihr Beitrag zur Textgeschichte erwähnt, sowie der Artikel von Marie-Émile Boismard über die

Stellung, welche der Codex Palatinus (e) der Evangelien in der Überlieferungsgeschichte einnimmt.

Im zweiten Band kommen überwiegend die christlichen Schriftsteller aus den ersten Jahrhunderten zu Worte. So hat Yves-Marie Duval die *In Esaia parvula adbreviatio de capitulis paucis*, wofür bereits Morin die Autorschaft des Hieronymus nachzuweisen versucht hatte, erneut ausführlich erforscht. Damit dürfte er endgültig erwiesen haben, dass es sich um eine von Hieronymus für seine Mönche in Bethlehem gehaltene Predigt handelt.

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Gillian Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity. Pagan and Christian Lifestyles*. Oxford, 1993. xx, 160 pp.

Women in Late Antiquity aims at filling a gap. A comprehensive survey on women in late antiquity does not exist and in the available literature the focus is primarily on Christian women and on patristic thought about them. This small book comes out of the author's teaching experience and is intended as an introduction to this area of research as is made clear by the helpful notes on sources and translations (pp. xi-xii). "To what extent could women choose what to do? What social, practical, or legal constraints limited their choices? What options were available besides (or within) marriage and housekeeping? What was housekeeping like? What level of education or of health care was available? What conduct and ideals were women taught to admire?" are the main questions addressed. Somewhat surprisingly, except for the last question, they remain mostly unanswered. The book is about *sources* for the history of women, not about their lifestyles, as claimed in the subtitle.

Chapter I is called 'law and morality': it discusses marriage and divorce legislation. Actual life within marriage is given a very summary treatment: a woman "did not have the option of a career or profession. Her dowry was, in all probability, the biggest financial treatment in which she was ever involved" (p. 13). Such a statement is both too sweeping and not completely in agreement with the evidence. It may be assumed that lower class women did work and had professions,

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although this was probably not an option to them. But there is clear evidence (e.g. in the rescripta of the *Codex Iustinianus*) that women were engaged in economic and financial transactions on various levels (L. Huchthausen, *Klio* 58 (1976), quoted by C.). Marriage was important, but should (for this and other reasons) not be considered as women's only concern. In a book addressing the above mentioned questions, one might expect some attention to these concrete aspects of women's lives.

In the second chapter the focus is on what was considered by Roman law and by the Christian fathers to constitute a prohibition to marriage. Especially interesting here is the case of conflicting marriage patterns of the western and eastern Roman world and the increasing insistence in legislation to prohibit marriage of close kin. The regulations probably affected less the western part of the empire where exogamy had been the rule, than the east. There, however, it must have affected women's lifes much more than Clark is prepared to admit (p. 45). There is enough comparative material to make clear that endogamy or exogamy makes a difference to women on a personal and emotional level as well as to the role she plays in society: a brief comparison between women in classical Athens and late-Republican Rome should make this clear.

Health is discussed in the third chapter. The celibacy recommended by Christian preachings did indeed free women from some of the dangers of pregnancy and childbirth, but fervent asceticism produced other health problems. It is not entirely clear to me why the subject is given so much space in this short monograph, since most of the sources are of second century date, and there seems to be relatively little new in the fourth century, treatises on ascetism excepted. Moreover, these documents are precisely among the issues that have been discussed amply in the literature. Present-day interest in the history of the body in combination with the intended readership may be the justification for its inclusion.

By telling what is recommended and what is undesirable behaviour, patristic writings contain much interesting information on domestic daily life. Chapter 4 on domesticity and ascetism gives a rapid sketch of this material. A change in the gendered division of household work was of course not propagated by the Church fathers, only the importance of housekeeping was downplayed as detracting from spiritual life. These same sources give valuable information on clothes (pp. 105-118). What one misses in this chapter is a discussion of the effect on the fabric

of society of conspicuous housekeeping (and woman's share in it) and of the wearing of clothes that denote wealth and status. Demonstration of wealth through silk, purple or jewelry is part of a social system of establishing status which in turn contributes to the formation of social relations and of political hierarchies. "The display of wealth by women visually represented the social differentiation in Rome and thus enhanced the dignity of their male relatives" says Hemelrijk in a discussion of the women's demonstration against the Lex Oppia in 195 BC (in: *Sexual Asymmetry*, eds. J. Blok & P. Mason, Amsterdam 1987, 217ff.). The demonstration itself makes clear that women themselves had something at stake and had a positive interest in this kind of social behaviour. An interpretation of fashion as women "concealing their true appearance" (p. 117) fails to take these aspects into account.

The last chapter discusses learned women: celibacy as a new option for Christian women opens the way to a life of study and examples of women who were engaged in intellectual exercises are definitely more numerous in Christian than in pagan circles. But the limits of personal development remained the same: not for public display.

In the introduction Clark describes her book as a patchwork and remarks that one can hardly do more with this subject. In a certain sense, this applies to all of history. Even if abundant material is available, one has to chose the 'patches' with which to construct a narrative. For antiquity the material is always less than we might wish. An ancient historian does not have the choice of his sources, even less so when writing on women. But patches can be arranged in different ways. Clark's option is to present every "scrap of material ... labelled with date and place of origin, purpose and prejudices, social level." (p. 139). This describes her results better than the questions phrased in the introduction (*supra*). The merit of the book and its undeniable use as an introduction lies primarily in the large amount of sources brought together which makes the subject of easier access.

History has no patterns or designs, history is chaos. Patterns and designs are produced by historians in their narratives. One can choose to stitch together pieces of fabric of similar texture or one can opt first to design a pattern and then integrate the pieces in this pattern, leaving of course gaps where no fitting material is available. The second choice would imply working with some theory, models or with comparative evidence (sociological, anthropological, feminist or gender-studies oriented). That is quite clearly not what the author prefers. In conse-

quence, we may agree with her that the result is a solid piece of patchwork, but not the quilt one might have wished to see.

Universiteit *Utrecht* HELEEN SANCISI-WEERDENBURG
Vakgroep Geschiedenis

R. Feldmeier & U. Heckel (edd.), *Die Heiden. Juden, Christen und das Problem des Fremden* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 70). Tübingen, Mohr, 1994. XVIII + 449 pp., DM 288,—

In this volume one finds, after an introduction by Martin Hengel, 15 essays on the various views about their pagan contemporaries voiced by ancient Jewish and Christian authors (most of the contributions having been written by former students of Hengel); extensive indexes conclude the volume. For the readership of *Vig. Christ.* not all contributions are likely to be of equal interest. Therefore, I will (and can do nothing but) very briefly summarize the contents of most of the articles that are less immediately pertinent to Early Christian studies, in order to pay slightly more attention to those that are of greater direct relevance to that field.

The first part of the volume deals with early Jewish sources. Peter Marinkovic compares two different reports on pagan rulers that worshipped the God of Israel: one biblical, on Naaman the Syrian (2 Kings 5), and one post-biblical, on Izates of Adiabene (Josephus, Ant. XX 2). Naoto Umemoto discusses Philo's views of pagans and Jews and sketches the dialectical tension between particularism and universalism in his thought. Folker Siegert deals with the mild portrait of gentiles in the pseudo-Philonic homily *De Jona* and its Stoic background. Roland Deines investigates the animosity towards strangers in the Dead Sea Scrolls and its background in (*inter alia*) the threat posed by pagans to the purity of the temple. Hermann Lichtenberger discusses the historical background of the rabbinic adagium that "to live in the Land of Israel equals the fulfillment of all the commandments of the Torah" (t.AZ 4:3) and its effect: the holiness of the Land (a consequence of its having been chosen by God) requires holiness of life and hence an inevitable distance to the pagans living there and their ways of life. Anna-Maria Schwemer deals with the development of the curious rabbinic legend about the eschatological appearance of the prophet Elijah disguised as

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a pagan Arab who announces the birth of the Messiah, namely Menahem ben Hiskijah, who was one of the leaders of the Zealots in the first Jewish-Roman war; she concludes that the motif of Elijah as an Arab served to disqualify zealotic messianism. Beate Ego interprets the divergent rabbinic traditions about the repentance of the Ninevites (Jona 3). Friedrich Avemarie discusses how in a gradual process, after Edom had ceased to be an independant people, it could become a negative symbol for (pagan and Christian) Rome in early rabbinic literature, how the 'brother' became the arch-enemy.

The second part of the volume deals with early Christian sources. Reinhard Feldmeier discusses Jesus' meeting with the Syro-Phoenician woman (under the title "Jesu 'verlorenes' Streitgespräch?") in which Jesus let himself be persuaded by the arguments of a pagan woman; this 'defeat' opened the way to the later Christian mission among the gentiles. Jörg Frey investigates the way the fourth evangelist writes about pagans (with special attention to 'the Greeks' in John 7:35 and 12:20) and how he adresses the issue of mission among the gentiles in a covert way. Ulrich Heckel deals with the image of the Gentiles and the identity of the Christians in Paul's letters (with important remarks on 'Abraham als Integrationsfigur für Judenchristen und Heidenchristen'). Gottfrieb Schimanowski investigates the way Paul instructs his Thessalonian converts how to deal with their pagan neighbours in 1 Thess. 4 and how to avoid the traditional "Vorwürfe des paganen Antijudaismus". Jorg Christian Salzmann analyzes the way the author of *1 Clement*, in a new and unexpected turn, highlights (in ch. 55) some 'exemplary pagans' as a paradigm for the behaviour of the dissenting Corinthian Christians. "Gewissermaßen die Klimax des Bandes" (so Hengel in his introduction, p. XVII) is the long and fascinating contribution by Christoph Markschies on the little treatise *Conta paganos* found only in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Cod. Paris, Lat. 8084). This anonymous Latin poem of 122 lines (editio princeps in 1867 by L. Delisle) is here translated for the first time into German and provided with extensive critical notes and commentary. It turns out to be an extremely vehement, hateful and malicious piece of Christian polemics, written most probably in 394 and directed especially against the Prefect of Rome, Virius Nicomachus Flavianus the Elder, a friend of Symmachus and one of the last staunch defenders of paganism, who committed suicide in 394. The author ridiculizes all kinds of pagan cults, makes many accusations of immoral behaviour of his opponent(s), and

appears to be a very unoriginal but nevertheless interesting polemicist. Markschies ably points out where and how this neglected poem sheds new light on various aspects of the struggle between paganism and Christianity in late antiquity, and he promises us a new critical edition with extensive commentary. It is a pity that in his comments he often gives abbreviated references to publications which are not recorded in his bibliography at the end of his article.

The final contribution falls outside the scope of the Jewish and Christian sections, but is interesting in that it demonstrates that a disparaging and caricaturing style of polemicizing was also used among pagans themselves. In an essay with the telling Senecan phrase "*vomunt ut edant, edunt ut vomant*" as its title, Arnd Rehn discusses polemics against Epicurus in Latin literature (in which, to be sure, he makes clear that, unlike many others, Seneca is fair to Epicurus and did not refer to Epicureans in the above quoted phrase).

This volume is highly informative and to be recommended, even though one cannot agree with everything that the authors write. The general level is high—here we see the 'Hengel school' at its best—and the volume has been beautifully produced.

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Alexander Böhlig/Christoph Markschies, *Gnosis und Manichäismus. Forschungen und Studien zu Texten von Valentin und Mani sowie zu den Bibliotheken von Nag Hammadi und Medinet Madi* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, 72), Walter de Gruyter, Berlin-New York, 1994. XII + 316 pp., DM 148,—.

This book consists of five studies. The first two contributions are written by the young and productive Church historian Christoph Markschies, whose 1990-Tübingen dissertation appeared as *Valentinus Gnosticus? Untersuchungen zur valentinianischen Gnosis mit einem Kommentar zu den Fragmenten Valentins* in 1992 (WUNT 65). Markschies now elaborates upon and continues these investigations. In his first study (1-37) he delineates the position of Valentinus and the Valentinian gnosis as a position between a philosophical Bible inter-

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pretation and a mythological heresy. In an enlightening way, this status is described as the crisis of a philosophical-biblical theology. In his second essay (39-111) the author gives an extensive overview of the study of Valentinus and the beginnings of the 'Valentinian' gnosis from Johannes Ernst Grabe up to and including Barbara Aland. Here he also describes his own position (which is basically in line with the one of Harnack and also with Preuschen): only the (few) remaining fragments of Valentinus' own writings can provide a firm basis for our understanding of this philosophical 'Vermittlungstheologe'. This well-documented position will be discussed further.

The second part of the book provides the reader with three essays of the 'Christian Orientalist' (V) Alexander Böhlig. Since many years he is a well-known expert on, in particular, the Nag Hammadi codices and Manichaeism. Böhlig now first describes the significance of the discoveries of both Medinet Madi and Nag Hammadi for our knowledge of ancient gnosticism (113-242). This extensive and very trustworthy overview is followed by an enlightening investigation into the (possible) Greek backgrounds of the Manichaean Nous-metaphysics (243-264). In his final contribution (265-282) Böhlig outlines some essential differences between Manichaeism and (orthodox) Christianity.

Although not all the studies brought together in this volume are original (three of them can also be found elsewhere), they surely are of a high value and without doubt worth of (re)reading. A certain repetition of facts and arguments may be intrinsic to a volume like this. Among the usually appropriate (and sometimes even abundant) references one particularly misses the studies of A.F.J. Klijn on Seth and of S.N.C. Lieu on Manichaeism. Besides, a reference to James Robinson's 'The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi' (in *Studia Manichaica*, Wiesbaden 1992, 19-62) could have been expected on e.g. p. 121. The book is beautifully printed (with only a few misprints, e.g. on p. 147 and p. 249 n. 37), thoroughly indexed and tastfully clothbound.

NL-3703 AH *Zeist*, Van Renesselaan 24 J. VAN OORT

André Villey, *Psaumes des errants. Écrits manichéens du Fayyum* (Sources gnostiques et manichéennes, 4). Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris, 1994. 527 pp., ISBN 2-204-04767-8, FF 260.

The *Psalms of the Wanderers* is one of the most impressive and well-preserved parts of the Coptic Manichaean Psalmbook. This Psalmbook is said to have been found near Medinet Madi in the desert on the southern edge of the Fayyum shortly before 1930, together with six other Manichaean codices, some of which are now lost. Primarily through the essay of C. Schmidt and H.J. Polotsky (*Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten. Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler*, in: *SPAW.PH* 1933) the importance of these findings was made known to the scholarly community for the first time. Already in 1938 C.R.C. Allberry could publish the second part of the Psalms codex (*A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, Part II, Stuttgart 1938), an edition of the Coptic text with an English translation and a minimum of annotation which—although not faultless—still stands out for its high value. But, apart from the photographic reproductions published by S. Giversen in 1988 (*The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library*, Vol. III, *Psalm Book, Part I, Facsimile Edition*, Genève 1988, *Cahiers d'Orientalisme* XVI), an edition of the first part never appeared. Thus Allberry's publication has up to now provided the main basis of some investigations of the Coptic Manichaean psalms of which those of T. Säve-Söderberg (*Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book*, Uppsala 1949) and P. Nagel (*Die Thomaspsalmen des manichäischen Psalmenbuches*, Berlin 1980) in particular became well-known. All in all, however, one can not say that the Manichaean psalms received much scholarly attention.

Now this situation seems to be rapidly changing. Thanks to several new discoveries, the study of Manichaeism flourishes as never before: and thus also the unique Coptic Manichaean Psalmbook is again given the attention it deserves. From Münster in Germany a new edition and commentary of some important parts of the Psalmbook is being prepared (M. Krause, S. Richter, G. Wurst), and as a first major result of this undertaking S. Richter recently finished his Ph.D. dissertation (*Exegetisch-literarische Untersuchungen von Herakleidespsalmen des koptisch-manichäischen Psalmenbuches*, Münster 1993). In due course the Ph.D. dissertation of G. Wurst on the Psalms of the Bema will also be at the disposal of the scholarly world. Other related publications are

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now being prepared, among them an edition of the whole Psalmbook (beginning with its second part) under the direction of M. Krause for the future *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum* to be published by Brepols.

It is in this context that we may also place Villey's book on the *Psalms of the Wanderers*. Although this French dissertation under the supervision of M. Tardieu seems to be carried out somewhat in isolation (its author does not show much acquaintance with foreign research and its recent developments in particular), it is nevertheless a fine example of careful and professional research. Moreover, in its concentration on the *Psalmoi sarakōtōn* it really fills a gap.

In the first part (11-55) of his extensive book, Villey provides the reader with an introduction to the Coptic Manichaean Psalter (to be sure: in Allberry's edition; Giversen's facsimile edition is only mentioned occasionally, but does not play any significant part) and to its *Psalmoi sarakōtōn* in particular. Here, the author remarks for instance that these *Psalmoi sarakōtōn* will originally have been written in Greek; that the date of their composition is about 300; and that their author must have been one of the first Manichaean evangelists in Egypt (Papos, Thomas, or perhaps Heraklides). This appropriate and reliable introduction is followed by Villey's translation of the 38 psalms of the collection (59-144). In this first and fine French translation, Allberry's text and conjectures are mostly accepted, but sometimes the author also gives plausible reasons to correct and improve them. The most important part of the book, however, is constituted by the commentary (147-474). Being equipped with a sound knowledge of the Manichaean sources, Villey provides the reader here with a wealth of insights into the contents of these psalms and their doctrinal meaning in particular. First and foremost he manages to do so by taking into account the Egyptian Manichaean context (particularly by a thorough comparison with the *Kephalaia*), but also the typically Manichaean explanation of the New Testament (and of the apocryphal writings closely related to it) turns out to play an important role in elucidating these psalms. Seen in this light, it is a pity that Villey's 'Index biblique' (500-501) proves to be highly selective and thus runs the risk of creating a false impression. This also includes the OT psalms which, as the author rightly indicates (e.g. 311, 327, 333, 467), in some way or another had their remarkable place in this Manichaean poetry.

As could be expected in the case of such a comprehensive and pioneering work, there is room for some critical remarks and questions.

For example: it deserves serious consideration that the Manichaeans used Tatian's *Diatessaron* and this might have resolved some of Villey's difficulties concerning the Manichaeans' Gospel text; the supposition of Erik Peterson (*TLZ* 23, 1928, 243) to see the Manichaean concept of the four-faced God as influenced by or even originating from Jewish sources may give a more plausible explanation than the opinions of Geo Widengren (149); what is said about Hierakas with reference to Epiphanius, *Pan.* 67,1-3, does not fully match this passage (52); the existence of a pair of doublet psalms in the collection (Psalms 19 and 32) seems not to be a 'simple répétition, avec quelques variantes', but is better explained on the assumption that they were translated from two different originals, possibly even in two different languages (cf. e.g. G. Wurst in his paper 'Überlegungen zum Problem der Originalsprache des manichäischen Psalmenbuches' presented to the *Third International Conference of Manichaean Studies*, Arcavacata di Rende-Amantea, 31 Aug.-5 Sept. 1993). Furthermore, there are many mistakes in the bibliography and particularly in the German quotations throughout the book.

These minor flaws, however, do not rule out the great importance of Villey's work. This really is a ground-breaking study which will be consulted time and again. It is also a thought-provoking study in the sense that here we find an impressive mystical tradition which in so many respects reminds us of St. Augustine (cf. *ZRGG* 46, 1994, 139ff.).

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G. Luongo, *Lo specchio dell'agiografo. S. Felice nei carmi XV e XVI di Paolino di Nola* (Parva Hagiographica 3). Naples, Nuove Edizioni Tempi Moderni, 1993. 122 pp.

Taken together, *carmina* 15 and 16 of Paulinus Nolanus' collection can be regarded as a versified biography of the poet's hero, saint Felix of Nola. At the beginning of his actual story Paulinus asks Christ's help, *ut duce te repetens ab origine pergam/Felicem narrare tuum* (15.50-51). The account which he renders is quite stereotyped and in any case lacks exact references to historical facts. This, however, does not imply it is, historically speaking, irrelevant, "in quanto rivelatore di una mentalità e di un contesto ecclesiale" (26). Thus G. Luongo, author of

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the study under review, whose primary aim precisely consists in an analysis of the text from that viewpoint.

L. shows that Paulinus' hagiographical poems bear a clear testimony to the spiritual terminology which had been developed in the last quarter of the fourth century. Such a terminology was easily recognizable to those familiar with the specific choice of life represented by asceticism. For this reason e.g. *instituit seruire deo* (15.105) would immediately confer Felix' renouncement of a wordly life to the expert reader. As could be expected, 'topoi' loom large within such a framework, not a few of them deriving from Scripture and determining "il linguaggio e la cifra del messaggio religioso" (51). Some of these topoi are quite apt to describe Felix' career, e.g. the *martyrium sine caede* and priesthood. As to the latter aspect, L. argues that the term *sacerdos* is more than once applied to Felix "in contesti fortemente enfatizzati" (77).

Priesthood also explicitly links the saint to his hagiographer, who, having been ordained in a perhaps somewhat irregular manner at Barcelona in 394, fulfilled the inherent duties quite punctually at his saint's sanctuary in Cimitile near Nola. L. is convinced that this fact is of prime importance: "Non è assolutamente temerario vedere in Felice l'immagine speculare di Paolino" (86). This idea is developed in the last section of the study and finally leads to the conclusion which had been carefully prepared by the author: "L''agiografato' coincide con l'agiografo" (94). L.'s argument indeed proceeds along a straight line, not deviating into questions of historicity of the saint and his career. Consequently, as the hagiographer's strategy is outlined with considerable persuasion, the reality of his subject inevitably disappears beyond the horizon. The author has, however, succeeded in presenting an instructive and critical survey of the two poems in question in a neatly produced booklet.

2353 BM *Leiderdorp*, van Effendreef 15 J. DEN BOEFT

R. Herzog, *Restauration et renouveau. La littérature latine de 284 à 374 après J.-C.* Version française sous la direction de G. Nauroy (= R. Herzog, P.L. Schmidt, *Nouvelle histoire de la littérature latine.* Tome V). Turnhout, Brepols, 1993. XXXI, 614 p.

The first volume of the new 'Schanz-Hosius' was published in 1989. It is the "Fünfter Band" of a project which will comprise eight volumes,

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under the plain title of *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike.* The volume in question, which concerns the first phase (284-374) of the 'Spätantike', has received a specific title, viz. "Restauration und Erneuerung", which is explained in an introductory section (§ 501). The period is of course highly relevant for all those interested in early Christian studies, the more so because of a change in orientation in respect to Schanz-Hosius. Christian *litterae* are now fully integrated in the general structure of this survey, with e.g. Juvencus being dealt with in a section of ch. IX ("Poesie"). Understandably, this integration has its limits: e.g. ch. XII ("Apologetik") only concerns Christian authors.

Apart from other novelties, the great project is characterized by the collaboration of French- and German-speaking scholars. In the 5th volume this takes shape in substantial contributions by the French scholars J. Doignon (i.a. Hilary), J. Fontaine (martyrological documents) and G. Madec (i.a. Marius Victorinus). This collaboration also implies a French version of the *Handbuch*, the first volume of which has now appeared. The German version has been the object of several, at times extensive, reviews, which essentially were quite favourable, although critical remarks about details of the general principles and structure of the book are not lacking. Among others, T.D. Barnes (*Phoenix* 1991, 341-355) suggested a number of additions and corrections. Some of these suggestions have indeed been honoured in the present volume. F. Paschoud (*Gnomon* 1991, 205-213) i.a. raised the problem of the extent of Christian *literature.* Do the acts of councils really belong to a literary survey? Should a 'Handbuch der Literatur' provide information on "des problèmes des plus infimes du dogme et de la morale"? The ancients' conception of literature is far wider than is usual in our time, but it must be admitted that the subjects just mentioned are in fact beyond the most comprehensive definition of literature one could think of. Patristic scholars, however, will not complain about this disputable aspect, since they now dispose of a treasury of material which is not so handsomely and readily available in other handbooks. Add to this that the part of the book which offers the main reason for the questions posed has been written by a most competent scholar, Prof. Doignon.

The term 'literature' in the title is thus used in a very wide sense, which allows the insertion of both veterinary manuals and Optatianus' "artifices de versification", of both the *fluvius eloquentiae Tullianae* (Lactantius) and the somewhat uncouth first Latin translation of the

Vita Antonii. Indeed, the survey deals with all written texts—not all of them preserved, however, witness e.g. the "Enmannsche Kaisergeschichte" (§ 536)—not belonging to the domain of inscriptions, with the exception of the "poésie épigraphique" (§ 543). The main structure of the *Nouvelle histoire* is "une division en chapitres consacrés chacun à un genre littéraire", which, however, does not entail the appearance of an author in different chapters. On the contrary, the whole oeuvre of each author is dealt with in the chapter treating his first work. This means that Hilary's three hymns are treated in the final part of § 582 (Hilaire de Poitiers), which belongs to ch. XIV on "écrits dogmatiques et antithérétiques", and, more surprisingly, A. Wlosok's fine pages on Firmicus Maternus' *De errore profanarum religionum* form the second part of ch. III ("Astrologie"), in which the author's first work (*Mathesis*) is described. Marius Victorinus, on the other hand, has been allotted to ch. X ("Philosophie") and not to ch. V ("Grammaire et rhétorique").

In chronological and comparable respects the editors had to make decisions in matters about which a scholarly debate is still being waged. Some examples in the patristic domain: the author of the *Probae Cento* is identified as Faltonia Betitia Proba, whose probable dates are given as 322-370, some pseudepigrapha ascribed to Cyprian are incorporated (with ample description of the respective 'états de la question') as is Seneca's correspondence with Paul. The reader is, however, informed about other views. This is, in fact, the most attractive aspect of the *Nouvelle histoire*: it combines a lucid account of the facts (as these are understood by the author of the relevant section) with a generous display of all important primary and secundary material.

As was stated above, the *Handbuch (Nouvelle histoire)* is a product of German-speaking and Francophone scholars. No other versions seem to have been planned. Thus in an age in which English, in its various shapes, is increasingly becoming the lingua franca of the scholarly world, one of the most invaluable and pretentious 'instruments de travail' in the field of ancient literature firmly remains out of the reach of such tendencies. Obviously, this is not a whim of Fortune, but the will of fate, as appears from Prof. Fontaine's "Préface Générale", in which that renowned Latinist notes that the *Nouvelle histoire* "exprime concrètement la place que la culture et la langue françaises continuent de tenir dans le concert européen et mondial des études anciennes". Living in a country the inhabitants of which simply have to be polyglot, the

present reviewer cannot help feeling some sympathy for the dismantlement of any monopoly held by whichever tongue. This volume of the *Handbuch* or the *Nouvelle histoire* should be at the disposal of all patristic scholars. Those among them to whom neither language offers any problem should know that the French version has two practical advantages: the bibliography has been updated and the sections containing testimonia and bibliographic notes are printed in a letter which is definitely better legible than the one used in the *Handbuch*.

2353 BM *Leiderdorp*, van Effendreef 15 J. DEN BOEFT

Early Christian Poetry. A Collection of Essays, Edited by J. den Boeft & A. Hilhorst (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 22). Leiden, Brill, 1993.

P. W. van der Horst, Jewish Metrical Epitaphs; G. P. Luttikhuizen, The Poetic Character of Revelation 4 and 5; G. J. M. Bartelink, Die *Oracula Sibyllina* in den frühchristlichen griechischen Schriften von Justin bis Origenes (150-250 nach Chr.); W. Evenepoel, The Place of Poetry in Latin Christianity; A. Hilhorst, The Cleansing of the Temple (John 2, 13-25) in Juvencus and Nonnus; J. den Boeft, Ambrosius Lyricus; M. J. Mans, The Function of Biblical Material in the Hymns of St. Ambrose; A. A. R. Bastiaensen, Prudentius in Recent Literary Criticism; P. W. A. Th. van der Laan, Imitation créative dans le Carmen Paschale de Sédulius; A. Palmer, The Merchant of Nisibis: Saint Ephrem and His Faithful Quest for Union in Numbers; K. Demoen, The Attitude towards Greek Poetry in the Verse of Gregory Nazianzen; J. N. Bremmer, The Vision of Dorotheus; J. H. Barkhuizen, Synesius of Cyrene, Hymn 8: A Perspective on His Poetic Art; P. van Deun, The Poetical Writings of the Empress Eudocia: An Evaluation; L. van Rompay, Romanos le Mélode. Un poète syrien à Constantinople; W. J. van Bekkum, Anti-Christian Polemics in Hebrew Liturgical Poetry (*Piyyuṭ*) of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries; Indices.

Willy Rordorf, *Lex orandi, Lex credendi*. Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 60. Geburtstag (Paradosis 36). Universitätsverlag Freiburg, Schweiz, 1993. XVI 513 S.

This volume contains a reproduction of an extremely rich collection of articles.

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I. Ursprung und Bedeutung der Sonntagsfeier im frühen Christentum; II. Die theologische Bedeutung des Sonntags bei Augustin.

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2. *Die jährliche Feier*
III. Zum Ursprung des Osterfestes am Sonntag; IV. Zum Problem des "grossen Sabbats" im Polykarp- und Pioniusmartyrium.
3. *Sitz im Leben*
V. Was wissen wir über die christlichen Gottesdiensträume der vorkonstantinischen Zeit?; VI. Die Hausgemeinde der vorkonstantinischen Zeit.
4. *Gebet*
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5. *Märtyrerverehrung*
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Bibliograpie von Willy Rordorf

MARTYRIUM POLYCARPI 4 UND DER MONTANISMUS

VON

GERD BUSCHMANN

in memoriam Prof. Dr. H. Paulsen†

0. *Problemstellung und Forschungsstand*

0.1. *Leugnung der Beziehungen zwischen MartPol und Montanismus*

Die Beziehungen zwischen dem MartPol und dem beginnenden Montanismus werden noch immer in Frage gestellt. So kann etwa R. E. Heine[1] in der Einleitung seiner neuesten Quellensammlung zum Montanismus anmerken: »I have included selection 20 from the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* because it is debated whether it has reference to a Montanist martyr. If it does, it is the earliest reference to Montanism we possess. I think it does not.«[2]

Auch auf Seiten der Forschungsgeschichte des MartPol[3] werden bis heute etwaige Beziehungen immer wieder geleugnet: »It is by no means certain that the episode about Quintus refers to Montanism.«[4] Dies geschieht nicht zuletzt auf Grund fragwürdiger Interpolationshypothesen und deren literarkritischer Zerstückelung des MartPol,[5] die symptomatisch für die eklektische Rezeption und die Isolation bestimmter Passagen (insbesondere MartPol 4) aus dem Kontext des MartPol stehen, — so auch in den einschlägigen Quellensammlungen zum Montanismus.[6] Kontextlose Quellensammlungen hinsichtlich der montanistischen Orakel bemängelt auch D. E. Groh,[7] wenn er schreibt: »Lists of authentic oracles have been published repeatedly without the accompanying exegetical commentary contained in the preserving sources ... Consequently most scholars have never seen the exegetical debate these oracles called forth and, in some cases perhaps, participated in.« So konnte man MartPol 4 sehr wohl als antimontanistisch erweisen, aber, weil später interpoliert, damit gleichzeitig das MartPol als solches von jedem Zusammenhang mit dem Montanismus befreien[8] und sich auf die fragwürdige Suche nach einem sog. »historischen Kern« in angeblichen Gerichtsprotokollen begeben, — unter völliger Mißachtung des Briefcharakters des MartPol und seiner damit gegebenen innerchristlich

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historischen Situation und Intention. Jüngere Arbeiten zum MartPol betonen hingegen die deutlichen Beziehungen zwischen MartPol und dem beginnenden Montanismus.[9] Dabei erweist sich die Quintus-Episode MartPol 4 als konstitutiver Bestandteil des MartPol, der weder aus dem Zusammenhang isoliert werden noch als einziges Indiz für ein wesentlich vielfältigeres Beziehungsgeflecht mit dem Montanismus gewertet werden darf: montanistisches Hintergrundkolorit zeigt sich keineswegs nur an der Frage nach dem gewollten Martyrium.

0.2. *Zusammenhang von Martyriumssucht und Montanismus*

Der Zusammenhang von Martyriumssucht und Montanismus ist schon immer gesehen worden[10] und erfährt von einer intensiven Beleuchtung des MartPol als indirekter Quelle für die Anfänge der »Neuen Prophetie« her eine erneute Bestätigung. Neuere Infragestellungen inhaltlich-traditioneller Zuordnungen zum Montanismus etwa im Hinblick auf dessen Eschatologie[11] oder das gewollt-freiwillige Martyrium[12] erfahren vom MartPol her Kritik.

Jüngst kommt A. Jensen[13] zu dem Ergebnis: »Die These vom Martyriumsenthusiasmus in der Neuen Prophetie hat keinerlei reales Fundament.« Ihre Begründung dieses Ergebnisses ist keineswegs zwingend: So bezieht sie sich bzgl. des MartPol ausschließlich auf die Quintus-Episode, ohne das Briefganze zu sehen und entspricht damit der eklektischen Rezeption und Isolation von MartPol 4, stützt sich auf die fragwürdige Interpolationshypothese H. v. Campenhausens und bringt als einziges inhaltliches Argument bzgl. Quintus vor, daß in MartPol 4 doch nicht stehe, »daß er der Neuen Prophetie angehörte«,[14] obwohl sie selbst wenige Seiten zuvor die Bezeichnung Φρύξ als hinreichend für die Neue Prophetie erachtet.[15] Auch die übrige Begründung steht auf schwachen Beinen: Gerade die verschiedenen Strategien, die die Gegner der Neuen Prophetie bzgl. deren Einstellung zum Martyrium verfolgten und die Jensen zu Recht aufzeigt, belegt doch die Bedeutung dieses Themas in der Auseinandersetzung: »1. Sie (= die Gegner) leugneten, daß es in ihr (= der Neuen Prophetie) Bekenner gab; 2. sie lehnten häretische Bekenner als »falsche« Bekenner ab; 3. sie stellten deren Lebenswandel in Frage.«[16] Jensen fährt fort: »Nur einen Vorwurf erhoben sie (= die Gegner) nicht: die Anhänger der phrygischen Bewegung hätten in vermessener Selbstüberschätzung zu freiwilligem Martyrium aufgerufen. In der späteren Polemik taucht die Martyriumsfrage als Streitpunkt

überhaupt nicht mehr auf.«[17] Diese Aussage darf aus folgenden Gründen bezweifelt werden:

1) Jensen selbst muß unter Hinweis auf Eus., *HistEccl* V,16,20f eingestehen: »Also gab es doch Martyrinnen und Martyrer in der phrygischen Bewegung!«[18], gesteht ein: »Eine große Martyriumsbereitschaft seitens der Neuen Propheten und Prophetinnen ist jedoch wahrscheinlich und sie verschaffte ihnen hohes Ansehen — nicht umsonst versuchen die Gegner, die als Martyrer verehrten Anhänger der Bewegung zu diskreditieren!«[19] und zitiert zustimmend W. Bauer, »daß die prophetische Bewegung offenbar, vor allem in Phrygien, stark eingeschlagen hat, daß ihr Menschen und Mittel zugeströmt sind und daß der Ernst der hier herrschenden Lebensauffassung manchen zum Martyrer werden ließ, dessen Blut weiterwerbende Kraft bewährte.«[20]

2) Die montanistischen Orakel aus Tertullian, *de fuga* 9.4. und *de anima* 55.5,[21] behalten ihr grundsätzliches Gewicht und können nicht »situativ« entkräftet werden: »Zweifellos haftet ihnen ein gewisser exaltierter Ton der Martyriumsbegeisterung an. Doch für die Beurteilung ist wichtig, welchen Sitz im Leben man für die Orakel annimmt. Handelte es sich um grundsätzliche Handlungsanweisungen? Oder waren es Worte, die in einem Kerker gesprochen wurden, in einem Gottesdienst der Verurteilten, deren Martyrium unmittelbar und unausweichlich bevorstand? Letzteres ist wesentlich wahrscheinlicher. Eine solche Situation, wie sie uns in den authentischen Akten mehrfach begegnet ist, macht die emotionale Verklärung des Leidens verständlich: Sie war eine Hilfe, um die schweren Stunden durchzustehen. Der erste Spruch hat ganz deutlich den Charakter eines solchen Trostwortes.«[22] Zunächst also gesteht Jensen selbst einen »gewissen exaltierten Ton der Martyriumsbegeisterung« ein. Sodann setzt sie historisch authentisches Akten- und Protokollmaterial voraus[23] und behauptet endlich einen nur erbaulich-ermutigenden Trostwort-Charakter für die beiden Orakel[24]. Nun haftet dem Makarismus aber nicht nur eine erbaulich-tröstende, sondern auch eine grundsätzlich paränetische Funktion an:[25] Viele Beispiele weisen darauf, daß die Seligpreisung weniger an der Einzeltat und deren Folge orientiert ist, sondern ein Lebensmodell vor Augen stellt, einen Typ zu leben ...«.[26]

3) In der gesamten (anti-)montanistischen Auseinandersetzung taucht die Märtyrerfrage immer wieder auf[27] bis hin zu *Codex Theodosianus* XVI, 5,48: »Hier zeugt ein Gesetz aus dem Jahr 410 vom Martyriumsmut der Neuen Propheten: 'Sie verachten diese Strafen'.«[28] »Langsam

gelingt so die Ausrottung der gefürchteten Sekte. Aber mit welchen Opfern! 550 berichtet der byzantinische Historiograph Prokopios, 'daß die Montanisten in Phrygien sich in ihre eigenen Kirchen einschlossen, Feuer an sie legten und sich selbst verbrannten'.«[29] Die vermessene Selbstüberschätzung zu freiwilligem Martyrium wird in MartPol 4 in der Person des Phrygers Quintus explizit thematisiert und im gesamten MartPol einem Martyriumsverhalten κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον[30] kontrastiert. Aber nicht nur in der kerygmatischen Ausrichtung κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον des MartPol dominiert die Martyriumsparänese in Auseinandersetzung mit dem frühen Montanismus,[31] sondern die Martyriumsfrage wird überhaupt jetzt erst in neu entstehenden Gattungen — zunächst innerhalb einer in konkreter Auseinandersetzung stehenden Briefliteratur[32] — literarisch thematisiert. Dabei sind inhaltliche wie geographische Nähe von Märtyrerthematik und Montanismus auffällig (MartPol / MartLugd / MartPerp). Die Entstehung der brieflichen Gattung der Märtyrerliteratur kann womöglich als ein Reflex auf die Märtyrerthematik im Zusammenhang mit der Neuen Prophetie gedeutet werden.[33] Und daß schließlich Tertullian sich »mit strittigen Fragen des Martyriums ... in drei Schriften« auseinandersetzt, merkt Jensen selbst an.[34] In »*De corona* 1«[35] wird dabei der Zusammenhang von Montanismus, Martyriumssucht und Kritik der Großkirche an einem martyriumsenthusiastischen christlichen Soldaten ganz deutlich: »*Exinde sententiae super illo,* - ... -, *at de aprupto et praecipiti et mori cupido..*«. Selbst in dem späten »*Leben des Hl. Theodotus von Ankara*«[36], das als authentisches Zeugnis der montanistischen Kirche eingeschätzt werden darf, besteht noch der Zusammenhang zum freiwillig gesuchten Martyrium.[37] Insofern ist die Märtyrerfrage im Zusammenhang mit der Neuen Prophetie mehr als hinreichend thematisiert und Jensens Urteil schwer verständlich.

Die intensiven Beziehungen von MartPol und dessen montanistisch bedingtem Entstehungshintergrund durchziehen den gesamten Brief der Smyrnäer mit zahlreichen offenen und verdeckten Hinweisen, wobei MartPol 4 mit der Ablehnung eines provozierten Martyriums das deutlichste anti-montanistische Element darstellt. »The *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, though not explicitly an anti-Montanist work, stressed Polycarp's 'prophetic and apostolic' episcopacy in the 'catholic' church (viii, 1; xvi, 2; xix, 2). *His* martyrdom was 'according to the Gospel' and was more memorable than that of contemporary Philadelphians. It was also unlike the action of the Phrygian (Montanist?) Quintus, who had first given himself up and had then turned coward (iv, 1; xix, 1 cf. *HE* iv.

15,7; v. 16,22).«[38] Wir müssen uns hier auf MartPol 4 beschränken. Weitere anti-montanistische Tendenzen außerhalb MartPol 4 seien wenigstens angedeutet, müssen aber einer größeren Untersuchung vorbehalten bleiben; denn die eklektische Reduktion der Fragestellung auf die Quintus-Episode wird dem Brief der Smyrnäer nicht gerecht. Neben dem brieflichen Charakter des MartPol — vgl. nur die vermittelnde Funktion des zweiten Brief-Martyriums, des MartLugd — ist besonders die Hervorhebung der antienthusiastischen Verbindung von Prophet- und Bischofsamt bei Polykarp zu beachten sowie seine unekstatischen Visionen und Auditionen und sein Fasten. Gleichzeitig fällt das Fehlen von Frauen im MartPol auf, ebenso wie eine gewisse eschatologische Zurückhaltung. Auch die Bedeutung der Eucharistie in MartPol 14 kann in diesem anti-montanistischen Kontext bedeutsam sein. Und wenn die κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον-Stilisierung des MartPol als Modell-Martyrium in 5,1; 6,1 u.ö. auch »flight from persecution as imitation of Christ«[39] meint (vgl. Mt 10,23), dann durchzieht die antimontanistische Tendenz das gesamte MartPol. Und wenn in der richtigen und angemessenen Märtyrerverehrung (MartPol 17f) eine zentrale Intention des MartPol vermutet werden darf,[40] dann sind damit zugleich andere (freiwillige) Märtyrerkonzeptionen in Frage gestellt.[41] Hinzu kommt die betont ruhige Darstellung des Polykarp, »making no move to hasten to his end« (vgl. MartPol 6,2; 7,2; 8,3; 13,2: σπεύδω). »We may contrast this outlook with that of the writer of the Acts of Carpus and his companions. Carpus and Papylus 'hasten to the amphitheatre in order that they may speedily leave the world'« (ActCarpi 36). »Carpus ... Polycarp ... represent divergent forces in the Church in Asia at this time.«[42] Möglicherweise hat auch die auffällige Bezeichnung Polykarps als κοινωνός (6,2) eine Affinität zum Koinonos-Amt bei den Montanisten.[43] Jedenfalls aber ist Polykarp im Verlauf der frühen Kirchengeschichte Inbegriff katholischer Orthodoxie.[44]

1. *MartPol 4, der Tadel am gewollt-provozierten Martyrium und der Montanismus*

Andernorts[45] ist der literar- und formkritische Nachweis erbracht worden, daß es sich bei der Quintus-Episode MartPol 4 um einen konstitutiv in den Brief der Smyrnäer eingebetteten Abschnitt handelt, der nicht einer späteren Interpolation zugeordnet werden kann.

Der anti-montanistische Charakter des Abschnitts[46] ergibt sich aus folgenden Beobachtungen:

1.1. *Die Bezeichnung* Φρύξ

Die doppelbetonte Formulierung Κόιντος, Φρύξ, προσφάτως ἐληλυθὼς ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίας ist auffällig. Die frühen Bezeichnungen des Montanismus legen die Vermutung nahe, daß die Bewegung mit Ausgangspunkt Phrygien »von ihren Gegnern ... deswegen als 'phrygische', von ihren Anhängern als 'neue Prophetie' bezeichnet« wurde; »erst später dann erhielt sie den Namen ihres Hauptpropheten Montanus.«[47] »Die folgenden Zeugnisse haben Gewicht: Mart. Pionii 11,2 (ἡ αἵρεσις τῶν Φρυγῶν), Clem. Alex. *Strom.* IV, 13, 93, 1 (Φρύγες); Hippolyt, *Ref.* X, 25 (οἱ Φρύγες) und VIII, 19 (Φρύγες τὸ γένος). Origenes, *In Mt 28* (propter Phrygiae falsos prophetas), Euseb, *h.e.* V, 18, 1 (τῆς δὲ κατὰ Φρύγας καλουμένης αἱρέσεως). Der im Mart. Polyc. 4 erwähnte 'Phryger' Quintus, der mit Polykarp von Smyrna zusammen den Märtyrertod suchte und von dem es heißt, daß er 'kurze Zeit vorher aus Phrygien' angelangt war, ist wahrscheinlich der früheste bekannte Namensträger.«[48] »The name most common among refuters of the sect was a descriptive but also detracting one based on the place of its origin in Phrygia: ἡ κατὰ Φρύγας αἵρεσις. Phrygians were considered stupid, boorish, and cowardly, and their name was almost a synonym for these negative qualities.«[49]

Insbesondere weil MartPol nach Phrygien adressiert ist (MartPol inscr.), in der Brief-Eröffnung auf eine laudatio der Adressaten und ein Proömium auffällig verzichtet[50], insgesamt einen paränetischen[51] und in MartPol 4 mit διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς προσιόντας ἑαυτοῖς einen explizit tadelnden Charakter hat,[52] wirkt das doppelte Φρύξ besonders auffällig. Der anti-montanistische Anonymus bei Eus., *HistEccl* V, 16f verwendet nur »zwei Namen für den Montanismus: Ἡ νέα προφητεία und Ἡ τῶν Φρυγῶν αἵρεσις. Die letzte Benennung klingt allzu auffälig im Munde eines Verfassers, der selbst mitten in Phrygien wohnt, als daß sie seine eigene Erfindung sein sollte. Augenscheinlich benützt er hier die Bezeichnung, die unter seinen katholischen Lesern die gebräuchliche war ... .«[53] »Dementsprechend gebraucht Euseb überall die oben genannte Bezeichnung des Anonymus ... und diese Weise, den Montanismus zu bezeichnen, ist nun — abgesehen von der Bezeichnung Ἡ νέα προφητεία ... — bis zur Mitte des vierten Jahrhunderts allein-

herrschend ... .«[54] Die betonte Bezeichnung Φρύξ in MartPol 4 richtig einzuschätzen vermag nur derjenige, der bedenkt, daß der Ausdruck Montanismus ein später ist und daß die Gegner der »Neuen Prophetie« »se contentaient de les dénommer »les Phrygiens« ou de parler de »l'hérésie *kata Phrygas*«, expression rapidement devenue comme un terme technique purement et simplement transposé ensuite en latin ....«[55] Wenn also »die Bezeichnung MONTANOI für die prophetische Bewegung in Phrygien erst um 350«[56] belegt ist und zuvor von den Gegnern einfach von »die Phrygier« oder (als Selbstbezeichnung) von der »Neuen Prophetie« gesprochen wird, so kann das betont gedoppelte Φρύξ in MartPol 4 durchaus als (gegnerischer) terminus technicus verstanden werden. Dann aber sind alle Argumentationen fragwürdig, die betonen, daß Quintus eben nicht ausdrücklich als »Montanist« gekennzeichnet sei: Am widersprüchlichsten vielleicht Jensen, die einerseits behauptet, daß als Bezeichnung der Neuen Prophetie einfach »die Phrygier« ausreicht,[57] andererseits aber formulieren kann: »Im *Martyrium Polykarps* wird zwar ein *Quintus* aus Phrygien als warnendes Beispiel erwähnt..., doch es steht dort nicht, daß er der Neuen Prophetie angehörte.«[58]

Auch die Tatsache, daß Quintus προσφάτως aus Phrygien gekommen ist, deutet daraufhin, daß es sich hier um einen Häretiker handelt; nach K. Beyschlag[59] ist es »allgemeine frühkatholische Ansicht«, daß Häretiker und Schismatiker nicht zu den 'Alten' in der Kirche gehören bzw. erst 'neulich' aufgetreten sind.« Vgl. den Anonymus:[60] ἡ τοίνυν ἔνστασις αὐτῶν καὶ πρόσφατος τοῦ ἀποσχίσματος αἵρεσις πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν αἰτίαν ἔσχε τοιαύτην ... (Ihr Auftreten und ihre vor kurzem erfolgte häretische Lostrennung von der Kirche hatten folgenden Anlaß ...), ἔνθα φασί τινα τῶν νεοπίστων πρώτως, Μοντανὸν τοὔνομα ... (da soll ein Mann namens Montanus, einer von denen, die erst jüngst zum Glauben übergetreten waren ...), ... καὶ τοὺς προσφάτους λόγους (der Montanisten) ἐξετασάντων ... (...und prüften die neue Lehre...), sowie Apollonius:[61] ἀλλὰ τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ πρόσφατος διδάσκαλος ... (doch wer dieser neue Lehrer ist...).

Auch müßte der Name Quintus einmal auf eine mögliche Affinität zu der Bezeichnung »Quintillianer« der Montanisten, der sich von einer Prophetin Quintilla ableiten dürfte,[62] hin geprüft werden.

Insgesamt wird man die negative und betone Beurteilung gerade des Phrygers Quintus in einem Brief nach Phrygien als bewußte Intention beurteilen müssen und nicht von einer »überraschend plumpen Taktlosigkeit«[63] sprechen dürfen.

»The Montanists were regularly referred to as οἱ Φρύγες, and their heresy was ἡ κατὰ Φρύγας αἵρεσις. The *Martyrdom of Polycarp* accordingly contains the earliest direct reference to Montanism.«[64]

1.2. *Der Tadel am Verhalten des* Φρύξ: *das freiwillige Hindrängen zum Martyrium*

1.2.1. *Der Tadel in MartPol 4 und das katholische Martyriumsverständnis*

Das Verhalten des Phrygers Quintus ἰδὼν τὰ θηρία ἐδειλίασεν. οὗτος δὲ ἦν ὁ παραβιασάμενος ἑαυτόν τε καί τινας προσελθεῖν ἑκόντας (Als er die Tiere sah, fürchtete er sich. Er war es, der sich und andere veranlaßt hatte, sich freiwillig zu stellen.) wird explizit getadelt: διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς προσιόντας ἑαυτοῖς. (Deswegen also, Brüder, loben wir die, die sich selbst stellen, nicht.) Mit der Kritik am freiwilligen Hindrängen zum Martyrium paßt sich der Absatz als Negativ-Folie schlüssig[65] in die martyriumsparänetische Gesamtintention des MartPol ein: Während Polykarp gesucht werden muß (MartPol 3,2; 6,1 u.ö.) und damit *fuga in persecutione* κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (Mt 10,23) angeraten (vgl. MartPol 1,2: περιέμενεν γάρ, ἵνα παραδοθῇ, ὡς καὶ ὁ κύριος), jedem μόνον ἑαυτὸν θέλειν σώζεσθαι (MartPol 1,2) gewehrt und Polykarps überlegen-gelassene Geduld (MartPol 7,2f) jedem voreiligen Eifer (σπουδή, MartPol 6,2; 7,2; 8,3) entgegengesetzt wird, drängt der Phryger Quintus freiwillig zum Martyrium — und versagt. Polykarps (und Jesu) Warten auf die Verfolger widerspricht der freiwilligen Martyriumssuche. »Contrapponendosi, quale indebita »forzatura« (παραβιασάμενος), alla positiva »prova di forza« del martirio di Germanico (προσβιασάμενος, 3,2), la testimonianza di Quinto si configura esplicitamente come l'antitesi del martirio di Policarpo, che è quello »insegnato dal Vangelo«, e sembrerebbe dunque naturale identificare nei seguaci dell'eresia frigia il bersaglio nonché forse i destinatari stessi della parenesi agiografica del testo.«[66]

Der Martyriumseifer[67] des Phrygers Quintus widerspricht dem vorbildlichen Martyriumsverhalten des Polykarp κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον und spiegelt die Auseinandersetzung zwischen früh-montanistischem und orthodox-katholischem Martyriumsverständnis wider. Im Gegensatz zum Martyriumseifer der Montanisten war die herrschende Durchschnittsmeinung[68] der Kirche, »man dürfe zwar nicht verleugnen, solle die Gefahr aber auch nicht aufsuchen, sondern ihr aus dem Wege

gehen.«[69] Wirkungsgeschichtlich hat Nicholson aufgezeigt, daß die Flucht vor dem Martyrium Bestandteil der Vorstellung des Martyriums als imitatio Christi ist, — insofern widerspricht die zentrale κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον-Stilisierung des MartPol immanent jedwedem Drängen zum Martyrium: »not every hothead was able to sustain his determination when faced with the reality of martyrdom and might give in, so damaging the common sense.«[70] Nach katholischer Auffassung drohten bei freiwilligem Martyriumseifer Eitelkeit und selbstgefälliges Sich-Rühmen.[71]

1.2.2. *Hintergrund: Der Martyriumseifer des Ignatius von Antiochien*[72]

Dabei scheint die entscheidende Grenzlinie zwischen einem »desiring and provoking martyrdom«[73] zu verlaufen. Ignatius von Antiochien befindet sich offenbar exakt in diesem Grenzbereich, wenn er etwa IgnRöm 4,1 formulieren kann: ἐγὼ ἑκὼν (vgl. MartPol 4) ὑπὲρ θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω, ἐάνπερ ὑμεῖς μὴ κωλύσητε. Solches Verlangen stand montanistischer Interpretation zumindestens offen und ein solcher (mißverstandener) Ignatianismus könnte dem späteren montanistischen Martyriumseifer jedenfalls förderlich gewesen sein: »Hat Ignatius sein Verlangen nach dem Tod im Martyrium so weit getrieben, daß er es bewußt herbeiführte, so befindet er sich damit jedenfalls im Gegensatz zum Durchschnittsbewußtsein der Kirche. Hervorragende Christen haben sich dem Zeugentod entweder selbst durch die Flucht entzogen oder doch ein solches Entweichen gebilligt.«[74] »It is clear, ..., that, in orthodox theology, the dividing line centred on the arrest. Christians, even if personally convinced through a vision that God wanted them to be martyrs, should not hand themselves over. ... But any action on the part of individuals *before the arrest* which drew attention to themselves and which, as a corollary, endangered the whole Christian community was denounced as reckless provocation.«[75]

Ignatius aber scheint noch diesseits der Grenze zu stehen; denn »ob aus dem ἑκών herauszulesen ist, daß Ign sich mit Absicht zum Martyrium gedrängt und den Konflikt mit der Behörde selbst gesucht hat, bleibt ungewiß. Andernfalls würde das ἑκών die Bedeutung von 'gerne' haben.«[76] Sehnsucht (desiring) nach dem Martyrium scheint erlaubt, standhaftes Bekennen gefordert. Jedenfalls kann auch der Ignatius-Schüler Polykarp seine Sehnsucht dankbar formulieren: εὐλογῶ σε, ὅτι ἠξίωσάς με τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ταύτης (MartPol 14,2), sein Martyrium wie

Ignatius als Gott wohlgefälliges Opfer begreifen (MartPol 14 / IgnRöm 4,1f) und christologisch interpretieren[77] sowie seine Standhaftigkeit ausdrücken: Χριστιανός εἰμι (MartPol 10,1; 12,1.2). MartPol weist somit einige Affinität zur Theologie des Ignatius von Antiochia auf.

Neben den deutlichen Gemeinsamkeiten[78] dürfen aber auch die Differenzen zum Martyriumsverständnis des Ignatius nicht übersehen werden; zumindestens in viererlei Hinsicht präzisiert und korrigiert MartPol den Lehrer Ignatius: a) Das bei Ignatius positiv besetzte und schillernde ἐκών[79] wird in MartPol 4 negativ gewertet und freiwilliges Hindrängen zum Martyrium verurteilt. b) Ignatius höchst individuelle Aussagen zum Martyrium angesichts des bevorstehenden Märtyrertods, die ihn ein gutes Stück weit von der Gemeinde isolieren[80] und dem latenten Egoismus von Enthusiasten und mißverständlicher Verallgemeinerung auf alle Christen zumindestens offenstanden, werden in MartPol deutlich gemeinschaftlich und altruistisch relativiert: μὴ μόνον ἑαυτὸν θέλειν σώζεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς (MartPol 1,2). Die ἀγάπη, auch ein Zentralbegriff bei Ignatius (Röm 2,2; 7,2; Phld 5,1 u.ö.) wird von daher definiert. Die mystische Einigung (ἕνωσις) mit dem πάθος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ bei Ignatius weicht der paränetischen Orientierung eines μιμεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Χριστοῦ im MartPol (19,1). c) Jenes ignatianische Gleichwerden mit Christus (IgnRöm 2,1; 4,1f u.ö.),[81] das eine Unterlegenheit des Märtyrers unter die Person Christi als des Vorbilds in der Parallelität des Geschehens zumindest nicht ausdrücklich wahrt, erfährt von MartPol 17,3 her Kritik, wo die Unterscheidung zwischen Gottes Sohn und den Märtyrern deutlich hervorgehoben wird: »Imitation could be understood as identification with Christ (cf. Ignatius; Martyrdom of Lyon). But in MPol the study of the formulae 'as the Lord' and 'according to the gospel' indicate another understanding: the martyrdom is an expression of the will of God. The tendency of MPol is precisely to make a distinction between the martyr and Christ (Ch. 17) and to indicate the correct attitude in persecution ....«[82] d) Der Unruhe des Ignatius (IgnTrall 4,1f; Röm 7,1 u.ö.) steht die ruhige Gelassenheit Polykarps gegenüber (MartPol 6,2 u.ö.).

Die orthodoxe Position steht zwischen Leidensscheu auf der einen und Martyriumssucht auf der anderen Seite. Noch Clemens von Alexandrien grenzt sich »in seinem Martyriumsverständnis von zwei von ihm verurteilten Verhaltensweisen ab, in denen man entweder dem blutigen Martyrium auswich oder zu ihm drängte (*Stromata* IV,4,16,3/17,4).«[83] Ein Provozieren des Martyriums (provoking) allerdings lehnt der

Ignatius-Schüler Polykarp betont ab (MartPol 4).[84] »Insofern Polykarp sich nicht freiwillig zum Martyrium gedrängt hat, sondern wie Jesus außerhalb der Stadt auf die Häscher wartete, dient das Thema des evangeliumsgemäßen Martyriums auch der Begründung der Ablehnung des Hindrängens zum Märtyrertod.«[85] Dem Eifer und der Eile des Quintus setzt MartPol betont die überlegte Gelassenheit und Langsamkeit des weisen Polykarp entgegen (MartPol 7f).[86] »So sehr der Verfasser des Martyriums das Bild des Ignatius überhaupt und seine Nachahmung des Opfertods Jesu speziell verehrte, in diesem Punkt des krankhaften Märtyrertriebs meinte er es durch das 'evangelische' Leidensbild Polykarps ergänzen zu müssen.«[87]

1.2.3. *Der Martyriumseifer in den montanistischen Orakeln*

»Gefährlich wurde die montanistische Bewegung den Gemeinden durch eine ungezügelte Sucht nach dem Martyrium, die geeignet war, die Behörden zu reizen, — Flucht in der Verfolgung galt den Montanisten als feige und wurde verboten.«[88] Der Martyriumseifer erscheint dabei als Bestandteil des missionarischen Eifers der Montanisten überhaupt (Eus., *HistEccl* V,3,4; V,14; V,16,4; Epiphan., *Pan* 51,33). Insofern spielt Öffentlichkeit und Glorifizierung des Herrn in den montanistischen Orakeln zum Martyrium[89] eine Rolle: »13. Tertullian, *de fuga* 9.4 (CSEL 76, ed. Bulhart, p. 32): *Spiritum vero si consulas, quid magis sermone illo Spiritus probat? Namque omnes paene ad martyrium exhorta(n)tur, non ad fugam, ut et illius commemoremur: »Publicaris,« inquit, »bonum tibi est; qui enim non publicatur in hominibus, publicatur in Domino. Ne confundaris, iustitia te producit in medium. Quid confunderis laudem ferens? Potestas fit, cum conspiceris ab hominibus.«* 14. Ibid.: *Sic et alibi: »Nolite in lectulis nec in aborsibus et febribus mollibus optare exire, sed in martyriis, uti glorificetur qui est passus pro vobis.«* Cf. Tertullian, *de anima* 55.5 (ed. Waszink (Amsterdam, 1947) p. 74): *»Si pro deo occumbas, ut paracletus monet, non in mollibus febribus et in lectulis, sed in martyriis, si crucem tuam tollas et sequaris dominum, ut ipse praecepit. Tota paradisi clavis tuus sanguis est.«* «[90] Diese echt[91] montanistischen Orakel, die Tertullian zitiert,[92] zeigen, wie erstrebenswert der öffentliche Tod um des Glaubens willen den Montanisten war und wie ein Ausweichen vor dem Martyrium abgelehnt wird.

Die kritischen Beziehungen des MartPol zu diesen Orakeln belegen gleichermaßen deren Authentizität[93] wie die innere Auseinandersetzung des MartPol mit der Martyriumssucht: Zu *»potestas fit«* vgl. MartPol 2,2c: ὅτι παρεστὼς ὁ κύριος ὡμίλει αὐτοῖς sowie MartPol 9,1: ἴσχυε, Πολύκαρπε, καὶ ἀνδρίζου; zu *»laudem ferens«* vgl. kritisch MartPol 1,1: μὴ μόνον σκοποῦντες τὸ καθ' ἑαυτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς πέλας (Indem wir nicht nur unser eigenes Geschick, sondern auch das der Nächsten im Auge haben (Phil 2,4)); zu *»non ad fugam«* vgl. kritisch MartPol 1,1: περιέμενεν γάρ, ἵνα παραδοθῇ, ὡς καὶ ὁ κύριος, 5,1: ὑπεξῆλθεν εἰς ἀγρίδιον (vgl. 6,1; 7,1); zu *»sequaris dominum«* vgl. μιμητής MartPol 1,2; 17,3; 19,1; zu *»uti glorificetur«* vgl. MartPol 19,2 δοξάζει τὸν θεόν;[94] zu *»paradisi«* vgl. MartPol 2,3; zu *»publicatur in hominibus«* vgl. MartPol 3,2: πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος; 9,2: εἰς πάντα τὸν ὄχλον (vgl. 12,2).

»Perhaps the figures of Polycarp and Quintus, ... , reflect the attitudes of two different groups in Asia who were both attempting to take seriously the view of voluntary martyrdom in Ignatius. Quintus represents an attitude which is one step beyond Ignatius, that is, from a willingness for martyrdom after apprehension and conviction to a willingness for martyrdom prior to apprehension and conviction. Polycarp represents an attitude in tension with that of Ignatius. Initially Polycarp desired to stay in the city and wait for the authorities. This attitude reveals a willingness to be a martyr before apprehension. Yet Polycarp was persuaded to flee from the authorities and leave the city. In light of the above, it seems to me quite likely that the view of voluntary martyrdom in the New Prophecy was in part a product of the influence which Ignatius' attitude toward martyrdom must have exerted on the churches in the province of Asia.«[95]

1.2.4. *Der traditionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund der montanistischen Martyriums-Orakel*

Wie sehr es dabei um die Auslegung des Evangeliums, um die Auslegung von Schrift κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (MartPol) im Hinblick auf das Martyriumsverhalten in einer neuen geschichtlichen Situation in Kleinasien geht, zeigt ein formgeschichtlicher Vergleich des montanistischen Orakels: D.E. Groh[96] hat auf die Schrift-Zitation in montanistischen Orakeln aufmerksam gemacht. In der Tat transportiert auch das von Tertullian wiedergegebene Orakel[97] Schrifttradition von der »Freude im Leiden«[98] und interpretiert diese Tradition im Sinne einer Aufforderung

zu öffentlichem Bekenntnis (»*Publicaris ... in Domino*«) und zu einem Leiden-Wollen im Martyrium: »*nolite in lectulis ... optare exire, sed in martyriis ...* .«

Die Auseinandersetzung betrifft die rechte Auslegung von Tradition und damit eine Auslegung κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, wie sie im MartPol zentral ist. Die urchristliche Verfolgungstradition stellt sich in ihrem Schema »außerordentlich variabel«[99] dar: Ähnlich Mt 5,11f; Lk 6,22f; 1 Petr 4,13f; Jac 1,2.12[100] entspricht dem Zuruf des Heils »*bonum tibi est*« (vgl. Mt 5,11f: μακάριοί ἐστε) die Bedingung (Verfolgung) »*publicaris*« (vgl. Mt 5,11f: ὅταν ὀνειδίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ διώξωσιν καὶ εἴπωσιν πᾶν πονηρὸν καθ' ὑμῶν (ψευδόμενοι) ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ) und die Begründung »*qui enim non publicatur in hominibus, publicatur in Domino*« als Strafe, nicht als Lohn formuliert (vgl. Mt 5,11f: ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς) korrespondiert mit einem Aufruf zur Freude bzw. Zuversicht »*ne confundaris ... cum conspiceris ab hominibus*« (vgl. Mt 5,11f: χαίρετε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε). Die Verfolgungstradition dient »zur 'Bewährung des Christen im Leiden'.«[101] Diese Verfolgungstradition wird nun aber in montanistischem Zusammenhang dazu benutzt, aus ihr die Verpflichtung zu gewolltem Martyrium abzuleiten:[102] »*nolite in lectulis ...*«. Nur im montanistischen Orakel zieht das »desiring« ein »provoking martyrdom« fast automatisch nach sich, weil die Sehnsucht nach dem Martyrium weder individualistisch verengt (vgl. aber IgnRöm 2,1; 4,1f)[103] noch durch die Aufforderung zur Flucht gebrochen wird (vgl. aber Mt 10,23; 23,34),[104] noch auch die Sehnsucht nach dem Martyrium eindeutig auf die Zeit nach der Verhaftung eingeschränkt wird (vgl. IgnRöm 4,3: Ignatius' Verlangen nach dem Martyrium läßt ihn ja gerade befürchten, von der Gemeinde freigekauft zu werden: IgnRöm 1,2; 4,1; 6,2f).[105] So zieht denn Tertullian konsequent aus dem Orakel in *de fuga* 9,4 das Fazit: *namque omnes paene ad martyrium exhorta(n)tur, non ad fugam*«. »Tertullian, ..., understood this ... as virtually encouraging voluntary martyrdom. He commented, 'It incites all almost to go and offer themselves in martyrdom' (ibid.) and used it to bolster his argument that one ought not to flee from persecution.«[106] Tabbernees Schlußfolgerung ist allerdings unzulässig: »But, once again, Tertullian's interpretation must be questioned. The oracle itself goes no further than encouraging those who had already been arrested (...) to endure to the end ... .« Vielmehr fordert die Aussage »*publicaris, bonum tibi est; qui enim non publicatur in hominibus, publicatur in Domino*« doch zum öffentlichen Bekennen (und insofern zum freiwilligen Martyrium) auf;

sie hat imperativischen und nicht indikativischen Charakter. Tabbernee übersetzt falsch, »you are publicly exposed; this is good for you, for you (?) are not publicly exposed before men, but before the Lord«[107] was zu einer indikativischen Deutung führt. Im Lateinischen liegt aber Personenwechsel vor (*publicaris/publicatur*), so daß im Englischen übersetzt werden muß: »... for he who is not exposed among men is exposed in the Lord«.[108]

Wieder ist es nur ein kleiner Schritt vom »desiring« (nach der Verhaftung) zum »provoking martyrdom« (vor der Verhaftung). Matthäus jedenfalls ist diesen Schritt nicht gegangen und hat die Verfolgungstradition nicht als zwingenden Beleg für gesuchtes Martyrium verstanden, wenn er in Mt 10,23; 23,34 bewußt die Flucht innerhalb der Verfolgungstradition empfiehlt[109] und damit zugleich verdeutlicht, wie sehr diese Tradition einer Interpretation auf gesuchtes Martyrium hin offenstand. Demzufolge geht es in der montanistischen Krise entscheidend um die Interpretation von Tradition und Schrift[110] und die κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον-Stilisierung des MartPol erfährt von daher neues Profil.

Mithin ist der traditionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund der Märtyrertheologie mit J. Perkins[111] weniger in einer historisch-faktischen flächigen Verfolgung der frühen Christenheit durch den römischen Staat zu suchen; denn »persecution in the second century appears to have been in T.D. Barnes' words 'local, sporadic and random'. Persecutions could arise from local animosity, but Christians were seldom sought out by authorities for persecution.«[112] Noch immer aber wird in der Erforschung der frühchristlichen Märtyrerliteratur so historistisch angesetzt,[113] nach einem historisch authentischen Protokoll-Kern in der Märtyrerliteratur gefahndet und völlig unbeachtet gelassen, daß »it is significant, that Christian discussions of persecution and martyrdom occur so often in the form of letters... The proper interpretation of these second-century Christian letters is to see them as world-maintaining documents, vigorously constructing and projecting a social world whose ethos centers on experiencing pain and suffering«:[114] MartPol, Ignatius, MartLugd etc. »What did this ethos mean for the individual Christian?...it appears that this contempt for death did, at times, verge on its pursuit.«[115] Von da aus liegt dann der Wunsch nach freiwilligem Martyrium nahe wie er in den montanistischen Martyriumsorakeln und in einer Reihe (montanistisch geprägter) frühchristlicher Märtyrerakten belegt ist.[116] Wenn das Martyrium als soziales Ritual verstanden wird, mit dem der/die Märtyer/in innerhalb des Zentrums der christlichen

Gruppe verbleiben kann, dann ist die Sehnsucht nach dem Martyrium und das freiwillige Sich-Ausliefern eine folgerichtige Option zur Bestätigung des christlichen Ethos und der christlichen Weltsicht.[117] Das bestätigt die innerchristliche Aussageabsicht der frühen Märtyrertexte.[118]

Nach W. Nauck[119] hat »die Tradition über die Freude im Verfolgungsleiden ... im Judentum ihren historischen Sitz im Leben höchstwahrscheinlich in der Situation der Frommen zur Zeit der Makkabäerkämpfe«, womit im Hinblick auf das montanistische Orakel Tert. *de fuga* 9,4 erneut eine Bestätigung judenchristlich-apokalyptischer[120] — und nicht phrygischer[121] oder gnostischer[122] Provenienz der »Neuen Prophetie« vorliegt.

1.2.5. *Der Bruch zwischen Montanismus und katholischer Kirche hinsichtlich des Martyriumsverständnisses*

In neuer historischer Situation in Kleinasien[123] wird die Auseinandersetzung um und die Interpretation von Tradition zwingend[124] und führt zu einer »significant crisis among the churches of Asia. In a time when provincials were probably taking the initiative against Christians, a policy of open confrontation on the part of the church would certainly have seemed ill-advised to some church-leaders.«[125] Auf dieser Ebene wird der Bruch zwischen katholischer Kirche und montanistischem Rigorismus von MartPol her vermutet werden dürfen, — zumal die sonstige Orthodoxie des Montanismus[126] keinen Anlaß für eine Verurteilung ergab. »I shall argue that the primary conflict between the New Prophecy and its opponents was about how one should respond to the threat of provincial persecution and what attitude to take towards the lapsed.«[127] Die Frage »primitive Montanism: why condemned?«[128] erhält von hier her neues Licht: wo rigoristische Ethik faktisch zum Selbstmord des Christentums führen kann, muß verantwortliche Kirchenleitung eingreifen. »... the New Prophecy in Asia Minor ... was not rejected by the church because it was theologically unorthodox. The New Prophecy was rejected because in the new situation in which Christians were openly pursued, it took a position on martyrdom which the church deemed to be suicidal, irrational and destructive to the life of the church.«[129] MartPol zeigt dabei das Modell eines evangeliumsgemäßen Martyriums auf, das gleichermaßen Flucht vor der Verfolgung ein- wie montanistisches Drängen zum Martyrium ausschließt und gerade dadurch zu rechter Standhaftigkeit ermahnt: »the example of Quintus

teaches that voluntary martyrdom is not necessarily an expression of the Spirit; it is an expression of human impulsiveness and not of courage. Its end is apostasy and the loss of salvation.«[130] Wie zu allen Zeiten keimt der Fundamentalismus[131] in historischen Krisensituationen auf, versucht durch Rigorismus Kontrolle über die kriselnde Gegenwart zu gewinnen und mit Rückbesinning auf und Neuinterpretation von (hier: ignatianischer) (Verfolgungs-) Tradition Gegenwart zu bewältigen.[132]

Damit ist nicht gesagt, daß die Verurteilung der Neuen Prophetie allein in deren Martyriumsenthusiasmus wurzelt. Die besondere Rolle der Frauen ist wiederholt angeführt, von Jensen[133] aber nicht als entscheidender Stein des Anstoßes gewertet worden. Sie sieht in den »Konflikten um die Autorität in der Kirche«[134] den entscheidenden Dissens. Gerade hier in der Ämterfrage aber scheinen die Märtyrer/innen neben den Prophet/inn/en, — vgl. nur die Kennzeichnung des Märtyrers und Bischofs Polykarp mit prophetischen Gaben (MartPol 12,3; 16,2) —, wieder eine entscheidende Rolle zu spielen im »Konflikt zwischen charismatisch legitimierten Autoritäten und gewählten Amtsträgern«.[135] MartPol kombiniert im Märtyrer-Bischop Polykarp in polemischer Weise bewußt beides miteinader (vgl. schon Ignatius).

Gleichzeitig aber kann die Bischofs- und Ämterfrage nicht der entscheidende Dissens zwischen Montanismus und frühkatholischer Kirche gewesen sein; denn mit Klawiter[136] ist festzustellen: »... if ... the monarchial episcopate as ecclesiastical office existed in the early second century rather than in the middle of the second century, then Ritschl would have to explain why it took about fifty years before there was a prophetic reaction against the monarchial episcopate as church office.« Der Blick auf MartPol 4 und die Bedeutung des Märtyrerenthusiasmus zwingen »to relate the origin of Montanism to the political environment of the Roman empire as well as to the environment of the evolution of the catholic church.«[137]

1.2.6. *Weitere Indizien für den Martyriumseifer der frühen Montanisten*

Jedenfalls haben im ältesten Montanismus die Märtyrer eine besondere Rolle gespielt,[138] — auch das belegt die Bedeutung der Frage nach dem freiwilligen Martyrium in der Neuen Prophetie, deren eschatologische Grundeinstellung jede Bindung an diese Welt (durch Ehelosigkeit, Fasten etc.) in Frage stellen muß.[139]

Auch erklärt nur die Hochschätzung des Martyriums in der Neuen

Prophetie »why women could attain ministerial status within its ranks.«[140] »What better explains the origin of the ministerial status of women in the New Prophecy than that they too, as released confessors, retained the priestly power which had been given them by virtue of confession and imprisonment? The conclusion is almost unavoidable: in the New Prophecy of Asia Minor, women received ministerial status because suffering in prison for the name was a form of martyrdom; such suffering allowed one to participate in the 'power of martyrdom' — that is the priestly power of the keys.«[141] Immerhin könnte man die Tatsache, daß im MartPol, anders als in den meisten uns überlieferten Martyrien der frühen Zeit, keine einzige Frau als Märtyrerin überliefert ist, als anti-montanistische polemische Tendenz deuten.[142]

Darüberhinaus erhellt sich die Bedeutung des Martyriums im Montanismus möglicherweise schon aus einem christlichen Martyriums-Enthusiasmus wie er schon 1 Kor 13,3 begegnet, wenn denn hier auf einen selbstgesuchten Märyrertod durch Verbrennung angespielt ist.[143] Der anti-charismatische Kontext 1 Kor 12 und 14 läßt solche Vermutung jedenfalls aufkommen[144] und die Nähe der korinthischen Irrlehrer zum späteren Montanismus ist schon immer gesehen worden.[145] Die spätere Auslegung von 1. Kor 13,3 durch Tertull., *AdvPrax* 1[146] bestätigt die martyriumsenthusiastische Interpretation, wenn es von Praxeas heißt: »*...insuper de iactatione martyrii inflatus ob solum et simplex et breve carceris taedium; quando, et si corpus suum tradidisset exurendum, nihil profecisset, dilectionem dei non habens, cuius charismata quoque expugnavit.*« (Er war zudem hochmütig und prahlte mit dem Martyrium um eines einmaligen, einfachen und kurzen Überdrusses des Gefangenseins willen, bei dem er, selbst wenn er seinen Körper zur Verbrennung geopfert hätte, nichts gewonnen hätte, da er die Liebe Gottes nicht besaß, dessen Gnadengaben er auch vernichtete.)

Schließlich steht ein von W.M. Calder[147] notierter kleinasiatischer Inschriftenfund einer Interpretation auf Drang zum Märtyrertod immerhin offen,[148] auch wenn eine solche Interpretation nicht zwingend ist und Calder selbst einen solchen Zusammenhang nicht thematisiert hat.[149] Dort heißt es auf einem von Eltern für ihre Tochter Ammia errichteten Grabstein: πῶς θάνες ἥδε; τί σπεύδουσ' ἔθανες.[150] (Warum starbst du so früh? Warum bemühtest du dich eilig zu sterben?) Die Eltern beklagen τὴν σὴν ἀωρότηταν καὶ ἀθαλάμευτον ἡλικίην ihrer Tochter (ihren vorzeitigen Tod und ihre unverheiratete Jugend) und ihre heftige Leidenschaft, sterben zu wollen: τὴν οἶστρος θανάτοιο λάβεν. Endlich

erscheint die Tochter den Eltern am neunten Tag nach ihrem Tod, um sie zu trösten.[151] Und von ihrem Tod heißt es: ἀλλ' ἔμ' ἐδικέωσε σωτὴρ ἐμὸς 'Ιησοῦσ Χριστός· ἐώνιον ἥματι τούτω κῦδος ὀνηθεῖσα διὰ πρεσβυτέρου χειρῶν βάπτισμα λαβοῦσα ἔνδικον τιμὴν παρθενίης· ἁγνὴ παρθένος ἦλθον πίστιν ἀπινοῦσα· φῶς ἀέναον ἔχουσα Ναυατῶν[152] ἁγίων δὲ μένουσα.[153] (Aber mein Retter Jesus Christus hat mich gerechtfertigt. An diesem Tag habe ich ewigen Ruhm erworben, aus des Presbyters Hand habe ich die Taufe empfangen, ein Vorrecht der Jungfrau. Ich kam in den Himmel als heilige Jungfrau, den Glauben unbefleckt gehalten, im Besitz des ewigen Lichts, verbleibend unter den Novatianischen Heiligen.) Die Inschrift formuliert dann selbstkritisch die Trägheit (des Glaubens) der Eltern und deren Verhalten: πατὴρ γὰρ ἐμὸς πολύοκνος αἰδέ τε μήτηρ ἀργὴ μορμύξαντες ἄτην ἐμὴν νεικοῦσι· παρθενίην Χριστῷ γὰρ ἐκδοῦσα πένθος ἄτλητον ἔθηκα. (Denn mein träger Vater und meine faule Mutter versuchten, mich zu schrecken und meine Vernarrtheit zu tadeln. Durch das Ausliefern meiner Jungfräulichkeit an Christus brachte ich ihnen unerträgliche Trauer.) Endlich wird deutlich, daß auch Ammias Schwager Kyriakos tot ist.

Alle diese Elemente stehen einer Interpretation in Martyriumskontext and Drängen zum Martyrium mindestens offen, — wenngleich sie nicht explizit davon zeugen.

»Sicher montanistisch«[154] belegt archäologisch eine Inschrift den heiligen Trophimos als Märtyrer.[155]

Dehandschutter sieht das Martyriumsverständnis des MartPol κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον »as a concrete answer to the gnostic challenge«[156] und beruft sich u.a. auf die Epistula Jacobi Apocrypha (NHC I,2; dort besonders: 5,27-29; 6,1-20) »and its stress on voluntary martyrdom«.[157] Nun ist der gnostische Charakter dieser in der Sammlung gnostischer Quellen aufgefundenen Schrift bereits früh in Frage gestellt worden,[158] wird von C. Scholten als eine »nichtgnostische Vorstufe hinsichtlich gnostischer Leidensdeutung« und als nichtgnostisches Zeugnis für präsentische Eschatologie erkannt[159] und J. v. der Vliet[160] hat jüngst deutliche Beziehungen zum MartPol und zum Montanismus herausgestellt, so daß ein Bezug von MartPol und Montanismus auch von hierher bestätigt wird. — Die Frage, wie das Himmelreich zu erlangen ist (2:22ff), beantwortet EpJac mit Ermahnung zu eifrigem Bemühen um spirituelle Perfektion (3:9ff) und um gesuchtes Martyrium (4,23-6,20).[161] Dabei ergeben sich Gemeinsamkeiten mit MartPol: Auf die Nähe von 5:27-29 (Leiden einer einzigen Stunde) zu MartPol 2,3a hat Dehandschutter bereits verwie-

sen,[162] der die Märtyrer beschützende Geist in Form einer Mauer findet sich 5:21-23 und in MartPol 15,2 und 14,2 (ἀφθαρσία)[163] und die wahrhaft göttliche Sphäre kann weder gehört noch gesehen werden (15:9-11.16-18.27f vgl. MartPol 2,3b; 1 Kor 2,9). — Gleichzeitig verfolgen MartPol und EpJac eine tendenziell diametral entgegengesetzte Tendenz: EpJac ermahnt zum Trachten nach dem Tode (6:6f vgl. aber MartPol 4) ohne (Fremd-)Aufforderung (7:11f), fordert Beeilung und eifriges Bemühen um Selbsterlösung (7:10ff vgl. aber Polykarps Antiσπουδή in MartPol 5,2 u.ö.), verbietet die Flucht vor dem Martyrium (11:20-29 vgl. aber MartPol 5,1; 6,1) und sieht das Martyrium als Nachfolge des erhöhten Christus (vgl. aber MartPol: κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον des irdischen Herrn). Zugleich verknüpft EpJac die Bereiche Martyriumseifer und Prophetie miteinander (4:23-6:20/6:21-7:1), wobei die Deutung der EpJac »no more prophecy is possible« durch Vliet[164] keineswegs zwingend erscheint und damit nicht anti-, sondern eher promontanistisch gedeutet werden darf, wofür grundsätzlich auch die Verbindung der Themen Prophetie und gesuchtes Martyrium spricht. Denn im Kontext von EpJac signalisiert die Enthauptung des Johannes nur das Ende der alten Prophetie, nach dem der irdische, sarkische Jesus auftrat und also gar nicht verstanden werden konnte, da die Zeit der Prophetie vorbei war. Jetzt erst beginnt quasi die »Neue Prophetie«![165] Dann aber würde EpJac einheitlich montanistisches Martyriums- und Prophetieverständnis propagieren.

1.3. *Die Begründung des Tadels:* οὐχ οὕτως διδάσκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον

1.3.1. *Die Kategorie* κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον *als zentraler Bestandteil des MartPol*

Mit der Begründung des Tadels des freiwilligen Hindrängens zum Martyrium durch den Phryger Quintus ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οὕτως διδάσκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον greift MartPol auf eine zentrale Kategorie zurück, die das MartPol prägend durchzieht[166] und die keineswegs als sekundäre Euangelion-Redaktion ausgegrenzt werden kann.[167] Vielmehr erhält die literarkritisch nicht ausgrenzbare durchgängige κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον-Stilisierung des MartPol von der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Montanismus her verstärktes Gewicht; rankt sich doch die Konfrontation mit dem Montanismus stets auch um die Bildung von verbindlicher Tradition gegenüber immer neuen Offenbarungen bzw. Offenbarungsträgern

sowie um die Kanonsfrage.[168] Mithin erscheint ein Element κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον in der Auseinandersetzung zentral. Auch die das MartPol literarkritisch zerstückelnden Ansätze von Campenhausens und Conzelmanns sehen das zu Recht: »Mit der Tendenz gegen Drängen zum Martyrium trifft sich die Episode (=MartPol 4/Quintus) mit der Euangelion-Redaktion 2,1.«[169]

Die Bedeutung des zentralen Rückverweises auf die Kategorie κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Montanismus wird am ehesten deutlich durch einen Vergleich mit der promontanistischen Ein- und Ausleitung des MartPerp 1,1-5 und 21,5:[170] Hier findet sich im Gegensatz zur (antimontanistischen) Aufforderung der Nachfolge in ein evangeliumsgemäßes Martyrium in MartPol der (promontanistische) Hinweis auf die nova fidei exempla der Märtyrerinnen und ihrer Visionen. MartPol will kein novum fidei exemplum aufzeigen, sondern die Kontinuität zur Tradition κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον darstellen; das neue Martyrium Polykarps gleicht dem alten Martyrium Jesu Christi κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Der alte und für die Rechtgläubigkeit schlechthin stehende Bischof Polykarp[171] verbürgt solche Tradition. Der montanistische Geist (spiritus) hingegen wirkt in neuen fidei exempla und in neuen Prophezeiungen. Vgl. die interessante Einleitung des Anonymus (Eus., *HistEccl* V, 16,3)[172] in sein Werk: »...οὐκ ἀπορίᾳ τοῦ δύνασθαι ἐλέγχειν μὲν τὸ ψεῦδος, μαρτυρεῖν δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, δεδιὼς δὲ καὶ ἐξευλαβούμενος μή πῃ δόξω τισὶν ἐπισυγγράφειν ἢ ἐπιδιατάσσεσθαι τῷ τῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καινῆς διαθήκης λόγῳ, ᾧ μήτε προσθεῖναι μήτε ἀφελεῖν δυνατὸν τῷ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτὸ πολιτεύεσθαι προῃρημένῳ.[173] (... nicht aus Unvermögen, die Lüge zu widerlegen und für die Wahrheit einzutreten, sondern aus Furcht und Besorgnis, ich möchte vielleicht da und dort den Schein erwecken, als wollte ich dem Worte der neutestamentlichen Frohbotschaft etwas ergänzend beifügen, da doch keiner, der entschlossen ist, nach diesem Evangelium zu leben, etwas beifügen noch abstreichen darf.) In montanistischer Auseinandersetzung erhält die zentrale Kategorie κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον von daher im MartPol betontes Gewicht.

1.3.2. *Die Kategorie* κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον *als kritisches Element in der antimontanistischen Auseinandersetzung*

Fast alle authentischen montanistischen Orakel weisen ein betontes ἐγώ auf, das sich in besonderer Verbindung mit dem Göttlichen weiß: ... Μοντανὸς οὕτως λέγων »ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ καταγινόμενος

ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ« (Epiph., *Pan* 48,11; vgl. 48,2,4; 48,12,4; 48,13,1; 49,1).[174] 'Εγώ εἰμι ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ὁ παράκλητος (Didymus, *de trinitatis* 3,41,1). 'Εγὼ ὁ θεός εἰμι ἢ θεοῦ παῖς ἢ πνεῦμα θεῖον (Origenes, *contra Celsum* 7,9). »Die Sprüche des Montanus beanspruchen Offenbarungsautorität.«[175] Dieser selbstmächtige Anspruch,[176] der auch in späterer Zeit noch als das entscheidende Merkmal des Montanismus kritisiert wird,[177] korrespondiert der Überheblichkeit des Phrygers Quintus in MartPol 4 und kontrastiert in auffälliger Weise mit der Kategorie κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, die gerade von sich selbst weg- und auf den Herrn und den Nächsten hinweist: μὴ μόνον ἑαυτὸν θέλειν σώζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς. Μακάρια μὲν οὖν καὶ γενναῖα τὰ μαρτύρια πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονότα (MartPol 1,2; 2,1) (... nicht nur sich selbst retten zu wollen, sondern auch alle Brüder. Selig und ehrwürdig sind alle Martyrien, die nach dem Willen Gottes geschehen sind). Noch Theodoret[178] berichtet von den Montanistinnen: αἱ δὲ τῆς Πρισκίλλης καὶ Μαξιμίλλης προφητεῖαι ὑπὲρ τὸ θεῖον εὐαγγέλιον τετίμηνται παρ' αὐτοῖς. Die Kategorie κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον verweist auf die Kraft und den Geist des Evangeliums (und der Apostel), die neuen Prophetien auf die eigene Kraft in Verbindung mit dem H1. Geist: *»hi adventum Spiritus sancti non in apostolis, sed in se traditum asserunt«*.[179]

Auch in Polykarps Märtyrerverhalten kommt der κύριος zum Ausdruck, wenn es von den standhaften Märtyrern heißt »ὁ κύριος ὡμίλει αὐτοῖς« (MartPol 2,2), wenn Polykarp durch eine Himmelstimme bestärkt wird (MartPol 9,1) und die Märtyrer ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τοῦ κυρίου gelobt werden (MartPol 17,3). Und doch besteht ein feiner bedeutsamer Unterschied zu dem selbstmächtigen Anspruch der Montanisten »ἐγὼ κύριος...«; denn im MartPol ist der κύριος Jesus Christus κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, in der Neuen Prophetie hingegen behauptet Montanus »ἐγὼ κύριος«. Im MartPol ist mit dem Rückverweis auf das Evangelium das richtige Märtyrerverhalten beschrieben; in der Neuen Prophetie behauptet Maximilla im Vorverweis von sich μετ' ἐμὲ ... συντέλεια.[180] Im MartPol kommt Christus ganz und gar vermittelt in Evangeliumsanspielungen[181] in Polykarp zum Ausdruck, in der Neuen Prophetie behauptet Maximilla unvermittelt von sich »ἐμοῦ μὴ ἀκούσητε, ἀλλὰ Χριστοῦ ἀκούσατε«[182] oder Quintilla »... ἦλθε πρός με Χριστὸς καὶ ἐνέβαλεν ἐν ἐμοὶ τὴν σοφίαν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψέ μοι ... .[183] Im MartPol liegt Heil und Rettung in Jesus Christus κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, die Neue Prophetie behauptet von sich: ἐγὼ ὁ θεός εἰμι ἢ θεοῦ παῖς ἢ πνεῦμα θεῖον ... ἐγὼ δὲ σῶσαι θέλω.[184] Die Gegner der Neuen Prophetie stießen sich scheinbar weit weniger am

Inhalt der Prophetien als an dem darin deutlich werdenden selbstmächtigen Anspruch, der andere kirchliche Autoritäten in Frage stellte.[185]

Während sich bei Ignatius eine annähernde Deckungsgleichheit zwischen Märtyrer und Christus ergibt, während Blandina und Perpetua starke Identifikationen mit Christus aufweisen und EpJac sogar zum Übertreffen Christi auffordert, ist hinsichtlich MartPol zu beachten: Die Parallelen zur Leidensgeschichte Jesu κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον sind in MartPol »nie völlig deckungsgleich, so daß der gebührende Abstand zwischen Polykarp und Jesus Christus gewahrt wird. Dieses Vorgehen ist so auffällig, daß anzunehmen ist, daß es bewußt vom Autor gewählt wurde.«[186]

Hippolyts spätere Auseinandersetzung mit dem Montanismus wird in Kontinuität dieser kritischen Kategorie κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον stehen: Ταῦτα συμβαίνει τοῖς ἰδιώταις καὶ ἐλαφροῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅσοι ταῖς μὲν γραφαῖς ἀκριβῶς οὐ προσέχουσιν ... ἵνα τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐαγγέλιον ἀτιμάσωσιν.[187] (Solches geschieht ungebildeten und einfachen Menschen, die den Schriften keine sorgfältige Beachtung schenken ..., so daß sie das Evangelium Christi nicht achten.) »He stresses the importance of basing everything on the authority of Scripture in opposition to giving credence to visions and dreams. He considered prophecy to have ended.«[188] Die Montanisten »go astray by paying more attention to the words of Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla than to the Gospels (*Haer.* 10.25). The crux of the Montanist question for Hippolytus was the issue of additional revelation. The Muratorian Canon ... rejected the Shephard of Hermas ... Joined with Hippolytus' views, it suggests that there was little sympathy for contemporary prophecy at Rome in the late second and early third centuries.«[189]

Ähnliches gilt vom antimontanistischen Anonymus des Eus., *HistEccl* V,16f: »Was indessen im Tun und Treiben eines Montanus, einer Maximilla und deren Gefolgsleute sichtbar wird, kann schlechterdings nur als Pseudoprophetie bezeichnet werden (16,4). Vollzieht es sich doch in mehr als bedenklichen Formen; Verzückung (κατοχή) und παρέκστασις (Ekstase) (16,7), die, beginnend mit freiwilliger Unwissenheit, in unfreiwilliger Raserei gipfeln (17,2), sind seine charakteristischen Merkmale. Damit erweist es sich als der Widerpart der echten Prophetie des Alten und des Neuen Bundes (17,3) und steht im Gegensatz zur alten kirchlichen Tradition und Erblehre (16,7). Ὁ τῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καινῆς διαθήκης λόγος (16,3) und die mit ihm in Einklang stehende παράδοσις καὶ διαδοχὴ ἄνωθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας sind also die Normen,

an denen jede Bekundung des Geistes auf ihren Wahrheitsgehalt und ihr Recht hin geprüft sein will.«[190] Dem Evangelium darf man μήτε προσθεῖναι μήτε ἀφελεῖν.[191] Die Kategorie κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον erscheint also auch beim antimontanistischen Anonymus als verbindliche Norm:[192] κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πολιτεύεσθαι (16,3); ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἡμέραν ... κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, μηδὲν παρεκβαίνοντες (24,6). Diese legalistische Deutung des Evangeliums als Norm wird in Verbindung mit der Lehrtradition der Kirche (κανῶν τῆς πίστεως; 24,6/παράδοσις καὶ διαδοχὴ ἄνωθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας; 16,7) zum »dogmatischen common sense der frühkatholischen Kirche.«[193]

Jüngere Arbeiten zum Montanismus haben auf die Bedeutung der Schrift in der antimontanistischen Auseinandersetzung aufmerksam gemacht: »Epiphanius' source demonstrates that Scripture played a central role in the earliest debate concerning Montanism in Phrygia.«[194] Den Konflikt, der in der frühen kleinasiatischen Debatte noch im wesentlichen um die Auseinandersetzung über wahre und falsche bzw. ekstatische Prophetie geführt wird,[195] entscheidet neben der Lebensführung der Prophet/inn/en, der nicht-ekstatischen Ausführung der Prophetie (vgl. Polykarps ruhige Gelassenheit) und der Übereinstimmung von Verheißung und Erfüllung,[196] — beides wird über Polykarp positiv hervorgehoben —, die rechte Auslegung der Schrift. MartPol nimmt mit dem steten Verweis auf das Evangelium an dieser kontroversen Debatte über die Schrift teil. Das tut auch, — aber diametral entgegengesetzt —, EpJac, die sich auch »erinnern will an das, was der Erlöser gesagt hat« (2:10-14; 12:35), dabei aber bewußt den nachösterlichen Erlöser vom vorösterlichen (= evangelischen) mit neuen Offenbarungsworten abgrenzt.[197]

Noch in der diokletianischen Verfolgung sah sich die Synode von Elvira (can. 60) (1. Jahrzehnt des 4. Jhdts) veranlaßt, gegen die Provokationen der Heiden durch fanatische christliche Heißsporne zu formulieren: »Si quis idola fregerit et ibidem fuerit occisus, quatenus *in evangelio scriptum non est* neque invenietur sub apostolis unquam factum, placuit in numerum eum non recipi martyrum.« (Wenn jemand Götterbilder zerschlägt und dabei getötet wird, dann darf er nicht in die Zahl der Märtyrer aufgenommen werden; denn davon steht nichts im Evangelium und es ist auch zur Zeit der Apostel nicht vorgekommen.)[198] Das Evangelium ist längst zur Norm geworden. Und diese Norm legitimiert schon früh auch die Flucht vor dem Martyrium (vgl. Nicholson).

Mit der zentralen Kategorie κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον in der antimontanisti-

schen Auseinandersetzung bestätigt sich die These: »Tutta la moderna storiografia, ivi inclusa quella cattolica, è concorde sull' indiscussa evidenza che nell' epistola degli Smirnioti la suggestione parenetica si trova ad essere in antitesi ed in polemico con l' autorità persecutrice che con altre e devianti interpretazioni dello scontro ideologico interne alla religione perseguitata ...«[199]

1.3.3. *Die Kategorie* κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον *im Zusammenhang von Kanonsfrage und Montanismus*

»Vielen Bischöfen wird durchaus klar gewesen sein, welche Gefahr die unkontrollierbare montanistische Prophetie in sich barg; sie konnten unmöglich dulden, daß neben dem sich eben erst formierenden Kanon neutestamentlicher Schriften die *oracula* neuer Offenbarungen durch die montanistischen Propheten traten.«[200] Die Kanon-Frage ist schon immer im Kontext der kirchlichen Abwehr gegen den Montanismus aufgelistet worden;[201] mit der Kategorie κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον finden sich im MartPol allererste Anzeichen davon. »Aus den frühchristlichen Zeugnissen geht hervor, daß Sammlungen der Aussprüche von Maximilla, Priska und Montan (...) unter ihrem Namen veröffentlicht waren und daß sie den Anhängern der Bewegung als 'inspirierte Schriften' galten.«[202] So kann Hippolytus später formulieren: Ἕτεροι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ αἱρετικώτεροι τὴν φύσιν, Φρύγες τὸ γένος, ... ὧν βίβλους ἀπείρους ἔχοντες πλανῶνται ... πλεῖον τι δι' αὐτῶν φάσκοντες (ὡς) μεμαθηκέναι ἢ ἐκ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελίων. Ὑπὲρ δὲ ἀποστόλους καὶ πᾶν χάρισμα ταῦτα τὰ γύναια δοξάζουσιν, ὡς τολμᾶν πλεῖον τι Χριστοῦ ἐν τούτοις λέγειν τινὰς αὐτῶν γεγονέναι.[203] (Andere, die eine noch häretischere Anlage haben, Phryger der Abstammung nach ... im Besitze unzähliger, von jenen verfaßter Bücher, gehen in die Irre ... dabei erklären sie, sie hätten durch jene mehr gelernt als aus dem Gesetz und den Propheten und den Evangelien. Sie schätzen diese Weibsbilder höher als die Apostel und jedes Charisma; ja manche wagen zu behaupten, es wohne etwas Größeres in ihnen als Christus.) »*Eusebius* tadelt den Übereifer der Kataphrygier, 'neue Schriften' zu verfassen, der zu einer Diskussion um den Kanon geführt habe, und er erwähnt die Konfiskation ihrer Bücher unter Konstantin.«[204] Bonwetsch[205] sieht das Problem Kanon und Montanismus unter der Leitfrage »Wie stand denn aber die Kirche zur Fortdauer prophetischer Gabe?« und verweist auf Harnacks und Overbecks einschlägige Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Kanons. Und schon Schwegler[206] hat

»aus dem montanistischen Postulat des Enthusiasmus ... ein negatives Verhältnis zur Tradition und Schrift« erschlossen. Und so kann mit Aland[207] resümiert werden: »Im Zeitalter des sich festigenden Kanons und der an Bedeutung gewinnenden Tradition war eine neue Offenbarungsquelle noch weniger tragbar als vielleicht am Ausgang des ersten Jahrhunderts. Und eine Kirche, welche auf ihrem Wege in die Welt die alte Eschatologie gerade erfolgreich relativiert hatte, konnte sich nicht mehr zurückrufen lassen zur Erwartung eines unmittelbar vor der Tür stehenden Weltendes.«[208] Die Kategorie κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον mit der Regel μήτε προσθεῖναι μήτε ἀφελεῖν (Eus., *HistEccl* V,16,3) stellt sich normativ neuen Offenbarungen und der vermeintlichen Autorität des Parakleten entgegen.[209] Außerdem verweist der Anonymus (Eus., *HistEccl* V,16,7f) auf Montan als παρὰ τὸ κατὰ παράδοσιν καὶ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἄνωθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔθος δῆθεν προφητεύοντα und auf die διαστολὴ τοῦ κυρίου, die von den Anhängern Montans vergessen werde.[210] Neben die Normativität und Exklusivität des Evangeliums tritt mit der Kategorie κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον die festgelegte Interpretation: »diese drei Aspekte von Normativität, Exklusivität und festgelegter Interpretation zusammengenommen kennzeichnen die Bedeutung des Montanismus für die Herausbildung des neutestamentlichen Kanons.«[211]

1.4. *Zur Chronologie des Montanismus und zur Datierung von MartPol 4*

Die unsichere Datierung der Anfänge des Montanismus geht bekanntlich auf die Diskrepanz der zeitlichen Angaben des Eusebius (ca. 170 n.Chr.) und des Epiphanius (ca. 150 n.Chr.) zurück. Ohne hier die einzelnen Argumente der umfänglichen Literatur zum Problem des zeitlichen Beginns des prophetischen Auftretens des Montanus[212] sowie der z.T. damit zusammenhängenden[213] vielfältigen Literatur zur Datierung des MartPol[214] ausführen zu können, konvergieren beide Datierungsfragen in der jüngeren Forschung dahingehend, daß sich eine Früh-Datierung des MartPol durchsetzt (vor 160 n.Chr.)[215] und daß letztens auch wieder »die Anfänge des Montanismus etwas vor 160 n.Chr. gesucht werden müssen.«[216] Diese Konvergenz in der Datierung ist ein weiterer indirekter Beleg für einen inneren Zusammenhang von Montanismus und MartPol; MartPol wird als Reflex auf den beginnenden Montanismus gerade in seiner Verbindung von Brief und paränetischer Erzählung verständlich, gerade weil wir voraussetzen dürfen: »Monta-

nism (a later appellation) or the New Prophecy (Eusebius *HE* V,16,4; V,18,2) was the flowering of tendencies already present. The New Prophets' teachings would have engendered less interest were there not already in Asia an atmosphere conducive to their acceptance.«[217]

In der Tat muß mit Trevett der Samen des Montanismus in der Region Philadelphias in der Apokalypse und bei Ignatius gesucht werden und dann wird deutlich: »Bei dem organischen Zusammenhang, in dem jene geschichtliche Erscheinung (= Montanismus) mit dem kirchlichen Gesammtbewusstseyn ihrer Zeit steht, ist es überhaupt unmöglich, den Moment ihrer selbständigen Existenz chronologisch zu fixiren. Sie fängt erst dann an Parthei zu seyn, wenn ihr eigenes und das allgemeine Bewusstseyn aus einander zu laufen beginnen. Die Frage ist also in Wahrheit nicht, wann der Montanismus zu seyn — sondern, wann er eine Härese zu seyn anfieng, d.h. von welcher Zeit an er hinter den Fortschrifften der dogmatischen Bildung zurück blieb.«[218] Die anfängliche Rechtgläubigkeit des Montanismus und die Aporie seiner Chronologie führen zu dieser Erkenntnis, die die Frage nach der Datierung deutlich relativiert. Dabei scheint der Zeitpunkt der Häresie-Werdung des Montanismus weniger mit theologisch-dogmatischen Aspekten als vielmehr mit soziologisch-paränetischen Gesichtspunkten zusammenzuhängen, wenn denn in der Frage nach dem rechten Martyriumsverhalten in einer neuen politischen Situation die Differenz zwischen Großkirche und Montanismus sich eröffnet (vgl. 1.2.5); die Thematik rechten Martyriumsverhaltens bestimmt den paränetischen Brief der Smyrnäer an die Gemeinde in Philomelium und erscheint damit als entscheidender Konfliktstoff. Erst später wird dieser konkrete Konfliktpunkt des aktuellen brieflichen Charakters entkleidet und entwickelt sich in entbrieflichter und veränderter Form zur neuen Literaturgattung der Märtyrerakte, die wesentlich apologetischen Interessen dient.[219]

BEMERKUNGEN

[1] *The Montanist Oracles and Testimonia*, Patristic Monograph Series 14, Macon 1989, xii./Merkwürdig unentschieden bleibt Th. Baumeister, *Genese und Entfaltung der altkirchlichen Theologie des Martyriums*, Traditio Christiana 8, Bern 1991, XXV Anm. 20: »Ob der Phryger Quintus des Polykarpmartyriums, der sich selbst gestellt hatte, dann aber schwach wurde (...), Anhänger des Montanus war, wird man kaum entscheiden können, weil der Text selbst dazu nichts sagt.« — Dieser Aufsatz versucht zu belegen, daß MartPol — nicht nur in Kap. 4 — dazu sehr wohl etwas sagt.

[2] Für die inschriftliche Forschung über den Montanismus äußert sich ähnlich kritisch

bzgl. MartPol: E. Gibson, *The »Christians for Christians« Inscriptions of Phrygia*, HThS 32, Cambridge Mass. 1978, 131. — In ihrem feministisch-theologischen Durchgang durch Märtyrertheologie und Neue Prophetie hält A. Jensen, *Gottes selbstbewußte Töchter. Frauenemanzipation im frühen Christentum*, Freiburg 1992, 295, den Phryger Quintus für nicht der Neuen Prophetie angehörig.

[3] Vgl. dazu G. Buschmann, *Martyrium Polycarpi. Eine formkritische Studie. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Entstehung der Gattung Märtyrerakte*, BZNW 70. Berlin/New York 1994, 5-13.

[4] So zuletzt B. Dehandschutter, The Martyrium Polycarpi: a Century of Research, *ANRW* II. 27.1, Berlin/New York 1993, 485-522: 500. — In wesentlichen anderen Punkten der Einschätzung des MartPol stimme ich mit Dehandschutter überein, u.a. hinsichtlich Frühdatierung, literarischer Integrität, Briefmartyrium, imitatio Christi, sehe aber eher einen (mit der Frühdatierung vereinbaren) antimontanistischen als einen von Dehandschutter behaupteten antignostischen Reflex im MartPol.

[5] Etwa H. v. Campenhausen, Bearbeitungen und Interpolationen des Polykarpmartyriums, in: ders., *Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums. Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1963, 253-301/H. Conzelmann, Bemerkungen zum Martyrium Polykarps, *NAWG* 1978, 3-20./Jensen, *Töchter*, 295, Anm. 148./W.R. Schoedel, Polycarp of Smyrna and Ignatius of Antioch, *ANRW* II. 27.1, Berlin/New York 1993, 272-358: 351 Anm. 345. — Kritisch: B. Dehandschutter, *Martyrium Polycarpi. Een literair-kritische studie*, BEThL 52, Leuven 1979/Dehandschutter, Research, 492-497/Buschmann, *MartPol*, 48-69/Die jüngste Quellensammlung zum Thema frühes Christentum und Verfolgungen: P. Guyot/R. Klein (Hgg.), *Das frühe Christentum bis zum Ende der Verfolgungen. Band 1: Die Christen im heidnischen Staat*, Texte zur Forschung 60, Darmstadt 1993, bes. 329, Anm. 14; 330 Anm. 23; 334 Anm. 62.

[6] P. de Labriolle, *Les sources de l'histoire du Montanisme*, Collectanea Friburgensia N.S. 15, Fribourg/Paris 1913/Heine, *Oracles*.

[7] Utterance And Exegesis: Biblical Interpretation in the Montanist Crisis, *The Living Text, FS E.W. Saunders*, hg. v. D.E. Groh/R. Jewett, Lanham 1985, 73-95: 76.

[8] So Campenhausen, Bearbeitungen. Vgl. Buschmann, *MartPol*, 25ff.

[9] Vgl. S. Ronchey, *Indagine sul martirio di San Policarpo. Critica storica e fortuna agiografica di un caso giudiziario in Asia Minore*, Nuovi Studie Storici 6, Roma 1990, 45-54; 67-78/Buschmann, *MartPol*. — Kritischer: Dehandschutter, *MartPol* und Research, der eine antignostische Frontstellung vermutet. — Schoedel, Polycarp and Ignatius, 358, lehnt Montanismus — wie Gnostizismus-Hypothese gleichermaßen ab und meint: »MPol is clearly directed against a misunderstanding of martyrdom... It seems more likely, however, that inordinate caution or excessive zeal in meeting hostility were problems that could arise in any Christian community and that a major concern of MPol was to teach a measured approach to such threats.«

[10] Vgl. jüngst: K. Koschorke, Gnosis, Montanismus, Mönchtum. Zur Frage emanzipatorischer Bewegungen im Raum der Alten Kirche, *EvTh* 53/1993, 216-231: »Von Anfang an zeichnet sich der Montanismus durch eine besondere Nähe zum Martyrium aus.« (223)/P. Habermehl, *Perpetua und der Ägypter oder Bilder des Bösen im frühen afrikanischen Christentum. Ein Versuch zur Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, TU 140, Berlin 1992: »Einer der wenigen gesicherten Züge des Montanismus ist seine kompromißlose Haltung zum Zeugnis.« (41)/Vgl. ferner: F.C.A. Schwegler, *Der Montanismus und*

die christliche Kirche des zweiten Jahrhunderts, Tübingen 1841, 65ff/F.W. Gaß, Das christliche Märtyrerthum in den ersten Jahrhunderten, und desse Idee, *ZhTh* 29/1859, 323-392: 338; *ZhTh* 30/1860, 315-381: 315-324/H. v. Campenhausen, *Die Idee des Martyriums in der alten Kirche*, Göttingen ²1964, 115f/W. Bauer/H. Paulsen, *Die Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochia und der Polykarpbrief*, HNT 18. Die Apostolischen Väter II. Tübingen 1985, 73f/F.C. Klawiter, The Role of Martyrdom and Persecution in Developing the Priestly Authority of Women in Early Christianity: A Case Study of Montanism, *ChH* 49/1980, 251-261./G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, Why were the early Christians persecuted?, *Past and Present* 26/1963, 6-38: 23; *Past and Present* 27-29/1964, 28-32: 32/J. Speigl, *Der Römische Staat und die Christen. Staat und Kirche von Domitian bis Commodus*, Amsterdam 1970, 177f; 201f/M. Sordi, *The Christians and the Roman Empire*, Worcester 1983, 72ff/K. Bringmann, Christentum und römischer Staat im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert n.Chr., *GWU* 29/1978, 1-18: 11ff/W.H.C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church. A Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus*, Oxford 1965, 287-294/W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, London 1984, 254f.

[11] D. Powell, Tertullianists and Cataphrygians, *VigChr* 29/1975, 33-54/G. Schöllgen, »Tempus in collecto est.« Tertullian, der frühe Montanismus und die Naherwartung ihrer Zeit, *JbAC* 27/28/1984/85, 74-96./Jensen, *Töchter*, 298ff — Immerhin ist die formkritisch auffällige »eschatologische Zurückhaltung« des MartPol im Vergleich zu anderen Märtyrertexten bedeutsam, vgl. Buschmann, *MartPol*, 323f sowie die tabellarische Beilage, und könnte polemisch-antimontanistisch begründet sein.

[12] W. Tabbernee, Early Montanism and Voluntary Martyrdom, Colloqium: *The Australian and New Zealand Theological Review* 17/1985, 33-44/W. Tabbernee, Remnants of the New Prophecy: Literary and Epigraphical Sources of the Montanist Movement, *StPatr* 21/1987, Leuven 1989, 193-201: 199: »It certainly can no longer be argued that voluntary martyrdom was a characteristic feature of Montanism.«/vgl.: H.J. Lawlor, The Heresy of the Phrygians, in: ders., *Eusebiana. Essays on the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphili, ca 264-349 A.D., Bishop of Caesarea*, Oxford 1912 (Reprint Amsterdam 1973), 108-135/jüngst: Jensen, *Töchter*, 201, Anm. 96/Zur Kritik an Tabbernee vgl. bes. 1.2.4.

[13] *Gottes selbstbewußte Töchter. Frauenemanzipation in frühen Christentum.* Freiburg 1992, hier 295 unter Berufung auf Tabbernee, 293, Anm. 142.

[14] A.a.O., 295.

[15] A.a.O., 272.

[16] A.a.O., 293.

[17] Ebd.

[18] A.a.O., 282.

[19] A.a.O., 296.

[20] A.a.O., 285, zitiert W. Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*, BHTh 10, Tübingen ²1964, hg. v. G. Strecker.

[21] Vgl. dazu s.u. 1.2.3; 1.2.4.

[22] Jensen, *Töchter*, 294f, vgl. auch 314.

[23] Vgl. auch a.a.O., 180.189f.202. — Zur Kritik an solch historistischer Zugangsweise vgl. Buschmann, *MartPol*, 65ff/W. Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter. I. Von der Passio Perpetuae zu den Dialogi Gregors des Großen*, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 8, Stuttgart 1986, 41: »Die Einsicht, daß es das von der historischen Kritik so lange gesuchte *originale Martyrer-*

Aktenstück überhaupt nicht gibt, daß vielmehr auch die bescheidenste Passio, sobald sie aufgezeichnet wird, Literatur ist, befreit uns von den hermeneutischen Problemen von Texten, die nur Niederschlag der Wirklichkeit und nicht mehr sein sollen, und ermöglicht die Frage nach dem Ausdruckswillen, der hinter der Überlieferungsform eines Martyriums im 'Aktenstil', in der 'Protokollform', steht.«/H.A. Gärtner, Die Acta Scillitanorum in literarischer Interpretation, *Wiener Studien* 102/1989, 149-167/J. Perkins, The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles and the Early Christian Martyrdom, *Arethusa* 18/1985, 211-230: 211, hat gegen E. Pagels, *Versuchung durch Erkenntnis. Die gnostischen Evangelien.* Frankfurt 1987, argumentiert: «On this basis Pagels suggests that this valuation of martyrdom resulted from encounters with persecution. In this paper an alternative view will be suggested; that groups strongly valuing suffering and martyrdom might well foment their own persecution, enduring it gratefully (...) and promulgating it as the legitimation of their world view.«

[24] A.a.O., 295.314.

[25] Zur Formkritik der Orakel s.u. 1.2.4. — Vgl. Chr. Kähler, *Studien zur Form- und Traditionsgeschichte der biblischen Makarismen.*Diss. theol. Jena 1974. — K. Berger, *Formgeschichte des Neuen Testaments*, Heidelberg 1984, 188-194, zählt die Seligpreisung unter die »symbuleutischen Gattungen«.

[26] Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 188.

[27] Vgl. folgende Texte in Heine, *Oracles*: 13; 14; 20; 21; 23; 24; 35; 42; 44; 46; 47; 48; 63; 78.

[28] Jensen, *Töchter*, 329.

[29] A.a.O., 330.

[30] Vgl. u. 1.3.

[31] Vgl. Buschmann, *MartPol*/Ronchey, *Indagine*, 45-53.

[32] Vgl. Buschmann, *MartPol*, 78-120/Ronchey, *Indagine*, 33-44/Dehandschutter, *MartPol*, 157-190.

[33] Vgl. Buschmann, *MartPol*, 320-329.

[34] *Töchter*, 293.

[35] Vgl. Heine, *Oracles*, Nr. 44/vgl. Jensen, *Töchter*, 293f.

[36] Vgl. St. Mitchell, The Life of Saint Theodotus of Ancyra, *Anatolian Studies* 32/1982, 93-113/H. Grégoire/P. Orgels, La Passion de S. Théodote, Oeuvre du Pseudo-Nil, et son Noyau Montaniste, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 44/1951, 165-184.

[37] Mitchell, Life, 94.102.

[38] Ch. Trevett, Apocalypse, Ignatius, Montanism: Seeking the Seeds, *VigChr* 43/1989, 313-338: 328.

[39] O. Nicholson, Flight from Persecution as Imitation of Christ: Lactantius' Divine Institutes IV. 18,1-2, *JThS* 40/1989, 48-65.

[40] Vgl. Dehandschutter, Research, 514.

[41] Vgl. B. Kötting, Martyrium und Provokation, *Kerygma und Logos. Beiträge zu den geistesgeschichtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Antike und Christentum*, FS C. Andresen, hg. v. A.M. Ritter, Göttingen 1979, 329-336: 333f.

[42] Frend, *Martyrdom*, 289. — Vgl. auch das freiwillige Hinzudrängen zum Martyrium durch Agathonice (ActCarpi 42) und das Verhalten des Phrygers Alexander in MartLugd 49f.

[43] Vgl. a.a.O., 292.

[44] Vgl. Ph. Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur. Einleitung in das Neue*

Testament, die Apokryphen und die Apostolischen Väter, Berlin/New York 1978, 555f.

[45] Buschmann, *MartPol*, 24-32.48-70 gegen v. Campenhausen, Bearbeitungen.

[46] Auch von v. Campenhausen, Bearbeitungen, 270f, festgestellt.

[47] E. Dassmann, *Kirchengeschichte I*, Studienbücher Theologie 10, Stuttgart 1991, 126/vgl. Heine, *Oracles*, ix (introduction): »The followers of Montanus were most frequently referred to as Cataphrygians by their opponents, the title indicating the Phrygian provenance of the heresy. The designation 'the new prophecy' may have been a title the Montanists used of themselves.« Vgl. Epiph., *Panarion* 48.12.1ff (Φρύγες)/Serapion Eus., *Hist Eccl* V,19,2 (νέα προφητεία)/ähnlich W. Schepelern, *Der Montanismus und die phrygischen Kulte. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*. Tübingen 1929. 10f/P. de Labriolle, »Mulieres In Ecclesia Taceant«. Un Aspect De La Lutte Antimontaniste, *BALAC* 1/1911, 3-24.103-122.292-298: 108. — Zu den frühen Namen des Montanismus vgl. F.C. Klawiter, *The New Prophecy in Early Christianity. The Origin, Nature, and Development of Montanism, A.D. 165-220*, Diss. 1975 (Microfilm), 63-70, der auch kritisch diskutiert, ob die Montanisten sich nur als »Prophetie« oder als »Neue Prophetie« bezeichneten./H. Paulsen, Die Bedeutung des Montanismus für die Herausbildung des Kanons, *VigChr* 32/1978, 19-52: 47.

[48] A. Strobel, *Das heilige Land der Montanisten. Eine religionsgeographische Untersuchung*, RVV 37, Berlin/New York 1980, 11 Anm. 4.

[49] Gibson, *Inscriptions*, 125. — Gibsons eigene Zweifel, 131.132 Anm. 1, an Quintus als einem (Proto-)Montanisten wirken von daher umso unglaubwürdiger. Auch ist Eusebius mit seiner Überlieferung des MartPol kein guter Gewährsmann für Gibsons Zweifel (vgl. Buschmann, *MartPol*, 39-48.68f) und die Interpretation seines Φρύγα τινὰ τὸ γένος (*HistEccl* IV,15,7) als »only geographical« ist keineswegs zwingend; ebensowenig entkräftet der Hinweis auf den Phryger Alexander aus MartLugd, weil Alexander gerade deutlich pro-montanistisch dargestellt ist, vgl. H. Kraft, Die Lyoner Märtyrer und der Montanismus, *Pietas, FS B. Kötting*, hg. v. E. Dassmann/K.S. Frank, JAC.E 8, Münster 1980, 250-266.

[50] Vgl. Buschmann, *MartPol*, 78ff.

[51] A.a.O., 120ff. 321-327.

[52] Vgl. v. Campenhausen, Bearbeitungen, 270: »Dazu paßt auch die abschließende, grundätzliche Beurteilung des Falls, der dieses Verhalten in beinahe amtlichen Tone 'mißbilligt' (οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν).«

[53] Schepelern, *Montanismus*, 5.

[54] A.a.O., 7.

[55] F. Blanchtière, Le montanisme original, *RevSR* 52/1978, 118-134; 53/1979, 1-22: 118.

[56] Jensen, *Töchter*, 272.

[57] Ebd.

[58] A.a.O., 295. — Jensen hält hier v. Campenhausens Interpolationshypothese für womöglich zutreffend, vgl. kritisch dazu: Buschmann, *MartPol*, 48-67.

[59] *Clemens Romanus und der Frühkatholizismus. Untersuchungen zu I Clemens 1-7.* BHTh 35, Tübingen 1966, 152 Anm. 1.

[60] Eus., *HistEccl* V,16,6f; 16,10/vgl. Heine, *Oracles*, Nr. 23.

[61] Eus., *HistEccl* V,18,2 über Montanus.

[62] Vgl. J. de Soyres, *Montanism and the Primitive Church. A Study in the Ecclesiastical History of the Second Century*. Cambridge/London 1878, 30.

[63] V. Campenhausen, Bearbeitungen, 270/ähnlich Conzelmann, Bemerkungen, 14. —

Gegen H. v. Campenhausen, *Die Idee des Martyriums in der Alten Kirche*, Göttingen ²1964, 82 Anm. 4: »Daß es sich um einen Φρύξ handelte, darf nicht zu der Annahme verführen, wir hätten es hier mit einem Montanisten zu tun.«

[64] W.M. Calder, Philadelphia and Montanism, *BJRL* 7/1922/23, 309-354: 334. Vgl. auch J. Colin, *L'empire des Antonins et les Martyrs Gaulois de 177*, Antiquitas 1.10, Bonn 1964, 96-101.

[65] Zur antithetischen Einbindung von MartPol 4 in das Ganze des MartPol vgl. Buschmann, *MartPol*, 25-32.148-153.153-160.

[66] Ronchey, *Indagine*, 52f.

[67] Vgl. Th. Keim, *Aus dem Urchristenthum. Geschichtliche Untersuchungen in zwangloser Folge*. Bd. 1, Zürich 1878, 120: »Diese Entschiedenheit begünstigte besonders der phrygische Montanismus, dessen Vertreter in der Person des Phrygiers Quintus im Martyrium aufzutreten scheint.«

[68] Tabbernee, Voluntary Martyrdom, 36, betont gern die Ausnahme von der Regel: »Repeated warnings by catholic leaders against voluntary martyrdom show that the fanatical element in their midst was not negligible and that a significant number of catholics recklessly attempted to seize the martyr's crown for themselves, despite the generally accepted orthodox teaching against voluntary martyrdom in circumstances other than under carefully specified exceptions.«

[69] Bauer/Paulsen, *Ignatius*, 74. Dort Belege. — Vgl. v. Campenhausen, *Idee*, 137, dort auch entsprechende Belege in Anm. 1. — Vgl. Tabbernee, Voluntary Martyrdom, 33ff: »The orthodox Position«; »Exceptions to the Rule«.

[70] Nicholson, Flight, 57.

[71] Vgl. Eus., *HistEccl* V,18,5. — Vgl. B. Kötting, Die Stellung des Konfessors in der Alten Kirche, *JAC* 19/1976, 7-23: 12f.

[72] Zur Martyriumsvorstellung des Ignatius vgl. u.a.: Th. Baumeister, *Die Anfänge der Theologie des Martyriums*, MBTh 45, Münster 1980, 257-289/K. Bommes, *Weizen Gottes. Untersuchungen zur Theologie des Martyriums bei Ignatius von Antiochien*, Theophaneia 27, Köln-Bonn 1976/N. Brox, *Zeuge und Märtyrer. Untersuchungen zur frühchristlichen Zeugnis-Terminologie*, StANT 5, München 1961, 203-225/Bower, R.A., The Meaning of ΕΠΙΤΥΓΧΑΝΩ in the Epistles of St. Ignatius of Antioch, *VigChr* 28/1974, 1-14/Campenhausen, *Idee*, 67-78/J.W. v. Henten, Zum Einfluß jüdischer Martyrien auf die Literatur des frühen Christentums, II. Die Apostolischen Väter, *ANRW* II. 27.1, 700-723: 711ff/H. Paulsen, *Studien zur Theologie des Ignatius von Antiochien*, FKDG 29, Göttinger 1978, 99-109.180-187/Perler, O., Das vierte Makkabaeerbuch, Ignatius von Antiochien und die aeltesten Martyrerberichte, *RivAC* 25/1949, 47-74/W. Rebell, Das Leidensverständnis bei Paulus und Ignatius von Antiochien, *NTS* 32/1986, 457-465/W.R. Schoedel, *Die Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochien. Ein Kommentar*, Hermeneia, München 1990, 70-73.130ff.361-368/W. Swartley, The Imitatio Christi in the Ignatian Letters, *VigChr* 27/1973, 81-103/W.C. Weinrich, *Spirit and Martyrdom. A Study of the Work of the Holy Spirit in the Contexts of Persecution and Martyrdom in the New Testament and Early Christian Literature*, Washington D.C. 1981, 111-163.

[73] Tabbernee, Voluntary martyrdom, 37.

[74] Bauer/Paulsen, *Ignatius*, 74. Dort Belege. — Vgl. D. Wendebourg, Das Martyrium in der Alten Kirche als ethisches Problem, *ZKG* 98/1987, 295-320: 307: »Bei der großen Mehrheit der Stimmen, die sich dagegen (= Drängen zum Martyrium) aussprach, fällt auf, wie uneinheitlich und unsicher die Argumente sind, mit denen man es tat ... Daß man das

Drängen nach dem Martyrium ablehnt, ist überwiegend der Fall; doch man besitzt keine theologischen und ethischen Argumente dafür, sie hat man alle für die Erhebung des Martyriums verbraucht... .«

[75] Tabbernee, Voluntary Martyrdom, 34.

[76] Bauer/Paulsen, *Ignatius*, 73.

[77] MartPol 1,1 u.ö.: κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον; 1,2: ὡς καὶ ὁ κύριος; 2,2: οἱ ... μάρτυρες τοῦ Χριστοῦ; 6,2: Χριστοῦ κοινωνός/bei Ignatius vgl. die Stichworte: θεοφόρος, vgl. Bauer/Paulsen, *Ignatius*, 22f. Exkurs: μαθητής, vgl. Bauer/Paulsen, *Ignatius*, 26; Paulsen, *Studien*, 183ff.

[78] Nachahmungsgedanke und christologische Orientierung des Martyriums: MartPol 1,2; 17,3; 19,1; IgnEph 1,2; 15,1; IgnMagn 9,1; IgnTrall 5,2/antidoketisch-martyrologische Begrifflichkeit: MartPol 2,2; 14,2; 17,3; IgnSm 4,2; 5,1; IgnTrall 10/Verbindung von Martyrium und Eucharistie: MartPol 14; IgnRöm 2,2; 4,1f; IgnSm 7,1/Märtyrergedächtnistag als ἡμέρα γενέθλιος: MartPol 18,3; IgnRöm 6,1/κατά-Formulierungen; MartPol 1,1; 4; 19,1 (κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον); IgnEph 8,1 (κατὰ θεόν); IgnMagn 1,1; IgnPhil 8,2 (κατὰ χριστομαθίαν); IgnPolyc 1,3 (κατὰ ὁμοήθειαν θεοῦ) u.ö.

[79] IgnRöm 4,1; vgl. IgnMagn 5,2: αὐθαιρέτως; vgl. Bauer/Paulsen, *Ignatius*, 73f.

[80] Vgl. Paulsen, *Studien*, 183ff.

[81] Vgl. Campenhausen, *Idee*, 78: »Ein grundsätzlicher Unterschied zwischen dem zur Vollkommenheit gelangten Lehrer und Schüler ist nicht mehr zu erkennen.« Vgl. auch Paulsen, *Studien*, 183f./Brox, *Zeuge*, 221f.

[82] Dehandschutter, Research, 514.

[83] Th. Baumeister, Rez. C. Scholten, Martyrium und Sophiamythos im Gnostizismus nach den Texten von Nag Hammadi. Münster 1987. JbAC E 14, *Theologische Revue* 86/1990, Sp.114-116: 114.

[84] Vgl. P. Meinhold, Art. »Polykarpos«, *PRE* 21, 1662-1693.

[85] Th. Baumeister, *Anfänge*, 302.

[86] Vgl. Buschmann, *MartPol*, 178.

[87] Keim, *Urchristenthum*, 122.

[88] Dassmann, *Kirchengeschichte I*, 127.

[89] Vgl. Tabbernee, Voluntary Martyrdom, 36ff: »Montanist Oracles«.

[90] Heine, *Oracles*, 6f. vgl. P. de Labriolle, *La crise montaniste*, Paris 1913, 50-54/Klawiter, *New Prophecy*, 100f und die Synopsen der Orakel bei: K. Aland, Bemerkungen zum Montanismus und zur frühchristlichen Eschatologie, ders., *Kirchengeschichtliche Entwürfe*, Gütersloh 1960, 105-148: 143ff: K. Froehlich, Montanism and Gnosis, in: Neiman, D./Schatkin, M. (Hgg.), *The heritage of the Early Church. FS G.V. Florovsky*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 195, Rom 1973, 91-111: 96: Heine, *Oracles*, Nr. 13f = Aland, Bemerkungen, Nr. 8f = A. Hilgenfeld, *Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristentums. Urkundlich dargestellt*, Leipzig 1884 (Nachdruck Darmstadt 1963) Nr. 19 = G.N. Bonwetsch, *Die Geschichte des Montanismus*. Erlangen 1881 (Nachdruck Hildesheim 1972) Nr. 15f = Labriolle, *Crise*, Nr. 6f.

[91] Als »echt« angesehen bei: *Aland*, Bemerkungen, 143-146; Heine, *Oracles*, 5f; de Labriolle, *Crise*, 50-54; Jensen, *Töchter*, 294f; 313f/kritisch: Blanchtière, Montanisme, 7: »Ma rétinence à retenir les trois autres, n^{os} 7 à 9, comme authentiquement originels tient à plusieurs constatations et d'abord au fait qu'ils sont imputés non à un humain, mais directement à l'Esprit identifié au Paraclet. ... Par ailleurs, l'inspiration scripturaire est quasiment absente de leur formulation. Enfin, leur caractère polémique éclate et de même leur rigorisme exacerbé, symptomatique de Tertullien ... .« — Blanchtière mißachtet das

»sic et alibi«: »Ces mots ... obligent à admettre, que Tertullien a eu sous les yeux un recueil d'oracles montanistes ...« (de Labriolle, *Crise*, 52f) und »l'inspiration scriptuaire« fehlt gegen Blanchtière dem Orakel keineswegs, wie unser formgeschichtlicher Vergleich, s.u., ergibt, vgl. Groh, Utterance, 94: »Historians of interpretation now need to go to work on the other Montanist oracles to see if they also will yield scriptural citations.«

[92] Zum Inhalt von »*de fuga*« vgl. Bonwetsch, *Montanismus*, 107.

[93] Dafür spricht auch die bedeutende Zahl montanistischer Märtyrer/innen, vgl. Bonwetsch, *Montanismus*, 106.

[94] Gegen Froehlich, Montanism, 103, ist das Motiv der imitatio Christi mit »in order that he who has suffered for you may be glorified« hinreichend angegeben und bedarf keiner gnostischen, am Text nicht belegbaren Interpretation: »The motif of the *imitatio Christi* used in oracle 9 (...) seems insufficient. Schwegler has suggested the influence of the wish to leave the body and to free the spirit toward its intended perfection.«

[95] Klawiter, *New Prophecy*, 158f.

[96] Utterance.

[97] Tert., *de fuga* 9,4/Heine, *Oracles*, Nr. 13.

[98] Vgl. W. Nauck, Freude im Leiden. Zum Problem einer urchristlichen Verfolgungstradition, *ZNW* 46/1955, 68-80.

[99] Vgl. zum folgenden a.a.O., 69ff: 73.

[100] Vgl. auch: 1 Thess 1,6; 1 Petr 1,6; Hebr 10,32-36; 2 Kor 4,17f.; 8,2; Apg 5,41; 2 Thess 1,4-6; HermVis II,2,7. — Nähe zur Martyriumsparänese zeigt sich durch Vergleich mit folgenden texten: Jes 8,12f; 4 Makk 13,13-15; 1 Petr 3,14; Apk 2,10; MartPol 2,1, vgl. Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 145f. 228.

[101] Nauck, Freude im Leiden, 69/vgl. D.W. Riddle, Die Verfolgungslogien in formgeschichtlicher und soziologischer Beleuchtung, *ZNW* 33/1934, 271-289: 286: »So war es ihr unmittelbarer Zweck, den Verfolgten zum »Bekennen« seiner Treue zu ermutigen oder, negativ, dem »Verleugnen« vorzubeugen./vgl. M. Dibelius, *Der Brief des Jakobus*, KEK 15, Göttingen ''1964, 120 zu Jak 1,12: »Der ganze Spruch will offenbar mit der Seligpreisung des ὑπομένων zum Ausharren ermahnen; solche Makarismen sind ja oft paränetisch gemeint.«

[102] Gegen Tabbernee, Voluntary Martyrdom, 36: »The oracle itself is no stronger than statements made by catholics on the desirability of martyrdom.« — Tabbernees Belegstellen (Clemens/Cyprian) bleiben aber deutlich hinter diesem Orakel zurück.

[103] Imperativischer Plural »*nolite*« statt singuläre, ich-bezogene Aussagen bei Ignatius: »Der Bischof macht seine Haltung, sein Verlangen nach dem Tode nicht zur gemeindlichen Norm, wenn er es auch nicht immer konsequent von der Situation der Gemeinde absetzt.« Paulsen, *Ignatius*, 108.

[104] Vgl. auch *Didaskalia* 19f und dazu Jensen, *Töchter*, 182 sowie Clem., *Strom* 4,4.6, vgl. dazu Tabbernee, Voluntary Martyrdom, 37: »The context, however, reveals that Clement was not advocating voluntary martyrdom by these comments.«

[105] Vgl. Tabbernee, Voluntary Martyrdom, 34: »But any action on the part of individuals *before the arrest* which drew attention to themselves and which ... endangered the whole Christian community was denounced as reckless provocation.«

[106] A.a.O., 38.

[107] Fragezeichen von mir.

[108] Heine, *Oracles*, 7. — Tabbernees sonstige Bemühungen sind ebenso gekünstelt, wenn er immer wieder bzgl. MartPol, MartLugd, MartCarpi etc., Φρύξ, »voluntary martyr-

dom« und Montanismus entgegen eigener Eingeständnisse und offenbarer Verbindungen auseinanderzuhalten versucht, etwa: »This makes Epagathus a voluntary martyr, but does it make him a Montanist?« (39), »Agathonike must have been a voluntary martyr — but this on its own is insufficient reason to call her Montanist...«(40), »... Quintus ... In his case there is no doubt that he was a volunteer. ... But ... the juxtaposition of *Phryx* and voluntary martyrdom doesn't guarantee Montanism.«(41). — Tabbernees Schlußfolgerungen (43) können insofern nicht überzeugen: »... the attitudes of Montanists to martyrdom did not differ substantially from those of their orthodox opponents. Notwithstanding Tertullian's interpretation of them, Montanus' oracles on the subject may never have been intended to convey anything other than that Christians should *desire* martyrdom and accept it with patience ... .«

[109] Zur Verfolgungstradition bei Mt vgl. Riddle, Verfolgungslogien, 272f.

[110] Vgl. Groh, Utterance/H. Paulsen, Von der Unbestimmtheit des Anfangs. Zur Entstehung der Theologie im Urchristentum, in: C. Breytenbach/H. Paulsen (Hgg.), *Anfänge der Christologie, FS F. Hahn*, Göttingen 1991, 25-41.

[111] Apocryphal Acts, in Auseinandersetzung mit Pagels, *Versuchung*.

[112] Perkins, Apocryphal Acts, 221, mit Belegen über diesen Konsens in der Forschung, Anm. 40.

[113] Vgl. dazu kritisch: Buschmann, *MartPol*, 65-67/Gärtner, Acta Scillitanorum/letzlich wieder historistisch: Jensen, *Töchter*, 179; 190 u.ö. — Historisch hilfreich ist sicherlich in der so zusammengestellten Quellenauswahl die Dokumentation von P. Guyot/R. Klein (Hgg.), *Das frühe Christentum bis zum Ende der Verfolgungen, Bd. 1: Die Christen im heidnischen Staat*. Texte zur Forschung 60. Darmstadt 1993. Inwieweit die historische Fragestellung insbesondere den christlich-kerygmatischen Texten immer gerecht wird, bleibt aber auch hier offen; so wird etwa auch hier davon ausgegangen, daß die Acta Justini wegen der »besonderen Schlichtheit« auf eine Verhörschilderung durch einen Augenzeugen zurückgehen (336 Anm. 79), oder es findet sich zum MartLugd die Anmerkung: »Dem Brief folgt bei Eusebius noch ein Anhang (HE V 2,2-8) über die Vorbildlichkeit der Märtyrer, in dem jedoch keine historisch relevanten Begebenheiten mehr enthalten sind.« (351 Anm. 200). — Vielleicht aber ist gerade die imitatio-Theologie das »historisch« Interessante?!

[114] Perkins, Apocryphal Acts, 222, vgl. auch 211 gegen Pagels, *Versuchung*: »By locating the impetus for martyrdom wholly outside the Chrisian community, by accepting the traditional but unsubstantiated picture of the Church in the second century surrounded by a 'common danger' and menaced by 'Roman violence', Professor Pagels, I believe, may have underestimated the centrality of suffering and death in the Christian symbolic universe, its social significance, and its appeal and role in determining persecution.« — Vgl. zur Briefform: Buschmann, *MartPol*, 78-120.

[115] A.a.O., 223.

[116] Vgl. a.a.O., 223f: »There is a considerable evidence of voluntary martyrdom in the extant second-century acts of the martyrs« unter Hinweis auf MartPol, MartLugd, ActCarpi, MartPerp etc. Vgl. 225: »Clearly some Christians did understand membership in the Christian community to entail their seeking death. Not all martyrs were voluntary. But, the Christian ethos certainly made Christians susceptible to persecution and martyrdom.«

[117] Vgl. a.a.O., 227: »Rituals are the means by which groups send collective messages to themselves, supporting their social fabric and legitimating their world view.«

[118] Vgl. bzgl. MartPol: Buschmann, *MartPol*, 325-328.

[119] Freude im Leiden, 73-80: 79. Unter Hinweis auf syrBar 48,48-50; Judith 8,25-27; SapSal 3,4-6.

[120] Vgl. Schwegler, *Montanismus*, 83ff; J.M. Ford, Was Montanism a Jewish-Christian Heresy?, *JEH* 17/1966, 145-158; Groh, Utterance, 77 Anm. 18/kritisch: H. Paulsen, Die Bedeutung des Montanismus für die Herausbildung des Kanons, *VigChr* 32/1978, 19-52: 38 Anm. 118.

[121] Vgl. Schepelern, *Montanismus.*

[122] Vgl. zur gnostischen Einstellung gegenüber dem Martyrium: Gaß, Märtyrerthum (I), 382-387/Campenhausen, *Idee*, 113ff/T.D. Barnes, *Tertullian. A historical and literary study*, Oxford 1971, 167f/E.H. Pagels, Gnostic and Orthodox Views of Christ's Passion: Paradigms for the Christian's Response to Persecution?, *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism I*, hg. v. B. Layton, Leiden 1980, 262-288/Pagels, *Versuchung*, 140ff/Frend, *Martyrdom*, 243-247/Froehlich, Montanism/D. v. Damme, Gott und die Märtyrer. Überlegungen zu Tertullian Scorpiace, *FZPhTh* 27/1980, 107-119: 109/K. Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker gegen das kirchliche Christentum. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Nag-Hammadi-Traktate »Apokalypse des Petrus« (NHC VII,3) und »Testimonium Veritatis« (NHC IX,3)*, Nag Hammadi Studies 12, Leiden 1978/C. Scholten, *Martyrium und Sophiamythos im Gnostizismus nach den Texten von Nag Hammadi*, JAC. E 14, Münster 1987, 117ff: »Martyriumsscheu von Gnostikern?«.

[123] Vgl. Klawiter, Role, 253 unter Hinweis auf Melito von Sardis, Eus., *HistEccl* IV,26,5f, abgedruckt und kommentiert bei: Guyot/Klein, *Das frühe Christentum*, 46f; 326f. Marc Aurel dürfte zur Aufhebung der trajanischen Richtlinie *conquirendi non sunt* beigetragen haben, vgl. M. Sordi, I »Nuovi Decreti« di Marco Aurelio contro i Christiani, *Studi Romani* 9/1961, 365-378 (deutsch unter dem Titel »Die 'neuen Verordnungen' Marc Aurels gegen die Christen«, in: R. Klein (Hg.), *Marc Aurel*, WdF 550, Darmstadt 1979, 176-196.), und unter Eindruck von Pest und Markomannenkriegen staatliche Sühnopfer angeordnet haben, an denen sich die Christen nicht beteiligten. Das daraus resultierende »plötzliche Aufflammen von Christenpogromen ließ in kurzer Zeit vier Apologien entstehen, die alle an Marc Aurel gerichtet sind, von Melito, Apollinaris, Athenagoras und Miltiades« (Guyot/Klein, *Das frühe Christentum*, 340 Anm. 104, vgl. 342 Anm. 123). Vgl. A. Wlosok, *Rom und die Christen. Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Christentum und römischem Staat*. Stuttgart 1970, 46-52/Sordi, *Christians*, 78 Anm. 35/Speigl, *Staat*, 171ff.

[124] Vgl. S. Ronchey, *Indagine*, 46: »Ora, tutta la moderna storiografia, ivi inclusa quella cattolica, è concorde sull' indiscussa evidenza che nell' epistola degli Smirnioti la suggestione parenetica si trova ad essere in antitesi ed in polemica meno con l' autorità persecutrice che con altre e devianti interpretazioni dello scontro ideologico interne alla religione perseguitata, ispiratrici di comportamenti e atteggiamenti nei confronti di tale autorità estranei alle strategie ortodosse.«

[125] Klawiter, *New Prophecy*, 101; vgl. a.a.O., 179: »... voluntary martyrdom ... became a suicidal position when advocated by the New Prophecy around A.D. 175.«

[126] Vgl. Blanchtière, Montanisme II, 22: »Pourtant à l'origine, le Montanisme apparaît moins comme une hérésie dogmatique que comme une affaire disciplinaire.«/vgl. Schwegler, *Montanismus*, 133.

[127] Klawiter, *new Prophecy*, 165 Anm. 1; vgl. a.a.O., 308: »The unchangeable element of the New Prophecy in Asia Minor, Rome, and North Africa was the belief in voluntary

martyrdom.« — Vgl. Bonwetsch, *Montanismus*, 144: »Die Verfolgung, welche damals Kleinasien und zwar besonders auch Phrygien bewegte ... musste besonders geeignet sein, den vorhandenen Zündstoff im Enthusiasmus der neuen Prophetie emporlodern zu lassen.«

[128] Hier kritisch gegen W.J. Burghardts gleichnamigen Aufsatz in: *From Faith to Faith, Essays in Honor of Donald G. Miller on his Seventieth Birthday*, hg. v. D.Y. Hadidian, Pittsburgh 1979, 339-356.

[129] Klawiter, Role, 254.

[130] Klawiter, *New Prophecy*, 105.

[131] Vgl. zur heutigen Zeit etwa: Th. Meyer (Hg.), *Fundamentalismus in der modernen Welt. Die Internationale der Unvernunft*, edition suhrkamp 1526, Frankfurt/M. 1989.

[132] Vgl. Klawiter, *New Prophecy*, 190 und 304: »People yearned for an epiphany of the divine, desired to have control over the future, and hoped ultimately to overcome death. All of this the New Prophecy could promise ... .«

[133] *Töchter*, 336.

[134] A.a.O., 339.

[135] A.a.O., 337.

[136] *New Prophecy*, 9.

[137] A.a.O., 38 unter Berufung auf Frend.

[138] Vgl. Eus., *HistEccl* V,16,20f; 18,5-10; vgl. Schepelern, *Montanismus*, 35f. dort auch Belege.

[139] Vgl. H. Lietzmann, *Geschichte der Alten Kirche, Bd. 2; Ecclesia catholica*, Berlin [3]1961, 201/K. Baus, *Von der Urgemeinde zur frühchristlichen Großkirche*, Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte 1, Freiburg u.a. [3]1965, 233/Tabbernee, Voluntary Martyrdom, 36: »Montanists certainly had great respect for martyrs and used the existence of their own martyrs as proof that Montanist teachings were true and approved by God (Eus. *Hist.eccl.*, 5.16.20; 5.18.5).«

[140] Klawiter, Role, 254 unter Hinweis auf die »Schlüsselgewalt«.

[141] A.a.O., 260.

[142] Vgl. F. Cardman, Acts of the Women Martyrs, *AThR* 70/1988, 144-150/A. Valerio, Le figure femminili negli Atti dei martiri del II secolo, *Rassegna di teologia* 1981, 28-44.

[143] Vgl. H. Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, KEK 5, Göttingen [2]1981 272f/O. Wischmeyer, *Der höchste Weg. Das 13. Kapitel des 1. Korintherbriefs*, StANT 13, Gütersloh 1981, 81ff/kritisch: F.J. Dölger, Der Feuertod ohne die Liebe. Antike Selbstverbrennung und christlicher Martyrium-Enthusiasmus. Ein Beitrag zu I Korinther 13,3, *AuC* 1, Münster [2]1974, 254-270.

[144] Vgl. die interessante Textvariante von καυθήσομαι/καυχήσομαι.

[145] Vgl. Schwegler, *Montanismus*, 83-94.

[146] Vgl. Heine, *Oracles*, Nr. 63.

[147] Leaves from an Anatolian notebook, *BJRL* 13/1929, 254-271: 260-263.

[148] Vgl. W.H.C. Frend, Montanism: A Movement of Prophecy and Regional Identity in the Early Church, *BJRL* 70/1988, 25-34: 33: »An inscription probably of the early fourth century from Kurd Koi in the same area indicates also a tradition of religious rigorism, the deceased in this case choosing virginity, dedication to Christ and baptism by the presbyter of 'the Novatianist saints'.«

[149] Zu den montanistischen Inschriften Kleinasiens vgl. u.a.: Gibson, *Christians for Christians*/Strobel, *Das Land*/Tabbernee, Remnants, 198f.

[150] Vgl. dazu das σπουδή-Motiv in MartPol 6,2; 7,2; 8,3; 13,2, das durch die überlegt-ruhige Gelassenheit des alten Polykarp deutlich kritisiert wird, vgl. Buschmann, *MartPol*, 178. — Zum Bedeutungsgehalt von σπουδάζειν im Sinne von »sich beeilen« und »sich bemühen« vgl. G. Harder, Art. σπουδάζω κτλ., *ThWNT* 7, 559-568. In der alten Kirche drückt der Begriff »ein betontes Bemühen um das rechte christliche Verhalten« (567) aus.

[151] Vgl. die Bedeutung von Visionen und Auditionen in montanistischem Kontext.

[152] Vgl. Calder, Philadelphia and Montanism, 321: »Now Harnack has observed that the earlier Montanists in other parts of Asia Minor appear as Novatians in the fourth century... To argue back from Novatianism in the fourth century to Montanism in the third is not a violent proceeding...«.

[153] Vgl. zu letzterem den Zusammenhang von Märtyrerelementen, Montanismus und Jungfräulichkeit in den apokryphen Apostelakten.

[154] Aland, Bemerkungen 107/vgl. Tabbernee, Remnants, 200f.

[155] Strobel, *Land*, 87-90.

[156] Research, 514. Vgl. auch B. Dehandschutter, Le Martyre de Polycarpe et le développement de la conception du martyre au deuxième siècle, *StPatr* 17.2, 1982, 659-668: 666f.

[157] Research, 502. — Vgl. zu EpistJac: D. Kirchner, Brief des Jakobus, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung. I. Band: Evangelien*, hg. v. W. Schneemelcher, Tübingen [6]1990, 234-244/D. Kirchner (Hg.), *Epistula Jacobi Apocrypha. Die zweite Schrift aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex I*, TU 136, (Ost-)Berlin 1989.

[158] Vgl. W.C. van Unnik, The Origin of the Recently Discovered »Apocryhon Jacobi«, *VigChr* 10/1956, 149-156.

[159] *Martyrium und Sophiamythos im Gnostizismus nach den Texten von Nag Hammadi*, JAC E 14, Münster 1987, 35-42/vgl. auch C. Colpe, Heidnische, jüdische und christliche Überlieferung in den Schriften aus Nag Hammadi VII, *JAC* 21/1978, 125-146, besonders 129 Anm. 24.

[160] Spirit and Prophecy in the Epistula Iacobi Apocrypha (NHC I,2), *VigChr* 44/1990, 25-53, besonders 30f.39ff.

[161] Auch weitere Passagen in der EpJac weisen auf einen Martyriumskontext hin: 6,21-7,1: Martyrium Joh. d.T., 8,35f: Verhalten vor den Herrschern, 8,39: Kranz, 11,14ff: »Heil denen, die offen geredet haben und sich selbst die Gnade erwirkten!«, 11,20-29: Flucht vor dem Martyrium, 13,12f: Aufstieg zum Vater (vgl. Perpetuas Himmelsleiter-Vision), 14,35f: Ausziehen-Anziehen.

[162] Research, 502.

[163] Vgl. Vliet, Epistula Iacobi, 30f.

[164] A.a.O., 35

[165] Vgl. das Einst-Jetzt-Schema in 3:1-6 und insbesondere in den von 7:1 nicht zu trennenden Gleichnissen 7:1-10. Vgl. dazu Vliets eigene Relativierung seiner »no more prophecy«-Hypothese (41f) sowie Kirchner, *Epistula Jacobi*, 106(!)-110 und Kirchner, Brief des Jakobus, 237: »Die nach EpJac vom irdischen Jesus stammenden Sprüche werden zurückgewiesen, da der vorösterliche Jesus keinen Offenbarungsanspruch besaß. Dazu paßt die Parabel-Theorie: »Ich habe früher zu euch in Gleichnissen geredet, und ihr habt nicht verstanden. Jetzt rede ich jedoch zu euch offen, und ihr versteht nicht« (p. 7). Begründet wird diese Ansicht damit, daß das Haupt der Prophetie mit Johannes dem Täufer abgeschlagen wurde, Jesus also nicht prophetisch-offenbarend reden konnte (p. 6).«

[166] Vgl. explizit MartPol 1,1; 4; 19,1 sowie die zahlreichen Evangeliums-Anspielungen im

MartPol, vgl. dazu Dehandschutter, *MartPol* 233-258: »Appendix II. Lijst van verwijzingen naar het Nieuwe Testament«.

[167] Vgl. Buschmann, *MartPol*, 48-68 gegen v. Campenhausen, Conzelmann u.a. Vgl. auch A. Strobel, *Ursprung und Geschichte des frühchristlichen Osterkalenders*, TU 121, (Ost-)Berlin 1977, 252: »Somit leidet es überhaupt keinen Zweifel, daß der Imitatio-Gedanke in eigentümlicher Ausprägung das Martyrium des Polykarp von Grund auf bestimmt.«

[168] Vgl. z.B. Paulsen, Bedeutung.

[169] Conzelmann, Bemerkungen, 14. Vgl. ähnlich v. Campenhausen, Bearbeitungen, 274: »Das wäre dann die gleiche (=polemisch-antimontanistische) Tendenz, die wir schon zweimal, im Quintus-Kapitel und in der Evangelien-Bearbeitung wirksam gesehen haben.«

[170] Vgl. Buschmann, *MartPol*, 295ff.

[171] Vgl. a.a.O., 291f.

[172] Vgl. Heine, *Oracles*, Nr. 23.

[173] Vgl. auch Eus., *HistEccl* V,16,21 von den Marcioniten: ...ἀλλὰ τόν γε Χριστὸν κατ' ἀλήθειαν οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσιν... .

[174] Vgl. Heine, *Oracles*, Nr. 1. vgl. die Orakel Nr. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11 sowie die »questionable oracles« Nr. 15, 16, 18.

[175] R.M. Grant, Art. Montanismus, ³*EKL* 3, 539f. — E.C. Huber, *Women and the Authority of Inspiration. A Reexamination of Two Prophetic Movements From a Contemporary Feminist Perspective.* Lanham u.a. 1985, 46, folgert: »Inevitable conflict followed when this Spirit-filled authority was put into action because men in the emerging ecclesiastical structures perceived that those who exercised charismatic authority were a danger to their own authority, particularly when such charismatic leaders were women.«

[176] Vgl. D.E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Grand Rapids 1983, 315: »oracles of self-commendation, i.e. oracles whose function it is to legitimate the prophetic spokesman as a reliable source of divine revelation.« Vgl. auch Jensen, *Töchter*, 250 bzgl. MartLugd: »Es ist erstaunlich: was in der Beschreibung des Martyrers Sanktus von *Christus* gesagt wurde: »*Er* besiegte den Widersacher« (1,23), wird hier von der Martyrin *Blandina* gesagt: »*Sie* besiegte den Widersacher zu wiederholten Malen.« Die gleiche starke Identifikation mit Christus findet sich bereits am Anfang dieser Szene... .«

[177] Vgl. Heine, *Oracles*, Nr. 124; 137; 145.

[178] *Haereticorum fabulorum compendium* 3,2; vgl. Heine, *Oracles*, Nr. 136.

[179] Isidor von Spanien, *Etymologiarum libri* xx 8,5,27; vgl. Heine, *Oracles*, Nr. 143.

[180] Vgl. Heine, *Oracles*, Nr. 6.

[181] Vgl. Dehandschutter, *MartPol*, Appendix II, 233-259/v. Henten, Einfluß, 715.

[182] Vgl. Heine, *Oracles*, Nr. 7.

[183] A.a.O., Nr. 11.

[184] A.a.O., Nr. 18.

[185] Jensen, *Töchter*, 313.

[186] V. Henten, Einfluß, 175. Ähnlich Dehandschutter, Research, 514. — Hier fügt sich hinsichtlich Ignatius und EpJac auch eine Beobachtung von H.D. Betz, *Nachfolge und Nachahmung Jesu Christi im Neuen Testament*, BHTh 37, Tübingen 1967, 181f, wonach für Ignatius die Vita Jesu keine Bedeutung hat. Währenddessen vertritt MartPol ein Konzept, das die Fakten der Evangelientradition als Modell vorführt.

[187] *Daniel-Kommentar* 4,20; vgl. Heine, *Oracles*, Nr. 31.

[188] Heine, Gospel of John, 98 unter Berufung auf Hippolyts *Daniel-Kommentar* 4,19f und die *Widerlegung aller Häresien* 8,19.

[189] Ebd.

[190] W. Kühnert, Der antimontanistische Anonymus des Eusebius, *ThZ* 5/1949, 436-446: 438.

[191] Eus., *HistEccl* V,16,3; 24,2. Vgl. zur Formelhaftigkeit dieser Wendung Dtn 4,2; 13,1; Apk 22,18f. Vgl. W.C. van Unnik, De la règle Μήτε προσθεῖναι μήτε ἀφελεῖν dans l'histoire du canon, *VigChr* 3/1949, 1-36. — Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang auch die Diskussion um »The Montanist 'Catholic Epistle' and its New Testament Prototype«, A.F. Walls, *StEv 3,/TU 88,* Berlin 1964, 437-446.

[192] Trevett, Apocalypse, 323, weist in diesem Zusammenhang in einem Atemzug hin auf: »*HE* v. 16,2 cf. MartPol, i ; ii; iv«.

[193] Kühnert, Anonymus, 444. Vgl. U. Luz, Erwägungen zur Entstehung des »Frühkatholizismus«. Eine Skizze, *ZNW65*/1974, 88-111: 106: »An seinem (=Frühkatholizismus) Anfang stand ... die Rückwendung zum 'Apostolischen', das feststehende Autorität wird. Ich würde nun vorschlagen, diesen Willen zur Hinwendung zum 'Apostolischen' und zur Unterordnung unter das 'Apostolische' als das eigentliche Zentrum des Frühkatholizismus anzusehen.«

[194] R.E. Heine, The Role of the Gospel of John in the Montanist Controversy. *The Second Century* 6/1987/88, 1-19: 10; vgl. auch Groh, Utterance; E. Schüssler Fiorenza, *Zu ihrem Gedächtnis... Eine feministisch-theologische Rekonstruktion der christlichen Ursprünge.* München 1989, 89, weist daraufhin, daß »die MontanistInnen prophetisches Wirken von Frauen mit dem Verweis auf die Schrift legitimieren«, daß die Gegenseite sich ebenfalls auf die Schrift beruft und endlich der Prozeß der Kanonisierung einen »patriarchalen Selektionsprozeß widerspiegelt mit der Funktion, Frauen von der Kirchenleitung auszuschließen..«

[195] Vgl. Heine, Role, 4-11.

[196] Vgl. a.a.O., 7: »(1) the true prophets (unlike Montanist prophets) spoke in full possession of their understanding, and (2) the prophecies of true prophets were fulfilled.«

[197] Kirchner, Brief des Jacobus, 237: »Die nach EpJac vom irdischen Jesus stammenden Sprüche werden zurückgewiesen, da der vorösterliche Jesus keinen Offenbarungscharakter besaß.«

[198] Vgl. Kötting, Provokation, 330. Vgl. Tert., *de idol.* 11,7! Vgl. J. Vogt, Art. Christenverfolgung I, *RAC* 2, 1175: »Da und dort mag auch die herausfordernde Haltung einzelner Christen, das Drängen zum Martyrium, das besonders bei den Montanisten begegnet, zur Verschärfung der Gegensätze beigetragen haben.« Vgl. auch Nicholson, Flight, 58 Anm. 69. — Im Zusammenhang solch fanatischer Bilderstürmerei wurde den Christen übrigens besonders der Vorwurf des Atheismus gemacht (vgl. MartPol 3,2; 9,2).

[199] Ronchey, *Indagine*, 46.

[200] Dassmann, *Kirchengeschichte I*, 128. Ähnlich H. Opitz, *Die alte Kirche. Ein Leitfaden der Kirchengeschichte 1*, (Ost-)Berlin 1983, 78: »Der Montanismus, der sich als abschließende christliche Offenbarung verstand, fördert das kirchliche Bestreben, den Umfang »echter« urchristlicher Offenbarung schriftlich zu fixieren.«

[201] Vgl. Paulsen, Bedeutung.

[202] Jensen, *Töchter*, 304.

[203] *Refut. omnium haer.* 8, 19; vgl. Heine, *Oracles* Nr. 32/vgl. auch Heine, *Oracles*, Nr. 31: ... ἥνπερ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐχ ὥρισεν, ἵνα τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐαγγέλιον ἀτιμάσωσιν./Vgl. Heine, Role,

12: »Hippolytus stresses the importance of basing everything on Scripture in opposition to giving credence to visions and dreams.«

[204] Jensen, *Töchter*, 304 vgl. Eus., *HistEccl* VI,20,3 und *vita Constantini* III, 56.

[205] *Geschichte des Montanismus,* 128ff/vgl. de Labriolle, *Crise*, 539ff: Conclusion: La constitution du Canon scripture.

[206] *Montanismus*, 105.

[207] Bemerkungen, 143.

[208] Ash, Decline, 228, stellt hingegen die These auf, »that the bishops, not the canon, 'expelled prophecy'.«

[209] Vgl. v. Campenhausen, *Entstehung*, 259: »Der kritische Punkt, über dem der Montanismus zur Sekte geworden ist, liegt also nicht unmittelbar in seiner Stellung zum Kanon; er liegt vielmehr in seiner heilsgeschichtlichen Selbstbeurteilung, die mit dem kanonischen Normgedanken allerdings kollidieren mußte. Indem die Montanisten nicht darauf verzichten wollten, die überschwengliche Autorität ihres Geistes und ihrer Gründerpropheten absolut zu setzen... .« Vgl. Paulsen, Bedeutung, 29f: »Ist nun richtig, daß die montanistischen Aussprüche nicht den Anspruch der kirchlich anerkannten Texte bestreiten, so gilt andererseits aber auch, daß sie in einer Weise neben sie treten, die in ihrem Pochen auf Gültigkeit und Autorität überrascht.«

[210] Vgl. in anti-monanistischem Zusammenhang noch folgende Texte: Epiphan., *Pan* 48,1,5: ...χαρίσματα ... δεδοκιμασμένα παρά τε προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου; Epiph., *Pan.* 48, 20, 4: ὁ δὲ κύριος ἐλέγχει τὸν τοιοῦτον ...; Epiph. *Pan.* 48, 11, 3f: ὅτε γὰρ εὐθὺς τοῦτο εἶπε Μοντανός, ὑπόνοιαν ἡμῖν δέδωκεν ἀναμνησθῆναι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου εἰρημένα. οὕτως γάρ φησιν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· ... ἀσύμφωνος τοίνυν παντάπασιν ὁ τοιοῦτος (=Montanus) τῶν Θείων γραφῶν πύρέθη; vgl. auch 48,11,10 und 48,13,6 sowie Hippolyts *Danielkommentar* 4,20 und seine *refutatio omnium haeresium* 8,19, vgl. Heine, *Oracles*, Nr. 31f, und Pseudo-Tertullian, *Adversus omnes haereses* 7, vgl. Heine, *Oracles*, Nr. 34,: ... *et qua dicant paracletum plura in Montano dixisse quam Christum in Evangelium protulisse ...*, und Origenes, *Comm. ser.* 47, vgl. Heine, *Oracles*, Nr. 47: *sola autem ecclesia neque subtrahit huius fulguris verbum et sensum, neque addit quasi prophetiam aliud aliquid.*

[211] Paulsen, Bedeutung, 43.

[212] Vgl. Strobel, *Land*, 9ff, dort auch Lit./Klawiter, *New Prophecy*, 48-62/R.M. Grant, *Augustus to Constantine. The Thrust of the Christian Movement into the Roman World.* London 1971, 158f/I. Goldhahn-Müller, *Die Grenze der Gemeinde. Studien zum Problem der Zweiten Buße im Neuen Testament unter Berücksichtigung der Entwicklung im 2. Jh. bis Tertullian*, GTA 39, Göttingen 1989, 290 Anm. 201.

[213] Vgl. Klawiter, *New Prophecy*, 63 Anm. 2: »How much before A.D. 167 one can date the appearance of Montanus is in the end dependent upon one's interpretation of chapter four of the Martyrdom of Polycarp. But since one's interpretation of chapter four is in turn dependent upon an understanding of the character of Montanism... .«/M. Sordi, *Il cristianesimo e Roma*, Bologna 1965, 467f.

[214] Vgl. Buschmann, *MartPol*, 19-24, dort Lit./außerdem: Ronchey, *Indagine*, 209-221/Strobel, *Osterkalender*, 245-253/R.M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, Oxford 1980, 115ff/M. Sordi, Die »neuen Verordnungen« Marc Aurels gegen die Christen, Klein, R. (Hg.), *Marc Aurel*, WdF 550, Darmstadt 1979, 176-196: 187f/M. Sordi, La data del Martirio di Policarpo e di Pionio e il rescritto di Antonio Pio, *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 15/1961, 277-285/Keim, *Urchristenthum*, 90ff/E. Egli, *Altchristliche Studien. Martyrien und Martyrologien ältester Zeit.* Zürich 1887, 74-79/V. Saxer, *Bible et*

Hagiographie. Textes et thèmes bibliques dans les Actes des martyrs authentiques des premiers siècles, Bern 1986, 33 Anm. 2/P. Karpinski, *Annua dies dormitionis: Untersuchungen zum christlichen Jahrgedächtnis der Toten auf dem Hintergrund antiken Brauchtums*, EHS 23.300, Frankfurt a.M. 1987, 40 Anm. 2/J. den Boeft; J. Bremmer, Notiunculae Martyrologicae IV, *VigChr* 45/1991, 105-122: 108f/die jüngsten Forschungsberichte in *ANRW* II. 27.1: Schoedel, Polycarp and Ignatius, 354/v. Henten, Einfluß, 702f/Dehandschutter, Research, 497-502.

[215] Vgl. Buschmann, *MartPol*, 19-24.27/V. Henten, Einfluß, 703: »Auf jeden Fall hätte eine Datierung auf 167 ein ungewöhnlich langes Intervall zur Folge, so daß die Datierung in die Zeit des Marcus Aurelius (161-180) zugunsten der plausibleren Frühdatierung auf 155-160 abzulehnen ist.«/Ronchey, *Indagine*, 55-65/Dehandschutter, *MartPol*, 191-219/Sordi, Data/Alföldy, *Konsulat*, 214f — Gegen die sich auf Euseb beziehende Spätdatierung des MartPol (177 n.Chr.) bei H. Grégoire/P. Orgels, La véritable date du martyre de S. Polycarpe (23. février 177) et le »Corpus Polycarpianum«, *AnBoll* 69/1951, 1-38 und den darauf Bezug nehmenden literarkritischen Ansatz v. Campenhausens.

[216] Strobel, *Land*, 52, vgl. die dortige Begründung, sowie Blanchtière, Montanisme, 127ff/Paulsen, Bedeutung, 40f/Colin, *L'empire*, 95 Anm. 209 — Früher: G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, The Date of the Outbreak of Montanism, *JEH* 5/1954, 7-15/J.M. Ford, A Note on Proto-Montanism in the Pastoral Epistles, *NTS* 17/1970/71, 338-346/J.A. Fischer, Die antimontanistischen Synoden des 2./3. Jahrhunderts, *AHC* 6/1974, 241-273. — Gegen die Spätdatierung bei: de Labriolle, *Crise*, 12. 569ff (»vers 172«)/A. Ehrhardt, *Die Kirche der Märtyrer. Ihre Aufgaben und ihre Leistungen*. München 1932, 231f/D. Powell, Tertullianists and Cataphrygians, *VigChr* 29/1975, 33-54: 41ff/T.D. Barnes, The Chronology of Montanism, *JThS* 21/1970, 403-408/W.H.C. Frend, A Note on the Chronology of the Martyrdom of Polycarp and the Outbreak of Montanism. *Oikumene. Studi paleocristiani in onore del Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano II.* Centro di Studi sull' Antico Cristianesimo. Università de Catania 1964, 499-506/Frend, Montanism, 26/Fröhlich, Montanism, 92/Burghardt, Condemned, 339 Anm. 1./Jensen, *Töchter*, 272 Anm. 67 — Aber vgl. schon die Frühdatierung bei: Schwegler, *Montanismus*, 249-256/Bonwetsch, *Montanismus*, 140-148. — Vgl. zur Forschungsgeschichte: Klawiter, *New Prophecy*, 48-62/Paulsen, Bedeutung, 40f.

[217] Trevett, Apocalypse, 313. — Vgl. Paulsen, Bedeutung, 40f unter Berufung auf Schwegler, Harnack und Baur: »Die Aporie, in die eine Diskussion der Chronologie führt, erfährt aber vielleicht dann eine Lösung, wenn bedacht wird, daß die präzise, zeitliche Festsetzung einer »Häresie« im Blick auf ihre Entstehung den großkirchlichen Interessen sehr genau entspricht; sie dient damit der Kennzeichnung des sekundären Charakters solcher Bewegungen und trifft deshalb a priori nicht notwendig zu.«

[218] Schwegler, *Montanismus*, 256.

[219] Vgl. Buschmann, *MartPol*, 198-251.

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NOTIUNCULAE MARTYROLOGICAE V

BY

JAN DEN BOEFT AND JAN BREMMER

S. Ronchey, *Indagine sul martirio di san Policarpo*. Rome, Istituto storico per il medio evo, 1990. 240 p.; Th. Baumeister, *Genese und Entfaltung der altkirchlichen Theologie des Martyriums* = Traditio Christiana, vol. VIII. Bern, Peter Lang, 1991. XL, 202 p.; R. Pillinger, *Das Martyrium des heiligen Dasius* (Österr. Ak. Wiss., Philos.-hist. Klasse, SB 517). Wien, 1988. 59 p; F. Ruggiero, *Atti dei martiri Scilitani. Introduzione, testo, traduzione, testimonianze e commento* (Atti della Acc. Naz. dei Lincei. Cl. di sc. mor., stor. e fil. Memorie, s. IX, vol. 1, fasc. 2). Rome, 1991. 100 p.

Early Christian martyrdom keeps drawing scholarly attention. The main focus of this interest may be somewhat shifting towards its Jewish predecessors or, as some would have it, examples, but this does not entail a loss of interest in the Christian documents themselves. This is hardly surprising, since both the general character of these documents and many of their details still pose all kinds of questions, which can seldom be readily solved. In this instalment of our "brief inquiries" we shall deal with four interesting publications of recent years, each of which is stimulating for further research.

1. *The Chronology of the Martyrium Polycarpi*

Many would have thought that Dehandschutter's thorough and detailed study of the *Martyrium Polycarpi* had closed a long debate about the status and reliability of this text.[1] Of course, numerous specific elements remain the object of controversy; among them the date proposed by Dehandschutter for both Polycarp's passion itself and its report in the *Martyrium*, viz. "during the final years of the reign of Antonius Pius".[2] Yet few can have expected the wellnigh revolutionary proposals put forward by Dr. Ronchey, whose primary concern is not so much with the date of Polycarp's death as with the time in which the text of the *Mart. Pol.* received its present form. With a variety of

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arguments R. tries to prove that the text cannot belong to the second century but should rather be ascribed to a date somewhere in the third quarter of the third century. Put very briefly, the main line of R.'s attack on current views argues that many details of the *Mart. Pol.* are anachronistic.[3] These details all support the text's clear intention, which primarily aims to advocate a positive attitude towards the authorities of the Roman empire.

In her analyses and explanations R. avails herself of a wealth of scholarly erudition. She continually refers to a great variety of relevant studies, both in Italian and in other modern languages; indeed, the bibliographical apparatus is most instructive in its own right. Moreover, R. departs from the right premises, viz. that a study of the *realia* should confirm or refute the proposed dating of the *Mart. Pol.* Add to this R.'s sustained and succesful effort to provide her study with a clear and cohesive unity, and the persuasive tone of her novel theses will be comprehensible.

The essential foundation of Ronchey's wholly new interpretation are the suggested "anachronisms" in *Mart. Pol.* If her arguments in favour of these "anachronisms" can really stand up against critical tests, the battle is as good as won. Unfortunately, one may wonder whether the author has prepared herself sufficiently for such a chronological analysis. She mostly relies on older historical studies and tends to neglect recent epigraphical literature which, however, is indispensable for studying institutions, social and religious relations, etc. This insufficient knowledge appears clearly, for example, from her statement that most martyrs belonged to the lower classes, for which she adduces as proof Perpetua (although the *Passio Perpetuae* 2.1 clearly says that she belonged to a good family), the fact that Papylus was a *principalis* (but see below on *Mart. Lugd.* 1.9), and from her discussion of the *Martyrium Pionii*, the composition of which she dates to the era of Decius, but which in her opinion was based on a process under Marcus Aurelius.[4] We cannot enter here into a debate of all of Ronchey's arguments, but the following discussion of three important problems will sufficiently show whether her main thesis can be upheld.

We shall start with the case of a Christian who was arrested before Polycarp. Readers of the *Mart. Pol.* have always understood that "the Phrygian named Quintus, who has recently arrived at Smyrna from Phrygia" (§ 4) is a counterpart to Polycarp: the bishop acted carefully according to God's will in not giving himself up spontaneously, whereas

Quintus surrendered himself in consequence of a rash, but short-lived impetuosity. The text explicitly states that such exhibitionism is not evangelical: οὐχ οὕτως διδάσκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, which contrasts with τὸ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μαρτύριον of Polycarp (1.1). Many have suggested that Quintus was an early representative of the Phrygian sect par excellence, Montanism,[5] but this immediately raises the question of chronology. T.D. Barnes has shown that Montanus began prophesying in 168, at the earliest. Consequently, if Quintus was one of his followers, Polycarp's death can hardly have taken place before about 170—which would be an asset to H. Grégoire's well-known plea for 177.[6]

R., for her part, emphasizes the "necessità di distinguere tra veridicità del fatto e autenticità dello scritto" (63). If the mere mention of Quintus as "Phrygian" is enough to refer to Montanism, one can hardly imagine this still being "un' eresia nascente" (67). Another curious aspect is the addressee of the letter, the small diocese of Philomelium, which at the time stood outside all political and cultural interests and which does not seem to have any role in the rising Montanist movement.[7] Now the real strength of the sect only developed in the third century, so that the "intenzione antimontanista" (79) of the *Mart. Pol.* proves the anachronistical character of the document, which aims to urge its readers to avoid conflicts with the state. Polycarp's exemplary attitude stays aloof from the "dissennatezza dell' autodistruttivo polemismo martirologico" (91). That was typical of Montanism and the main purport of the orthodox *Mart. Pol.* was to warn against such stupid ruptures with the Roman state.

It is impossible to summarize all details of R.'s well-considered argument regarding the Montanist background of Quintus, but we trust its essence has not been unduly detracted from above. Now if the *Mart. Pol.* in its present form really has its "Sitz im Leben" "nel secondo montanismo", viz. of the third century, the question must be raised why its reference to Montanism is so extremely vague. Would the mere mention of Quintus' provenance have been significant enough? This is after all the only possible allusion to the sect.[8] It definitively seems most unlikely that an adaptation of a report on Polycarp's passion for the purpose sketched by R. would not have dwelt on Montanist excesses in far more explicit terms. The arguments derived from Polycarp's "polite" attitude towards the Roman governor are even less convincing. Indeed, the bishop states that Christians have been taught to pay respect

ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τεταγμέναις (10), but if that has to be regarded as directed against inopportune Montanistic insubordination, then Rom. 13.1 and 1 Petr. 2.13-14 are specimina of anachronistic anti-Montanism, too. As to Polycarp's readiness "di spiegare all' inquisitore la propria dottrina" (88), this is exactly paralleled by Carpus in the *Mart. Carpi* (9-20 Greek vision, 2 Latin vision) and Speratus in *Pass. Scil.* 4: *Si tranquillas praebueris aures tuas, dico mysterium simplicitatis.* Regarding Quintus, then, we can only concur with Barnes' observation, albeit put forward without any arguments: "there is no necessity to imagine any allusion whatever to Montanism".[9]

We now come to our second example. After Polycarp had left the small estate on the outskirts of Smyrna and moved to a different estate, presumably further away from the city, the police seized two slaves, one of whom was prepared, after torture, to lead the police to the place where the bishop was hiding. The leadership of the operation was in the hands of the *eirenarchos* Herodes (6),[10] but the actual chase was performed by "*diogmitae* and cavalry with their usual arms, as though quickly pursuing a robber" (7). Herodes himself did not participate in this pursuit,[11] but with his father Nicetes he met Polycarp only in Smyrna itself (8).[12]

Dr. Ronchey takes this arrest as her point of departure for studying the few examples of local institutions in this martyrium, to which she dedicates two chapters (101-20). She first notes that in the *Mart. Pionii* the local elite is described as acting much more favourably to Pionius than to Polycarp in the *Mart. Pol.* She makes this observation because in her opinion the earlier is historically dependable, whereas the latter is not. Admittedly, the attitude of Herodes and his father was quite aggressive, but they, too, initially tried to persuade Polycarp in a friendly manner (8). Moreover, the intention of both *martyria* is rather different. The letter to the congregation of Philomelium was much less interested in mentioning local institutions and notables, whereas Pionius' own report which lies at the basis of the *martyrium* clearly intended to present Pionius as a local notable who was superior to his fellow "intellectuals".[13]

Subsequently R. focusses attention on the nature of the police that arrested Polycarp and Pionius. She points out that according to Ulpian (d. 223 A.D.) and the emperor Marcianus (450-457 A.D.) the task of arresting bandits and *sacrilegi* had been transferred from the *eirenar-*

chos to the pro-consul and his troups. However, in both Smyrnaean *martyria* the arrests were still carried out by local authorities: Polycarp by the *eirenarchos* and his *diogmitae*, Pionius by the *hipparchos* Theophilus (15.4-6).[14] The presence of local authorities in the *Mart. Pion.* is of course no problem for R., since she dates this *martyrium* to the time of Marcus Aurelius (above), but their presence in the *Mart. Pol.* is rather unexpected—especially if the text should belong to the third quarter of the third century (above). R. tries to circumvent the problem by stating that "gli autori della *prosecutio* di Polycarpo non siano in realtà da identificarsi coi gendarmi sottoposti all' autorità municipale, e cioè con i *diogmitae* propriamente detti, ma con militari e agenti alle dipendenze dell' *officium* del proconsole" (117), but this surely will not do. Why would a late redactor introduce into his text such an archaic institutional detail about which he, anyway, would hardly have had any knowledge? R. explains the detail by a "volontaria anche se sfumata mistificazione" (119) in order to blame local but not Roman authorities. This is all highly unlikely, and against R. we suggest that the detail of the *eirenarchos* firmly locates the *Mart. Pol.* somewhere in the third quarter of the second century. Even the detail that the troops set out to arrest Polycarp on the command of the *eirenarchos* "as if pursuing a robber", fits the times:[15] in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*, which is persuasively dated to the period of 125-150 A.D., the heroine Anthia is saved from her robbers by an unexpected attack of the "eirenarch of Cicilia with a large force" (2.13).[16] It was only towards the end of the second century that Roman troups became more and more visible in all areas of Asia Minor and gradually took over the duties of the *eirenarchos* and his *diogmitae*.[17]

R.'s last example of a supposed anachronism concerns the role of the Jews (*Mart. Pol.* 12, 17-18) in the request to let a lion loose on Polycarp and to burn his body in order to prevent the Christians from worshipping the martyr (159-77). R. rightly observes that the relationship between Jews and Christians in Smyrna is depicted as tense both in the *Mart. Pion.* and the *Vita Polycarpi*, which she with Delehaye and others dates to about 400 A.D. But are the reports of the tense relationship as depicted in the *Mart. Pol.* in themselves credible? According to R. this is not the case. She thinks it incredible that Jews would have participated in a public manifestation on the sabbath; the less so, since according to R. many orthodox Jews had emigrated to Smyrna after the unsuccesful revolt of Bar-Kokhba.[18] In fact, though, we know that Jews

were educated in the gymnasium, participated in the athletic contests, and visited the theater—all occasions full of pagan religious rites.[19] Moreover, we have no idea how many Jews were living in Smyrna at the time of Polycarp or what the history had been of the Smyrnean Jewish community.[20]

R. also argues that in the second century the two communities, Jewish and Christian, were still seen by others as "un'entità culturale unica ancora non distinta", whose "forti elementi di affinità e di coesione" made a hostile relationship improbable (175). This is a rather curious statement, since in the second century exclusive persecutions of Christians are well attested. R. has also overlooked that in the time of the *Mart. Pol.* (*ca.* 160-170 A.D.) Melito, the bishop of Sardis, had launched a biting attack on the Jews.[21] The case is illustrative. Although in some big cities Jews seem to have been underrepresented, as e.g. in Ephesos, Sardis clearly had a considerable number of Jewish inhabitants.[22] The same was probably true for Smyrna.[23] In the time of Pionius some Christians visited the synagoge (*Mart. Pion.* 13.1), although it is unclear for what reasons,[24] whereas the author of the *Mart. Pol.* probably knew Jewish martyrological literature.[25] If the connections between Jews and Christians seem to have been close, then, it is not improbable that friction arose precisely in Smyrna.

Finally, it will be clear that our survey of R.'s "anachronisms" does not induce us to accept her novel theses. R. has failed to produce convincing arguments, and the case of the Smyrnaean *eirenarchos* is a resounding confirmation of the traditional dating in the second century, however unprecise.

2. *The theology of martyrdom and the Martyrium Lugdunensium*

In the documents proper of martyrdom, the *Acta et Passiones Martyrum*, reflections on the meaning of suffering and death are more than once woven into the text. Although they themselves do not have a systematical character, these reflections can, nevertheless, be used to sketch the outlines and historical development of a theology of martyrdom. This theology is by no means uniform, which tallies with the wide variety of our documents, but, on the other hand, it is quite justifiable to define a few general trends or at least to mention recurring themes. Some examples: the strong belief in God as the Creator of the universe, the conviction that the real battle is not waged against human

persecutors but against the devil, the martyrs' joy and gladness, the power of steadfastness, the fear of eternal punishment and, above all, a strong personal relationship with Christ (see below on *Mart. Lugd.* 1.41).

In addition to this implicit theology of martyrdom, certain protreptic treatises, such as Tertullian's *Ad martyras* and other tracts in this vein, several of Cyprian's letters and treatises, Origen's *Exhortatio ad Martyrium* and the anonymous *De laude martyrii* (written in Latin and of uncertain date) display a more systematically elaborated theology. Some of these writings naturally reflect the general convictions of the authors concerned, e.g. the platonizing tendencies in Origen or the triumphalistic colouring of *De laude martyrii.*

A clear survey of martyrological thought in the first three centuries was a desideratum. Detailed studies of specific aspects and texts abound, but an overall picture of some proportion was welcome. Prof. Baumeister, whose expertise in this domain is manifested by a series of relevant papers, had provided a description of the early stages of the theology in question in his "Habilitationsschrift".[26] He now presents a survey of the whole period in the form of a selection of primary texts. These texts are printed in their original language, Hebrew (viz. Dan. 11.29 sqq.), Greek and Latin, and accompanied by a translation, a short app. crit. and many notes. The selection is introduced in a succinct "Einleitung" (XI-XXVI), equipped with an ample bibliography (XXVII-XXXVIII), and contains some useful indices (189-202).

Nearly the whole content of the book is concerned with pre-Constantinian martyrdom. Only the last text (Sulp.Sev. *Ep.* 2.8-13) introduces the *sine cruore martyrium* of the ascetics. This passage is certainly illustrative of that great theme, but without further support it is merely a marginal addition. Other post-Constantinian "martyrologica" might also have been introduced: the cult of the saints, the victims of Julian's restoration policy, the position of orthodox Christians who suffered at the hands of Arians (a problem which worried Basil of Caesarea), etc. However, B's decision to limit himself to the times of martyrdom in its original sense is prudent. It has resulted in a clear unity of conception, which would have been prevented by a widening of the scope.

B. is a moderate adherent of theories which advocate "die Verwurzelung der christlichen Theologie des Martyriums im Judentum" (XI). For this reason he has incorporated passages from Dan. and 2 and

4Macc. We shall return to the latter below but first deal with some other details. 1. 2Tim. 4.8 πᾶσι τοῖς ἠγαπηκόσι τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ: Judging by the remark "Der Kranz wird hier also nicht auf die Märtyrer beschränkt" (p. 18 n.2), B. is convinced of the correctness of πᾶσι, which is questioned by some. The rendering "... allen, die in Liebe auf sein Erscheinen warten" could be slightly improved upon; Bauer s.v. ἀγαπάω 2 proposes "herbeisehnen", rendered by Arndt-Gingrich by "to long for something". 2. It is not absolutely certain that Ap. 20.4 "die sich ... nicht vor seinem Bild niedergeworfen hatten" only refers to the "Ablehnung des Kaiserkultes" (p. 43 n.2).[27] 3. *Mart. Pol.* 2.2 states that the martyrs' steadfastness during their plight showed ὅτι παρεστὼς ὁ κύριος ὡμίλει αὐτοῖς. B. notes: "Die Charakerstärke der Märtyrer ist also übernatürlich begründet, nicht rein menschlicher Heroismus" (p. 31 n.4). That is correct, but the quoted phrase also testifies to the close personal relationship with the Lord (see also below on *Mart. Lugd.* 1.41). 4. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4. 17.2 refuses to allot the title of "martyr" to those who have given themselves up "by their hatred of the Creator", κἂν δημοσίᾳ κολάζωνται, "even if they are punished officially (by the authorities)". Clemens here touches upon one of the essential conditions of true and full martyrdom, witness Hipp. Rom. *Trad.Ap.* 9, *confessor est qui non est ductus coram potestate.* The phrase *coram potestate* also refers to the official character of the proceedings.[28] 5. Min.Fel. *Oct.* 36.9 interprets man's severe plight as a testing of his will, even in the face of death, by God, Who is certain *nihil sibi posse perire.* B. renders "dass ihm nichts entgehen kann" (p. 137). Surely the author wants to say that even during the most gruelling tests the faithful will not perish for God (cf. Beaujeu's translation "que rien ne peut être perdu pour lui"). 6. Lact. *DI* 5.23: those whose health had been restored when the demons causing their illness were driven out, adhere to the Christian religion, *cuius potentiam senserunt.* Here a reference to R. MacMullen's insistence on the importance of the "efficacy before one's own eyes" of superrational power(s) in bringing about conversion would have been opportune.[29] 7. In Athan. *Vita Antonii* 46 the author reports that Antony encouraged Christian prisoners and accompanied them, ἕως τελειωθῶσιν. B. renders "bis sie es vollendet hatten". This is quite unsatisfactory. The verb expresses these martyrs' death, which in martyrological thought is the consummation of life.[30]

One of the documents which contains most elements of implicit martyrological reflection is the *Letter from the churches of Vienne and*

Lyons, a large part of which has been incorporated by Eusebius in ch. 1 and 2 of his *HE*, book 5. We venture to add a few notiunculae on some passages of this invaluable text.

Martyrium Lugdunensium 1.9. In this section the writers introduce a young man named Vettius Epagathus, a devout and active Christian, who protested against the way in which his fellow-Christians were being tried. His protest gave offence to other bystanders: τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸ βῆμα καταβοησάντων αὐτοῦ, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐπίσημος, κτλ. Musurillo's translation is remarkable: "Although he was a distinguished person the crowd around the tribunal shouted him down". The concessive conjunction evidently does not tally with the Greek text. None of the other translators make this curious mistake, yet it is doubtful whether in all cases the purport of the phrase καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐπίσημος is fully grasped. Rufinus for one goes fully astray: his *erat enim et nobilissimus inter suos et eruditissimus* is linked to Epagathus' readiness to defend his brethren. Other renderings, however, leave also something to be desired. Allegro's "distintosi in tal modo" misses the point completely, but neither "i quali conoscevano il giovane" (Saxer) nor "era in effetti personnaggio assai noto" (Ronchey and, quite similarly, Lanata) is really satisfactory. The adjective does not merely express that Epagathus was well-known, which after all can be said about persons of any social status. For this reason "una persona ragguardevole" (Caldarelli) or "un homme distingué" (Bardy) should be preferred, because these renderings unambiguously refer to Epagathus' rank. In the substantial section of the prosopographical survey of the Lyonnese martyrs, which G. Thomas devotes to him, he tentatively concludes that the adjective may well be an "unofficial" designation of one of the ranks of the equestrian order.[31] If this interpretation is correct, it means that the martyr was "a man of position". Kirsopp Lake, to whom we owe this translation, adds this explanation in a note: "Apparently the meaning is that his social position made the crowd even more indignant at his advocacy of Christians". The persuasiveness of this view is corroborated by G.W. Clarke's note ad Cypr. *Ep.* 8.1.1 *propterea cum sit persona insignis*, about the exact equivalent of the Greek phrase in question.[32] Clarke mentions some other cases in which prominent figures were attacked in times of persecution. Presumably, such men were deemed to forsake their duties to the commonwealth and its well-being by associating themselves with people whose religious behaviour was endangering these. They thus fell victim of the same alarm and irritation which spurred Celsus' attacks on the

Christians' desertion of the Roman empire and its rulers. They abandoned their participation in the ἄρχειν τῆς πατρίδος, ἐὰν δέῃ καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἕνεκεν σωτηρίας νόμων καὶ εὐσεβείας (Or. *Cels.* 8.75). Only men of rank could be the object of such complaints. The mob at Lyons gave vent to these in a manner other than their intellectual contemporary, but their instincts pointed in the same direction.

If this explanation is accepted, we have gained one more example of a Christian belonging to the higher classes. Peter Brunt once stated that to pagans of high rank and education the Christians must have appeared pretty worthless, because they were mostly low in degree and culture. Robin Lane Fox, too, suggests that in the larger cities very few Christians could afford higher education and in the smaller townships none at all.[33] There is reason to doubt if these observations are justified. For example, Polycarp seems to have owned various estates (*Mart. Pol.* 5-7), Papylus was a *principalis* (*Mart. Carpi* 3.1, Latin version),[34] and Irenaeus, Justin, Tatian and Athenagoras were all highly educated people, and also the second-century Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles presuppose an educated Christian reading public. Moreover, Christianity attracted upper-class women from an early stage of its existence.[35] The fact that many early Christians belonged to the lowest strata of ancient society should not make us overlook the fact that early Christianity had also succeeded in recruiting a sizeable number of members of the middle and upper classes.

Martyrium Lugdunensium 1.41. Ever since O. Perler advocated the dependence of early Christian views of martyrdom on 4Macc., this idea has been exploited to detect precise terminological resemblances to 4Macc. in the Lyonnese letter.[36] In general we are cautious in recognising such influences, since in this letter reminiscences and allusions to the New Testament writings and to a Christian interpretation of Old Testament passages are far more prominent than those referring to Jewish martyrdom.[37] Yet one can also be too sceptical and the reference to Blandina καθάπερ μήτηρ εὐγενὴς παρορμήσασα τὰ τέκνα κτλ. (1.55) seems a clear allusion to the mother of the Maccabean martyrs. In a recent article D. Farkasfalvy provides a list of biblical, specifically "christological" references,[38] to which one, more hidden, allusion can perhaps be added, which also concerns Blandina. In 1.41 it is reported that διὰ τοῦ βλέπεσθαι σταυροῦ σχήματι κρεμαμένη, διὰ τῆς εὐτόνου προσευχῆς πολλὴν προθυμίαν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις ἐνεποίει. Baumeister, *Genese* p. 37 n.4 notes: "Blandina ahmt nicht den Gekreuzigten nach; andere sehen ihn in ihr".

This may be right, but a further step seems possible. A person whose body takes the shape of a cross whilst he or she is strenuously praying and who in this way provides strength to those who are fighting may not merely be reminiscent of the crucified Lord, but rather form a reference to an Old Testament *typos* of Him, viz. Moses during Israel's battle with Amalek in Ex. 17.8-13, cf. especially vs. 11: "Whenever Moses raised his hands Israel had the advantage, and when he lowered his hands the advantage passed to Amalek". Examples of early typological interpretation are by no means lacking. In *Ep. Barn.* 12.2 the Spirit charges Moses ἵνα ποιήσῃ τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πάσχειν, Just. *Dial.* 91.3 says that the force of the Cross manifested itself διά τε τοῦ τύπου τῆς ἐκτάσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ Μωσέως, Tert. *adu. Marc.* 3.18.6 notes: *crucis quoque erat habitus necessarius, per quam Iesus uictoriam esset relaturus*, Cypr.(?) *Quir.* 2.21 deals with the passage in a chapter entitled *Quod in passione crucis et signo virtus omnis sit et potestas* and i.a. remarks *hoc signo crucis et Amalech uictus est ab Iesu per Moysen in Exodo.*[39] We refrain from quoting later testimonia of this interpretation,[40] since it was our purpose to show that the writer of the Lyonnese letter may well have been aware of it. The absence of a direct reference to Ex. 17 entails some reserve, but, on the other hand, 2 or 4Macc. are never directly referred to either. We would at least suggest that there is an indirect link with Moses as a *typos* of Christ.

Martyrium Lugdunensium 1.41. πᾶς ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς Χριστοῦ δόξης παθών. The question why martyrs were prepared to undergo their ordeal and indeed to die is a legitimate one. A full discussion of this subject, however, cannot be envisaged within the framework of these notiunculae. We shall restrict ourselves to a few critical remarks. The question surely cannot be answered in the style of Ruggiero's characterization of the Scilitan martyrs: "... sono individui che sacrificano la vita in nome della libertà di coscienza e a testimonianza degli ideali in cui credono" (64). Such inopportune modernizing does not grace his worthwhile monograph (see further below). But would 'in order to defend their faith or religion' be a more correct answer? In this case their attitude would be similar to that of the Jewish martyrs who died ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ (God's) νόμων (2Macc. 7.9) or περὶ τῶν πατρίων νόμων (2Macc. 7.37). In the Hellenized version of 4Macc. this has become ὑπὲρ τῆς καλοκἀγαθίας (1.10), where the preposition is not satisfactory rendered by Baumeister: "in Hochherzigkeit" (17). It is, however, characteristic of Christian martyrs to express themselves in far more personal terms: ὑπὲρ θεοῦ

ἀποθνήσκω (Ign. *Rom.* 4.1), Polycarp is inspired by his long bondage to Christ (*Mart. Pol.* 9.3), Pionius placed his hope on God (10.8).[41]

This is not to deny that in later times other considerations made their entrance: Eusebius e.g. states that Christ's followers have prepared themselves to ὑπεραποθνήσκειν ἑτοίμως τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ (Eus. *Hierocl.* 4); when Ammianus Marcellinus says about the martyrs *ad usque gloriosam mortem intemerata fide progressi* (22.11.10), this may well reflect a type of martyrological thought in which acquiring glory is a primary objective of martyrdom, as e.g. in the final pages of *De laude martyrii.* These, however, are reflections of a later time. In the documents proper the martyrs are not suffering in defense or in honour of impersonal values, like Socrates φιλοσοφίας ὑπεραποθνήσκων (Eus. *Hierocl.* 41). The text quoted as lemma does not express that by his courageous stance the martyr contributes to the glory of Christ, but rather that his suffering and death make the presence of Christ's glory, which is a leitmotiv of the letter, manifestly visible. It can in fact be paralleled by John 11.4, where Jesus says that Lazarus' illness is ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ, which means "in order that the glory of God may be revealed".

Martyrium Lugdunensium 1.62. After the bodies of the executed martyrs had been left unburied for six days, their adversaries decided to a complete annihilation. The bodies were burned and the ashes swept into the river Rhône. There is a remarkable parallel to this appalling behaviour in Ammianus Marcellinus' version of the murder of the outspoken and unpopular bishop George on 24 December 361 in Alexandria. Though by no means identical, the reports of the events in the church historians Socrates (*HE* 3.2.10) and Sozomenus (*HE* 5.7.3) are similar: George was put on a camel by the mob, driven through the city, badly maltreated and finally burned to death. The *Historia Acephala* reports that George and one of his companions were lynched and that their bodies were disfigured and burned afterwards (2.10). Ammianus Marcellinus, however, paints the scene in even more violent colours: the mob *dilaniata cadavera peremptorum camelis imposita uexit ad litus isdemque subdito igne crematis cineres proiecit in mare* (22.11.10).[42] This exactly parallels Lyons, but with a telling difference of motivation. According to the letter the purpose of the Lyonnese people was ὅπως μηδὲ λείψανον αὐτῶν φαίνηται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔτι, which is interpreted by the writers as a vain attempt to preclude the martyrs' παλιγγενεσία. The mob at Alexandria, however, wanted to prevent all endeavours to institute a

cult of the saints: *ne collectis supremis aedes illis exstruerentur.* Such a reflection was still out of the question in late 2nd century Lyons, but in 361 the cult of the martyrs was already a well-known phenomenon. Hence the different motivation.

3. *A new edition of the Acta Scillitanorum*

The *Acts of the Scilitan Martyrs* have regularly been studied and edited. Nevertheless, Ruggiero's claim that his book is the first monograph on the subject is not too bold, since he has gathered the evidence and the discussion of all aspects in one handy publication. R. provides a full survey of the manuscripts, which offers much information to the specialist but does not result in the presentation of a text which differs significantly from Robinson's "textus receptus", which was recently slightly revised by Bastiaensen.[43] In a few places R.'s text adheres more closely to the main ms., a ninth-century codex in the British Museum (A); throughout the text R. prefers *domnus* to Bastiaensen's *dominus*, in § 6 he keeps to A's *agnosco*, where all other mss. read *cognosco*, in § 11 A's *commutatio* is upheld against the usual *deliberatio* and in § 14 *oblatam sibi facultatem* is explained as an acc. abs. It would be the only clear example of non-classical syntax. The other proposals are more plausible. The reading *commutatio* is well defended in the commentary as expressing apostasy. As additional support for the meaning "change of opinion" we refer to Apul. *Met.* 9.12 *subita sectae commutatione* and Vulg. Ps. 54.20 *non enim est illis commutatio.* The case of *agnosco* or *cognosco* is more complicated, since it could imply a difference in interpretation of the whole phrase; cf. these renderings of *cognosco*: "Io non conosco il potere del secolo" (Caldarelli), "Io non conosco autorità supreme in questo mondo" (Chiarini in Bastiaensen's edition). When the phrase in question is rendered in this vein: "I do not recognize the empire of this world" (Musurillo), presumably on the assumption that *cognoscere* is here a synonym of *agnoscere* (cf. *TLL* III 1509.61-73), it is difficult to understand why A.'s *agnosco* should be rejected. In any case R. shows there is a good case for it, i.s. referring to Tert. *Apol.* 38.3.

R's commentary is extensive and detailed: covering 34 large pages, nearly one page per line of the text, it provides both ample discussion of major points and elucidation of all sorts of details with many parallels taken from patristic and classical literature. A few disputable

points: the etymological problems concerning *genius* are more complicated than is assumed on p. 97 (see R. Schilling, art. "Genius", *RAC* 10.53-54); in the comments on 's *Honorem Caesari quasi Caesari* (§ 9) the function of *quasi* as "Kausalpartikel" (Szantyr p. 675) might have been mentioned; the somewhat laboured explanation of the juxtaposition *habete et recordemini* (§ 13) on p. 111-112 seems unnecessary in view of the sobering remark in Kühner-Stegmann II 1, p. 186: "Bei Dichtern und in späterer Prosa wechseln übrigens Jussiv und Imperativ oft miteinander"; the interpretation of *secula seculorum* (§ 17) as "genitivo d'inerenza o identità" is quite curious. It is commonly regarded as a gen. "der Steigerung" (cf. e.g. Szantyr p. 55). But these are details, R.'s commentary will no doubt prove to be most helpful to those who are interested in martyrological studies.

4. *A new commentary of the Martyrium Dasii*

The *Martyrium Dasii* was first published by Franz Cumont in 1897, but although its description of the Kronia (below) has drawn much attention, it has never received a proper commentary. That is why one opens Dr. Pillinger's study with great expectations. P. begins with a facsimile, transcription and translation of our only ms, a Parisinus from the tenth or eleventh century. The text offers no surprises, but P. rightly keeps the transmitted ἴχνεσιν instead of Cumont's emendation εἰκόσι (7.1);[44] she also keeps, against Musurillo's emendation Dourostoron, the transmitted Dorostolon (today Silistria in Bulgaria), which recurs in the later tradition (12). The translation is better than Musurillo's but sometimes not precise enough. In 1.3 she keeps the transmitted reading τοῖς ἀνωνύμοις καὶ μυσαροῖς εἰδώλοις and translates with "den namenlosen und abscheulichen Götzenbildern". Our compatriot Versnel who has recently dedicated an interesting discussion to the first part of the *martyrium* questions ἀνωνύμοις, since "the god to whom this sacrifice was brought was *not* anonymous"and wonders whether we should not consider reading ἄνομοις.[45] This is not necessary, though, as ἀνωνύμος can also mean "not to be named, unspeakable" (Lampe, s.v.)—a perfectly appropriate meaning regarding this passage. Moreover, the expression may have been inspired by *Sapientia Salomonis* 14.27 ἡ γὰρ τῶν ἀνωνύμων εἰδώλων θρησκεία, which also seems to be alluded to in Epiph. *haer.* 69.31.3 τοῖς ἀνωνύμοις καὶ ἀθεμίτοις εἰδώλοις, οἷς εἴρηκαν οἱ προφῆται. In 4 she translates κατεπάτησεν τὸν κόσμον too weakly as "verachtete er

die Welt'' and κατέπτυσεν τὸν διάβολον as ''(er) verabscheute den Teufel''.

The commentary proper leaves something to be desired, since P. has mainly restricted herself to some observations on the date (on which she makes no progress), the authenticity, and the Kronia, but has refrained from a systematic discussion of the text. Let us start with the problem of the authenticity. The best discussion in this respect is still the one by Delehaye, who perceptively noticed that the *martyrium* falls into two parts.[46] The first one describes the ritual of the Kronia, the second the actual interrogation and execution; the connection between the two parts is made by Dasius' opting for his death. The last part, which probably goes back to a lost *Passio Dasii* describing the fate of a Moesian martyr (witness the apparently independent mention of Dasius in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* and, we may add, his Illyrian name,[47]) contains various anachronisms, such as the sign with the cross and elements of the Nicaean Confession, and is evidently of a relatively recent date.

P. does not enter into a debate with Delehaye but offers new arguments of her own for the authenticity of the *martyrium*. Like many scholars before her, she notices the resemblance with Greco-Roman traditions about scapegoats or people who voluntarily died for the salvation of the people, although she makes no distinction between myth and ritual: Theban Menoikeus, Athenian *pharmakoi* or Roman Curtius—all are seen as historical figures or as connected with unproblematical rituals, whereas recent scholarship has invested much energy in distinguishing between myth and ritual in these cases.[48]

Basing herself on an isolated testimony from the Suda that among the Getae Kronos was called Zalmoxis, P. concludes that the ritual connected with Dasius presents an important source for the ''bis in die Spätantike weiterlebenden thrakischen Jenseitsglauben'' (37). Moreover, without adducing any evidence, she states that the ritual survived in the Bulgarian Kykerski games with their wearing of animal skins and masks (37-38). Now continuity must be proved and can never be simply assumed and, even worse, P. has failed to notice that Kronos in this text stands for Saturn not Thracian Zalmoxis, who disappeared from sight in the early Empire.[49]

The identity of Kronos with Saturn did not escape Versnel. He rightly notes that previous scholars usually considered the Romans to have possessed too much humanity to practice human sacrifice or were happy to ascribe the cruel elements to Oriental models. Against these biased ideas

he points out that we have various testimonia in Late Antiquity of *munera gladiatoria* dedicated to Saturn. These examples eventually lead him to the observation: "I would by no means deny that foreign customs may have exercised their influence, both in the Roman sacrificial *munera* and in the Saturnalian scene of Durostorum, but it is obviously too simple—and therefore wrong—to deny any Roman contribution to the development". Versnel, then, also seems largely to accept the trustworthiness of the ritual and he is able to do this, since he rightly observes that a rite "may be generated at any moment in history". Yet is such a *deus ex machina* ritual persuasive in this particular case?[50]

Doubts rise when we realise that Versnel has not pondered the problem of the unity of the report. As Delehaye pointed out that the ritual is really independent from the rest of the story, we are not discussing a proper ritual but a literary composition which the author either made up or found in one of his sources. Now previous students of the ritual have often drawn attention to the parallel of the Greek *pharmakos* ritual. And indeed the choice of a soldier, who is dressed up as a king and lives for a short period a life of luxury looks like a calque on Greek customs—the more so when we see that according to the synaxarion of Constantinople (*AASS* Nov. 19-20, 241) the preferred candidate had to be "young and attractive", as is regularly stipulated in Greek scapegoat myths.[51] On the other hand, the appearance in the guise and resemblance of Saturn is unparalleled, as is the obligation of self-immolation after a month. In other words, there are sufficient indications suggesting that the author of the *martyrium* has composed an exciting story from various sources. For such a procedure we have the exact parallel of the *Acta S. Caesarii* (*AASS* Nov. 1, 106f). In this equally late martyrological story the future martyr is a beautiful young man, as was Dasius in the synaxarion (above), who also recieved a luxurious treatment before having to immolate himself for the *salus rei publicae* by jumping on horseback down a *mons marinus*. It is not hard to recognise here again elements of Greek scapegoat rituals (the luxurious treatment) and Roman tradition (the self-immolation of Curtius). The report of Dasius' death, then, was the product of an inventive preacher not that of a sober church historian.

P. closes her study with good observations on the occurrence of Dasius in later synaxaria and menologia, and on his sarcophagus in Ascona. This is the most satisfactory part of an otherwise somewhat disappointing booklet.

NOTES

[1] B. Dehandschutter, *Martyrium Polycarpi. Een literair-kritische studie = Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium*, vol. LII (Louvain, 1979); idem, The Martyrium Polycarpi: A Century of Research, *ANRW* II 27.1 (1993) 485-522.

[2] But see J. den Boeft, J.N. Bremmer, Notiunculae Martyrologicae IV, *Vig. Christ.* 45 (1991, 105-22) 108.

[3] Earlier attempts to prove a late date of the *Mart. Pol.*, e.g. because of the reference to the cult of the saints in § 17, are discussed by B. Dehandschutter, The Martyrium Polycarpi, 492-97, 502-03.

[4] *Contra* Ronchey, *Indagine*, 95-96 (Perpetua, Papylus) and 106n22, 170n44 and 201n82 (Marcus Aurelius), cf. our Notiunculae Martyrologicae III, *Vig. Christ.* 39 (1985) 110-30, esp. 122; L. Robert, *Le martyre de Pionios, prêtre de Smyrne* (Washington, 1994) 2-6 (refutes a date under Marcus Aurelius).

[5] Although this view is explicitly combated by E. Gibson, *The "Christians for Christians" Inscriptions of Phrygia* (Missoula, 1978) 131.

[6] Cf. T.D. Barnes, The Chronology of Montanism, *JTS* 21 (1970) 403-08; H. Grégoire and P. Orgels, La véritable date du Martyre de S. Polycarpe (23 février 177) et le "Corpus Polycarpianum", *Anal. Boll.* 69 (1951) 1-38.

[7] For its pre-Constantinian Christian community see S. Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 2 vls (Oxford, 1993) II, 41.

[8] R.E. Heine, *The Montanist Oracles and Testimonia* (Macon, 1989), no. 20 on p. 12-13, has incorporated the passage as the first of the "Testimonia Concerning Montanism in Phrygia", but its Montanist character cannot be regarded as the generally accepted view. In any case, Ronchey's theory would deprive it of the first place in Heine's chronologically ordered list...

[9] T. Barnes, *Early Christianity and the Roman Empire* (London, 1984) I, 512 (= *JTS* NS 19, 1968, 512).

[10] On the basis of the name, R. (103) suggests that Herodes was a Jew or half Jewish, but the name Herodes was widespread under the early Empire. One need only think of the famous Herodes Atticus.

[11] *Contra* Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 196.

[12] Nicetes was also the name of a Smyrnean sophist (Philostratus *VS* 1.19), but a connection with "our" Nicetes cannot be proved, cf. G. Petzl on *I. Smyrna* 697.22.

[13] See our observations in Not. Mart. III, 122-24.

[14] Smyrnean *eirenarchos*: *I. Smyrna* 469; for his *diogmitae* see most recently C. Jones, A Note on Diogmitae, *Illinois Class. Stud.* 12 (1987) 187-88. Smyrnean *hipparchos*: *I. Smyrna* 641, 644, 791.

[15] On the contemporary banditry see our observations in Not. Mart. IV, 109; add K. Hopwood, "Bandits, elites and rural order", in A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society* (London and New York, 1989) 171-87; B. Shaw, "Il bandito", in A. Giardina (ed.), *L'uomo romano* (Rome and Bari, 1989) 335-84; idem, "Bandit Highlands and Lowland Peace: the Mountains of Isauria-Cilicia", *J. Ec. and Soc. Hist. Orient* 33 (1990) 199-233; A. Lewin, Banditismo e *civilitas* nella Cilicia Tracheia antica e tardoantica, *Quaderni Storici* 26 (1991) 167-84; Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 234f.

[16] Not by the eirenarch of Tarsus leading a band of horsemen, as is suggested by Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 196. Date of Xenophon: N. Holzberg, *Der antike Roman* (Munich and Zurich, 1986) 62; E.L. Bowie, S.J. Harrison, *JRS* 83 (1993) 160.

[17] Cf. Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 228-35.

[18] There is no evidence for this suggestion, neither for the idea that this supposed massive Jewish immigration resulted in "una serie di effetti patologici negativi nella realtà sociale della città ed in particolare nell' antagonismo con la comunità cristiana" (161 n.8).

[19] Cf. L. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1993) 57-63, 76-77.

[20] On Jews in Smyrna and Asia Minor see our Not. Mart. III, 117 and Not. Mart. IV, 109; add now P. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1991); Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World*, 69-74, 362-69.

[21] Cf. H.J. Auf der Maur, De paaspreek van Meliton van Sardes, in L. Bakker, H. Goddijn (eds), *Joden en christenen* (Baarn, 1985) 64-80; Trebilco, *Jewish Communities*, 53-54.

[22] Trebilco, *Jewish Communities*, 37-54. Ephesos: G. Horsley, The Inscriptions of Ephesos and the N.T., *Novum Testamentum* 34 (1992) 105-68, esp. 123-27.

[23] Although the observation of R. that of the resident foreigners in Smyrna "la maggioranza ... era ebrea di stirpe" (161) is not supported by the sources.

[24] For the complicated subject of proselytism see now Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World*, 288-415; M. Goodman, *Mission and Conversion* (Oxford, 1994).

[25] Cf. J.W. van Henten, Zum Einfluss jüdischer Martyrien auf die Literatur des frühen Christentums, II. Die Apostolischen Väter, *ANRW* II 27.1 (1993) 700-23, esp. 701-03, 714-23.

[26] Subsequently published as vol. 45 in the series *Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie*: Th. Baumeister, *Die Anfänge der Theologie des Martyriums* (Münster, 1980).

[27] In fact, Ap. 20.4 is the starting-point of F. Millar, The Imperial Cult and the Persecutions, in *Le culte des souverains dans l'empire romain* = Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 19 (Geneva, 1973) 145-75. Miller's objective is to show that "the Imperial cult ... plays only a modest role in the persecutions", both because of its integration "into the wider spectrum of pagan cults" and of the "real fear of the abandonment of the ancient gods" (164).

[28] Cf. our Not. Mart. IV, 106 and n. 1.

[29] See R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven, 1981) 94 sqq. (p. 96 is quoted in the text); id., *Christianizing the Roman Empire* (New Haven, 1984) 25 sqq. and *Changes in the Roman Empire* (Princeton, 1990) 130-41. 322-27 (= Two Types of Conversion to Early Christianity, *Vig.Chr.*37, 1983, 174-192).

[30] Cf. Clemens' definition of τελείωσις in *Strom.* 4.14.3 (a passage to be found in Baumeister p. 128) and see in general J. den Boeft, J.N. Bremmer, Notiunculae Martyrologicae II, *Vig. Chr.* 36 (1982) 385-87, to be added to J.D.M. Derrett, *Studies in the New Testament* V (Leiden, 1989) 145-52.

[31] G. Thomas, La condition sociale de l'Église de Lyon en 177, in *Les martyrs de Lyon* (177) (Paris, 1978) 102-06.

[32] G.W. Clarke, *The Letters of St. Cyprian* I = Ancient Christian Writers, vol. 43 (New York, 1984) 208-09.

[33] P. Brunt, Marcus Aurelius and the Christians, in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* I (Brussels, 1979) 483-520, esp. 515; R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (London, 1986) 292-93.

[34] See our Not. Mart. II, 384.

[35] Cf. Bremmer, Why did Early Christianity attract Upper-class Women, in A.A.R. Bastiaensen, A. Hilhorst, C.H. Kneepkens (eds), *Fructus centesimus. Mélanges offerts à Gerard J.M. Bartelink à l'occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire* (Steenbrugge and Dordrecht, 1989) 37-47.

[36] O. Perler, Das vierte Makkabaeerbuch, Ignatius von Antiochien und die ältesten Martyrerberichte, *Riv. di Arch. Christ.* 25 (1949) 47-72. The whole problem may appear in a new light if 4Macc shows Christian influence, as is argued by J. Bremmer, The Atonement in the Interaction of Jews, Greeks, and Christians, in J.N. Bremmer, F. García Martínez (eds), *Sacred History and Sacred texts in Early Judaism: a symposium in honour of A.S. van der Woude* (Kampen, 1992) 75-93, esp. 86-92.

[37] See our Not. Mart. IV, 115.

[38] D. Farkasfalvy, Christological Content and Its Biblical Basis in the Letter of the Martyrs of Gaul, *The Second Century* 9 (1992) 5-25.

[39] For doubts concerning Cyprian's authorship of *Ad Quirinum* see Ch. Bobertz, An Analysis of *Vita Cypriani* 3.6.10 and the Attribution of *Ad Quirinum* to Cyprian of Carthage, *Vig. Chr.* 46 (1992) 112-28.

[40] Cf. e.g. Victorin. Poetov. *fabr. mund.* 5 *Moyses ... leuauit manus et se ipsum crucifixit in proelio*, [Adamantius], *GCS 4, p. 36.10-11* ὁμοία τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἡ ἔκστασις τῶν χειρῶν ἀμφοτέρων, προτύπωσις τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ Μωσέως γενομένη. Firm. *err.* 27.3 *circa uirgam Moyses expansis manibus extenditur* seems also to refer to Ex. 17, cf. Turcan's note ad loc.

[41] For the close relationship of the martyrs with Christ see now J. Bremmer, "Christianus sum": The Early Christian Martyrs and Christ, in G.J.M. Bartelink, A. Hilhorst, C.H. Kneepkens (eds), *Eulogia. Mélanges offerts à Antoon A.R. Bastiaensen à l'occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire* (Steenbrugge and The Hague, 1991) 11-20.

[42] Cf. also καύσαντες καὶ τέφραν ποιήσαντες τοῖς ἀνέμοις ἐσκορπίσαν (Epiph. *haer.* 68.11.2) and the comparable phrase in *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 362.

[43] Cf. A.A.R. Bastiaensen *et al., Atti e Passioni dei Martiri* (Milan, 1987) 100-05.

[44] See also our Notiunculae Martyrologicae, *Vig. Christ.* 35 (1981) 43-56, esp. 54.

[45] H.S. Versnel, *Inconsistencies in Greek & Roman Religion 2. Transition & Reversal in Myth and Ritual* (Leiden, 1993) 210 note 246 (Pillinger has to be added to his bibliography in note 245).

[46] H. Delehaye, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires*, 1921[1] (Brussels, 1966[2]) 230-35.

[47] See our Not. Mart., 52, to be added to Pillinger, 39-40.

[48] Cf. Bremmer, Scapegoat Rituals in Ancient Greece, *HSCP* 87 (1983) 299-320; D. Hughes, Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece (London, 1991); Bremmer. Three Roman aetiological myths, in F. Graf (ed.), *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1993) 158-74, esp. 165-70 (Curtius).

[49] Cf. M. Eliade, *Zalmoxis The Vanishing God* (Chicago and London, 1972) 21-75.

[50] Versnel, *Inconsistencies*, 210-27, esp. 227, 218 resp. (quotes).

[51] Cf. the Parallels in Bremmer, Scapegoat Rituals, 305-06.

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THE CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS, WOMEN AND ECCLESIASTICAL POLITICS*

BY

PHILIP M. BEAGON

I

It will be the task of a future generation of social historians to explain the explosion of interest in the role of women in the early church seen in the last twenty years or so. Averil Cameron has analysed some of the contemporary factors at work, prominent among them being the issue of the ordination of women.[1] Various factions in the modern theological debate seek to interpret the ancient texts in ways that support their respective positions. But there is a further problem; the evidential status of those selfsame texts to which each side appeals. This question also has been tackled by Professor Cameron. She wishes to put us on guard against the rhetoric of the Cappadocian Fathers, especially the two Gregories, when they wrote about women, in particular the sister of Gregory of Nyssa and Basil of Caesarea, Macrina:[2]

> ...for just as real women were denied an answer to the rhetoric of their portrayal, so a male author ostensibly writing about women was writing about authority and control, and about the resolution of irreconcilable polarities. Like the other major writers of the period...each of them also wrote on Christological themes and on the theory and practice of virginity.

One would not wish to argue with the contention that we must understand the way in which the church fathers say what they say. But form and content are not necessarily uneasy bedfellows. Indeed I hope to show how the recoverable historical data actually *explains* the highly favourable rhetorical portrayal of Macrina with which we are confronted in the *Vita Macrinae* and the *De Anima et Resurrectione*.[3]

I shall also try to make a wider point. It may well be true that one can see the writings of Basil and the two Gregories on virginity and related topics as part of a 'repressive discourse' aiming at control and subordination. But one should also acknowledge that those same patristic sources enable one to paint a very different picture. Verna Harrison has well shown how the theological attitude of the Cappado-

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cian Fathers towards women is much more positive than is often imagined.[4] She has demonstrated how it is the first creation account in *Genesis* 1. 27, where God creates male and female together, rather than the second (*Gen.* 2. 22), where Eve is created from Adam's rib, which underpins the Cappadocians' patristic anthropology.[5] As a result the stress in their thinking is upon the equality of men and women rather than the subordination of the female to the male. Hence Basil writes (*Hom. on Psalm 1*, PG 29 216D-217A), "the virtue of man and woman is one, since also the creation is of equal honour for both, and so the reward for both is the same. Listen to Genesis. 'God', it says, 'created the human; in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them'. And the nature being one, their activities also are the same; and the work being equal, their reward also is the same". Likewise in the *Vita Moysis* (GNO VII 1, p. 5, l. 16f.) Gregory of Nyssa speaks of male and female having an equal capacity to choose the path of virtue or vice. The growth of ascetic movements in Asia Minor, in which distinctions between male and female were blurred, surely helped to mould Cappadocian patristic thought on this issue.[6] It is interesting to contrast the attitude of Basil and the two Gregories with the views of a contemporary writing at Rome, Ambrosiaster. As has been recently argued, he relies upon the *second* creation account in *Genesis* to support his views on the subordination of the female to the male; perhaps in reaction to the threat posed to clerical authority by the circle of high-born female ascetics gathered around Jerome.[7]

On a theological level therefore the 'progressive' views of the Cappadocian Fathers on male-female equality have been demonstrated. What this paper will seek to add is a demonstration of the importance and vitality of women both in the actual development of ecclesiastical structures in Cappadocia at the time and also in the theological debates then raging. Peter Brown has written that:[8]

> Macrina represented for Gregory the quiet antipodes of the world of the city in which he and his great brother Basil had made their way at such great cost. That world was always far from her.

In *The Body and Society* Brown creates a powerful image of Cappadocian Christianity as tranquil and gelid, offering a contrast with hot deserts and frantic cities. Attractive though the picture is, to imagine the Cappadocian religious female as only inhabiting some quiet antipodes will not do. She is also to be found in the thick of the ecclesiastical politics.

II

In 375 Basil sat down to write a letter which marked the formal rupture from his long-time friend and mentor, Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste in Armenia Minor. Eustathius had been Basil's initial inspiration in the monastic life, inducing him to give up his studies at Athens in the mid-350s. However Eustathius' heterodox views on the divinity of the Holy Spirit had caused Basil increasing episcopal embarrassment. The final straw was the circulation by Eustathius of a purported correspondence between Basil and the famous heretic Apollinaris, which had allegedly taken place some fifteen to twenty years earlier. Basil was therefore constrained to offer a defence of his theological orthodoxy:

> I have never held erroneous opinions about God, or, being otherwise minded, unlearned them later. The conception of God which I received in childhood from my blessed mother and my grandmother Macrina, this, developed, have I held within me. (Ep. 223)

Basil also appeals to the authority of his grandmother, in Ep. 204, as his link with the authentic traditions of Gregory Thaumaturgus, the acknowledged founding-father of Pontic-Cappadocian Christianity.[9] Gregory of Nazianzus tells us (Or. 43, 6) how the elder Macrina preserved the faith in the hills during the persecutions. One should also note the martyr Julitta, in whose honour a sermon of Basil survives (PG 31 237-262). While it is true that Basil begins by saying that it is hardly appropriate to call Julitta a woman, given the way she has transcended the weakness of her sex, it is more significant to note the positive role envisaged for women in this text.[10] As Julitta walks happily to the fires of martyrdom she exhorts the women of Caesarea not to use the weakness of their sex as an excuse for not equalling men in the practice of virtue. Women, she says, are made from the same φύραμα as men.[11]

The correspondence of the Cappadocian Fathers and John Chrysostom reveals that the rich female landowner was still a feature of Cappadocia in the late fourth century. In the letters of Gregory of Nazianzus (Ep. 57 = Bas. Ep. 321) we read of the vineyards of Thecla supporting thirsty church-builders. Simplicia (G. Naz. Ep. 79) is a woman of some substance. Basil does battle with the authorities over the financial affairs of the widow Julitta (Epp. 107-9). In Ep. 296 he gravely thanks an unnamed woman for the loan of a mule.[12] John Chrysostom tells us that Olympias had land-holdings in Cappadocia (Ep. 9.2). Such women as these were the bedrock of Cappadocian

Christianity. I shall demonstrate presently how correspondence with such women was a forum for the discussion and definition of matters of church teaching and discipline.

It is in such a tradition therefore that one must locate Macrina. Gregory of Nyssa supplies the details about his family's social status and wealth. The eldest in a family of nine, Macrina is the only one of five sisters whose name is known. Indeed Macrina had two names. Her mother Emmelia had a vision just before Macrina's birth in which it was revealed that her child was to carry the secret name of Thecla. The follower of St. Paul was a potent role-model in Christian Anatolia and the name was common in Cappadocia at this time.[13] Indeed, not long after Gregory wrote, one of the saint's good works was to protect imperial messengers crossing Cappadocia.[14] That Macrina should bear this secret name is one indication that Gregory's account is much more than just a biography of his sister, as much recent research has stressed.[15] But as well as being part of a wider rhetorical discourse the *Vita* remains, on perhaps a more prosaic level, a vital source of prosopographical information about her family. Macrina is portrayed as the rock at its heart. When her father dies she ensures that her mother does not react with an unseemly display of grief. She undertakes the education of the youngest son, Peter, and ensures it has a sound biblical basis. There is no reason to doubt this information—certainly no way of disproving it—but when Gregory asserts that Macrina was the crucial influence in converting his brother Basil to asceticism, after he returned from Athens puffed up by academic success, it is a different matter. This does not fit happily with Basil's own account of his spiritual development. What is missing in the *Vita Macrinae* is any mention of Eustathius of Sebaste.

III

Eustathius is one of the more colourful figures of fourth century ecclesiastical politics.[16] His ecclesiastical career goes back to the 320s (Soc. 2.43.1-7, Soz. 2.24.9) and he may have been a pupil of Arius (Bas. Epp. 130 and 223). Although excommunicated by the council of Gangra, he was bishop of Sebaste by the late 350s.[17] Sozomen (3.14.31-37) highlights Eustathius' role as a founder of monasticism, which we know to have been of an extreme kind. The canons of the Council of Gangra condemn the ascetic excesses of the Eustathians—in particular

the abolition of gender differences. But interestingly, the ultra-orthodox Epiphanius of Salamis concedes that many thought Eustathius admirable for his life and conduct (*Panarion* 75).

One such was clearly Basil. In Ep. 244 Basil describes himself as having been a slave of Eustathius since boyhood and in the earliest surviving Basilian letter, dating from the mid-350s, Ep. 1, Basil tells how he followed his mentor all over the near-east in pursuit of his 'philosophia', i.e. asceticism.[18] Eustathius was a leading figure in the Homoiousian party in the 360s and 370s and for at least part of that time Basil was his acolyte, attending the Council of Constantinople in 359-60: from Basil's point of view an inglorious episode. It is no surprise that the information is preserved for us only in the fragments of the Arian Philostorgius and in the words of Eunomius, albeit through the distorting prism of Gregory of Nyssa's *Contra Eunomium*.[19] In 364 Basil acted as an adviser to Eustathius before the Council of Lampsacus and it seems probable that Basil wrote his *Contra Eunomium* about this time at Eustathius' request.

Relations between Basil and Eustathius were still good at the outset of Basil's episcopate. Basil turned to two disciples of Eustathius, Basil and Sophronius, when he founded his hospice (Epp. 119 & 223). However, towards the end of 371, Eustathius' disciples left Caesarea, accusing Basil of Sabellianism. Basil (Ep. 119) sent his brother, Peter, to Eustathius to explain things. Then Basil and Eustathius met in June 372 at Sebaste where they came to an agreement on the Holy Spirit. But Basil now found himself shunned by the Nicene Theodotus of Nicopolis on account of his Eustathian connections. In 373 Basil made a final visit to Sebaste and secured Eustathius' signature to an 'orthodox' profession of faith. But the agreement did not last. Eustathius began to circulate the Basil-Apollinaris correspondence, perhaps having doctored it.[20] Basil replied with Ep. 223. In 376 Eustathius was involved with the Galatian bishops who succeeded in deposing Gregory of Nyssa.

This summary of Eustathius' career has demonstrated the close and long-lasting nature of his ties with Basil. It also reveals the inadequacy of Gregory's assertion that it was Macrina who converted Basil to asceticism. Given the circumstances in which Gregory composed the *VM*, in the midst of his battle against Messalianism, the *damnatio memoriae* of Eustathius is hardly surprising. The temptation to assign a more prominent role to Macrina is also understandable. All this has been recognised before, especially by Gribomont. But I wish to stress

how this recoverable context of the circumstances in which the *VM* was composed clearly, on one level at least, motivates the highly favourable rhetorical portrayal of Macrina.[21]

This is not to deny that Macrina was indeed a powerful influence in the development of asceticism, both within her own family and also generally in Cappadocia. Indeed it is the purpose of the second half of this paper to illustrate the centrality of women in the ecclesiastical debate in Cappadocia. As one scholar has recently stated, "(feminist scholars) have too quickly accepted the traditional view that the only history of women within orthodoxy is a history of silence and oppression".[22]

In the *VM* a contrast is drawn between the biblically-based education Macrina provided for the youngest son Peter, and the traditional rhetorical training his elder brothers received. Yet one should not read this text in isolation: its companion dialogue is the all too often neglected *De Anima et Resurrectione*. In this clear platonic imitation, Macrina is a Socratic figure and is several times explicitly called 'teacher' by Gregory.[23] The Macrina of the *De Anima* is very different from that of the *VM*. We find her well-acquainted with traditional pagan learning as she combats Gregory's ostensible doubts. Now of course the traditional view has always been that the learning here is Gregory's, not Macrina's. Here it must be said that Cameron's approach to the text, which can happily permit the two apparently contradictory portraits to co-exist, is an advance on the approach which uses the *VM* as an unproblematic source of historical data while dismissing the *De Anima* as rhetoric. To maintain the consistency of my own approach, treating the works both symbolically and empirically, I do not dismiss the possibility of Macrina's possessing secular knowledge. It prompts me to ask if there are any indications of the level of female education in Cappadocia. There is not much, but enough to suggest that the chasm between pagan and Christian learning suggested by the *VM* is overdone.

Although Cappadocia is ill-served epigraphically, there are a handful of inscriptions illustrative of the female role within the church. A stele found at Aksaray (ancient Colonia Archelais) and dating probably from the beginning of the sixth century commemorates the deaconess Maria, who is eulogized with a Pauline quotation describing her good works. A second stele of similar date commemorates another obviously pious Christian woman Sosipatra, the name recalling Cappadocia's most

famous adopted daughter, whose fabulous career is recorded by Eunapius.[24]

But most relevant in the present context is the inscription of Euthymia, which perhaps dates as little as twenty-five years after Macrina's death. N. Thierry, who discovered it at Kemerhisar, (ancient Tyana), in 1972, dated it on artistic grounds to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century.[25]

> Acknowledge this monument, passerby. Here lies good Euthymia, leader in temperance. For that reason, Athenion, the most distinguished (eldest?) of sons, superior to others, honoured her, the prudent mother, with a grave and a stele; for this is the reward of the dead.

The most recent editor of the text remarks on its spelling errors and barely recognisable metre—Cappadocia, after all, was meant to be a place where the people could not speak Greek properly (Philostratus, *VS* II 13 (258))—but the final verse is culled correctly from Homer (Il. 16.457 = 675). We only know that Euthymia was Christian from the cross and the alpha and omega surmounting the text.[26] Homer and Christ were not always so starkly opposed to one another in Cappadocia as an unwary reading of the *Vita Macrinae* might suggest.

The picture of Macrina uncontaminated by classical learning in the *Vita* is purely ideological. In this context one might note the intriguing comment in a 14th century manuscript of four letters of the female Pythagorean, Theano. The author says that he has not also included the letters of Macrina, because of the great chasm, chronological and theological, between the two. Yet, he says, both women were great sages in their different ways.[27]

IV

It remains to illustrate the active role women played in defining church teaching and moulding ecclesiastical organization in Cappadocia.

First, Nonna and Gorgonia, mother and sister of Gregory of Nazianzus. He devoted more than fifty of his epigrams to the former and composed a funeral oration in honour of the latter. Many of the epigrams devoted to Nonna concentrate on the favoured manner of her death, in mid-prayer, in church. But her most significant action was to accomplish the conversion of her husband, the elder Gregory (Epig.

27).[28] With regard to the oration in honour of his sister, Cameron has argued that Gregory's praise "is most enthusiastic when it imposes the norms of female regulation most successfully",[29] but this does not do justice to the positive picture of married life presented in the whole work. The text is not so much concerned with the subordination of female to male as with the minimizing of gender differences "in the common struggle for salvation" (sect. 14). As Harrison has aptly commented, "The language of women 'becoming male' is a way of transcending culturally entrenched misogyny, not a reaffirmation of it".[30] To be sure, Nonna and Gorgonia are held up by Gregory as exemplars, but the rhetorical nature of their portrayal is firmly rooted in their actual activity.

Macrina, Nonna and Gorgonia have become heroines of the orthodox tradition. Yet had church doctrine developed otherwise, that place of honour might have been filled by such as Eulampios, the mother of the Arian church historian Philostorgius (*HE* IX 9). The family came from Borissos in western Cappadocia. Eulampios was converted to Eunomianism by her husband Carterios. In her turn she managed to convert her four brothers, her father Anysius, a presbyter of Borissos, and the rest of his household. Western Cappadocia was an area where neo-Arianism flourished. Note, for example, Basil, Ep. 239, concerning episcopal struggles in the small town of Doara. There we read of a 'godless woman' who makes and breaks bishops. One envisages a powerful local aristocrat, exercising powers of patronage in a way not dissimilar from Basil's own family's grip upon the see of Ibora, near the family estate in Pontus.

The second half of the fourth century also saw women becoming more directly involved in the ecclesiastical structures of Cappadocia, with the growth of various types of female asceticism. I wish to conclude by demonstrating how this activity lay at the heart of church life at the time and not on the margins, as is sometimes alleged. It is striking how many of the provisions in Basil's three canonical letters relate to women, many concerning sexual discipline. In Ep. 188, canon 9 and Ep. 199, canon 21 Basil bows to the custom which prescribed less harsh penalties for unfaithful husbands than for wives, but he does so reluctantly, concluding canon 21 rather lamely, 'the reasoning is not easy.'[31]

Canon 18 (Ep. 199) is perhaps of wider significance. In discussing fallen virgins Basil says that the previous practice used to be to receive them back after one year. But now, he argues, stronger action is

necessary because the order of virgins is increasing as the church becomes stronger. He goes on to say that, as virgins have a higher status than widows, so should the penalties when they fall be correspondingly greater. The point is this: as the ecclesiastical structure of the Cappadocian church developed and solidified at this time it is not especially helpful a) to contrast female with male asceticism and b) to set it up in symbolic opposition to the rest of the church. As Basil wrote in the *Institutio Praevia Ascetica* (PG 31 624D-625A), "women too join the campaign at Christ's side, being enrolled in the campaign owing to the manliness of their souls and not rejected for the weakness of the body."[32] Basil's episcopate was not uniformly successful but one of his achievements was to overcome the fissiparous tendencies of the ascetic movement whether male or female.

This may be illustrated by consideration of Epp. 52 and 105. I have already mentioned how Basil's own theological position was often questioned. There were essentially two criticisms. First, his early association with the homoiousian faction, for example at the Council of Constantinople in 359/60. Later, in the 370s, for his 'oikonomia' on the question of the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Ep. 52 is addressed to the canonicae in Colonia Archelais (mod. Aksaray) and has traditionally been dated to the early years of the episcopate.[33] The canonicae needed reassurance concerning Basil's soundness on the homoousion. Basil, while professing adherence to Nicaea, points out that the term homoousion has been only grudgingly received by some, and not at all by others. Interestingly he criticizes the reprobates on grounds of disobedience, rather than the merits of the doctrine itself. However what concerns me is not the detail of Basil's argument but the fact of his justifying himself to such an audience. The canonicae of Colonia Archelais are treated as informed participants in the contemporary theological debate. In this respect also, they are not to be differentiated *qua* women. Likewise in Ep. 105 we find female religious involved in, not remote from, the theological controversies of the age. Here Basil writes to the daughters of Terentius, who were deaconesses at Samosata. The letter praises their steadfastness in orthodoxy. They have not succumbed to the 'popular novelty of the day'.

One of the tensions of Basil's episcopate was that between the regular clergy and the monastic movements. It was a split which cut across the divisions of neo-Arianism. There were orthodox and heretical monks. Contrast the followers of Eustathius and their aversion to the divinity

of the Holy Spirit with the militant orthodox monk whom Gregory of Nazianzus (G. Naz. Ep. 58) heard criticizing Basil at a martyr-festival for refusing to state outright that the Holy Spirit was God. Of late, much scholarly attention has been focussed on the role of women in some of these ascetic movements. The Synod of Gangra, in which the followers of Eustathius were anathematized, laid down that women were not to dress as men. Such passages as this have been used to construct a model of asceticism which sees it as providing a means of liberation for women.[34] Similar material is provided by the stories of Aerius and Glycerius. However I wish to argue that it is artificial to separate the female ascetic element contained in this evidence.

We learn of Aerius from the *Panarion* of Epiphanius of Salamis.[35] Eustathius had placed him in charge of an alms-house in Sebaste. However Aerius became disillusioned with Eustathius, claiming that he had become devoted to accumulating wealth, and headed off to the hills of Pontus-Cappadocia with a band of like-minded men and women.

> "He and his fellowship were driven from the churches, fields, villages and other cities. Often he and the large crowd of his followers would spend their days in the country, covered with snow, camping in the open air and under rocks and taking refuge in the woods" (75.3.2).

Aerius' mad doctrines included the belief that bishops were in no way superior to presbyters and also a cavalier attitude towards fasting and the celebration of Easter—both condemned as Jewish customs. In Easter week, "they are out at daybreak, shopping for meat and wine, stuffing themselves full, laughing raucously and poking fun at those who celebrate the holy service of the Paschal week" (75.3.8). There seems to be an echo of this in Basil's Homily 14. In this sermon on drunkenness, preached in the week after Easter, Basil attacks the women of Caesarea who had been dancing at the martyrs' shrines. Moving out into the Cappadocian countryside the deacon Glycerius was responsible for similar activities at Venasa (mod. Avanos).[36] Basil certainly had his hands full but it is misleading to emphasise the female dimension in all these movements. In Basil's eyes, heretical male ascetics were just as bad. And, in any case, for every maenad accompanying Glycerius there was an equivalent in the sober daughters of Terentius, the obedient sisters in Macrina's convent, or the theologically literate canonicae of Archelais.

I conclude with two further examples of the reconciliation of Cappadocian female asceticism within the approved hierarchical structures.

Gregory of Nyssa gives a detailed description of Macrina's funeral. What is significant is the prominence of the local clergy. Araxios, the bishop of Ibora is there, along with all his priests, who help to carry the funeral bier the eight stades to the shrine of the Forty Martyrs at Ibora, where Macrina was to be laid to rest beside her mother Emmelia.[37] Gregory and Araxios processed at the head of the bier with two clerics of high rank at the rear. They occupy positions of honour which one might have thought would go to members of the convent. Indeed one scholar has described this procession as representing subordination to the sacerdotal power.[38] Yet, considering the description of the funeral as a whole, one might argue that in this demonstration of unity between church and cloister one sees partnership as much as subordination.

Finally, one might consider a passage from the sermon of Gaudentius of Brescia when he dedicated his church called Concilium Sanctorum, during the winter of 401/2 (Ser. xvii = PL 20 964-5). Gaudentius recalls how on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he acquired in Cappadocian Caesarea relics of the Forty Martyrs from two elderly nuns who were nieces of Basil. They were approaching death and anxious to find some worthy person to whom they could bequeath their prized possession. It is a pleasing scene to imagine: Basil's two aged nieces debating whether they could trust this plausible Italian. But what I wish to stress is the location of the convent; not in a remote country wilderness but '*in ipsa enim maxima Cappadociae civitate*'—Caesarea itself. The religious women of Cappadocia must be rescued from the margins, and returned to their place in the city and in the centre of our understanding of the development of Cappadocian Christianity.

NOTES

* This paper is a revised version of one first given to the Corpus Classical Seminar at Oxford University in December, 1992. I am grateful to Neil McLynn for his comments and also to the editors of *Vigiliae Christianae*.

[1] *History as Text: the writing of Ancient History* (London, 1989), 1-10, esp. p. 7.

[2] 'Virginity as metaphor: women and the rhetoric of early Christianity', *History as Text*, 184-205. Quotation from p. 200. See also her *Christianty and the Rhetoric of Empire: the development of Christian discourse* (Berkeley, Oxford, 1991).

[3] The *Vita Macrinae* is cited here from the edition of P. Maraval, *Vie de Sainte Macrine*, SC 178, Paris, 1971. The *De anima et resurrectione* from *PG* 46 11-160. Cameron describes the favourable portrayal of Macrina as 'remarkable' in both *History as Text*, p. 196 and *Christianity and Rhetoric*, p. 149.

[4] V. Harrison, 'Male and Female in Cappadocian Theology', *JThS* 41 (1990), 441-71.

[5] Harrison (n. 4), p. 449.

[6] In the *First Homily on the Creation of Man*, sect. 18, a work found in both the manuscripts of Basil and of Gregory of Nyssa, it is argued that women make better ascetics than men. In general, this sermon shares the positive attitude towards women already illustrated and clearly sits happily in the Cappadocian milieu, even if certainty about its author is unattainable. See the edition by A. Smets and M. van Esbroeck, *Basile de Césarée. Sur l'origine de l'homme*, SC 160 (Paris, 1970), esp. p. 212-16.

[7] On Ambrosiaster see David G. Hunter, 'The Paradise of Patriarchy: Ambrosiaster on Women as (not) God's Image', *JThS* 43 (1992), 447-469.

[8] *The Body and Society* (New York, 1988), p. 277. At p. 285 Brown does acknowledge the strong role that the women of Cappadocia played in maintaining and passing on the faith.

[9] Palladius, *Lausiac History*, 64 tells of one Juliana of Cappadocian Caesarea, who looked after Origen during a two-year stay and presented him with the biblical commentaries of Symmachus, cf. Eusebius, *HE* 6.17. Crouzel, *BLE* LXIV 1963, 195-208 argues that this visit took place in the early rather than mid third-century. Some believe the Caesarea in question is really that in Palestine.

[10] Harrison (n. 4), p. 446-9.

[11] M. Girardi, *Basilio di Cesarea e il culto dei martiri nel IV secolo: scrittura e tradizione* (Bari, 1990), 93 and U. Mattioli, 'Ασθένια e ἀνδρεία (Parma, 1983), 152, both comment on the unusual nature of the sentiment, but, as Harrison (n. 4) has shown, it is not unparalleled in a Cappadocian context. Contrast *Clem. Hom.* 20.2 = *PG* 2 449A where men and women are of *different* φύραμα.

[12] A valuable animal in Cappadocia as B. Gain notes, *L'Église de Cappadoce au IV^e siècle d'après la correspondance de Basile de Césarée* (Rome, 1985), p. 16, n. 48.

[13] M. Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie zu den Schriften Gregors von Nazianz* (Bonn, 1960), 158-60 distinguishes three Theclas in the letters of Gregory of Nazianzus. The name is also found in inscriptions from Tyana. See *REG* 1958, p. 322, n. 492 quoting A. Oikonomides, 'Inscriptions from the environs of Tyana', *Mikrasiatica Chronica* 7 (1957), 330-7.

[14] G. Dagron, *Vie et Miracles de S. Thècle*, Sub. Hag. 62 (1978), 118 and 332-6 for miracle 16, when Thecla provides an imaginary escort for an imperial messenger travelling from Seleucia to Constantinople via Cilicia and Cappadocia, to protect him from brigands. Dagron sees the genesis of the legend in the period of Isaurian incursions at the beginning of the fifth century. Cf. Chrysostom, *Letters to Olympias*, 9.4.

[15] As well as Cameron (n. 2) see A. Momigliano, 'The Life of St. Macrina by Gregory of Nyssa', originally in *The Craft of the Ancient Historian: Essays in Honor of Chester G. Starr* (New York, 1985), 443-58; reprinted in *On Pagans, Christians and Jews* (Middletown, Connecticut, 1987), 206-21. R. Albrecht, *Das Leben der heiligen Makrina auf dem Hintergrund der Thekla-Traditionen* (Gottingen, 1986). E. Giannarelli, *La Tipologia femminile nella biografia e nell' autobiografia cristiana da IV secolo* (Rome, 1980). G. Luck, 'Notes on the Vita Macrinae by Gregory of Nyssa', *The Biographical Works of Gregory of Nyssa* (ed. A. Spira, Patristic Monograph Series No. 12, Philadelphia Patristic Foundation Ltd., Camb. Mass. 1984), 21-33.

[16] For the best account of his career see J. Gribomont, 'Eustathe de Sébaste', *Saint Basile: Évangile et Église, Mélanges I* (Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1984), 95-106.

[17] Most scholars have dated the council of Gangra to c. 340 but T. D. Barnes, 'The Date

of the Council of Gangra', *JThS* 40 (1989), 121-4 argues for a date c. 355. Perhaps the dates given in the heading of the Syriac translation of the canons, 343 and 341/2, should not be too lightly dismissed.

[18] The identification of Eustathius of Basil, Ep. 1, with Eustathius of Sebaste was first made by J. Gribomont, 'Eustathe le Philosophe et les voyages du jeune Basile de Césarée', *RHE* 54 (1959), 115-24. B. Treucker, *Politische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zu den Basilius-Briefen* (Frankfurt, 1961), 60-1, reasserted the traditional view that the Eustathius in Basil's letter was a pagan philosopher. G. Dagron, 'Les moines et la ville', *Travaux et Memoires 4*, (Paris, 1970), 250, n. 109 is doubtful of Gribomont while P. Brown, *Body and Society*, 301-2 sees no reason to doubt that Bas. Ep. 1 is addressed to the pagan philosopher-diplomat. Those, like Brown, who think that the Eustathius of Ep. 1 is a pagan philosopher usually assume that he is identical, not only with the Eustathius mentioned in Ammianus negotiating with Sapor, but also with the Eustathius who is prominent in Eunapius' *Lives of the Sophists*, married to Sosipatra. But there is a problem here not usually noticed. In Eunapius' account the life of Eustathius is closely connected with that of his Cappadocian colleague, Aedesius. When he married Sosipatra (Wright, p. 408; Giangrande VI.8.3) she said she would bear him three children but that he himself would live only another five years, which, Eunapius avers, is what happened. Sosipatra then returned to Pergamum where Aedesius helped her to bring up the children. Now in his account of the education of Julian (Wright, p. 426f.; Giangrande, VII.1.5ff) Aedesius is presented as an old man whose powers are failing, persuading Julian to be taught by Maximus and Chrysanthius. Eunapius is presumably to be trusted on this since Chrysanthius was his own teacher. The crucial point is that Aedesius is said to be dead, 'Αἰδεσίου δὲ μεταλλάξαντος' (Wright, p. 438; Giangrande, VII.3.6) before Julian was made Caesar in 355. Therefore the Eustathius of Ammianus and of Basil, Ep. 1, cannot be the same as the Eustathius of Eunapius. D. F. Buck in an unpublished Oxford D. Phil. thesis on Eunapius (August, 1977) p. 142-3 saw the difficulty and argued that Sosipatra's prophecy was not one of death for Eustathius but rather that he would be translated to the fifth essence or ether, "Eustathius cannot have died five years after the marriage for he was corresponding with Julian the Apostate in 362". (This of course begs the question). As for the statement that Aedesius cared for the children, μετὰ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν Εὐσταθίου', in Buck's view 'ἀποχώρησις' cannot mean death and he therefore concludes that Eustathius had deserted Sosipatra. "The inner circle would have known the sordid truth, but Eunapius deliberately used an ambiguous word in order not to sully Eustathius' reputation with his wider readership". It is very ingenious but I am not convinced.

[19] S. Giet, 'St. Basile et le concile de Constantinople de 360', *JThS* n.s. 6 (1955), 94-99.

[20] G. Prestige, *St. Basil the Great and Apollinaris of Laodicea* (ed. H. Chadwick, London, 1956).

[21] Cameron (n. 2) nowhere mentions Eustathius in her comments on the *VM*. Eustathius' role is recognised by P. Rousseau, 'Basil of Caesarea: Choosing a Past', *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity* (ed. G. Clarke, Australian National University Press, 1990), 37-58 esp. p. 50.

[22] V. Burrus, 'The heretical woman as symbol in Alexander, Athanasius, Epiphanius and Jerome', *HThR* 84 (1991), 229-48.

[23] E. Clark, 'Devil's Gateway and Bride of Christ: Women in the Early Christian World', *Ascetic Piety and Women's Faith: Essays on Late Ancient Christianity* (Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, 1986), 31-2, notes the injunction of Chrysostom, *Discourse 4 on*

Genesis 1, that women should not teach. See also P. Wilson-Kastner, 'Macrina, Virgin and Teacher', *Andrews University Seminary Studies* XVII (1979), 105-17.

[24] These two inscriptions were first published by G. Jacopi, *Esplorazioni e studi in Paflagonia e Cappadocia* (Rome, 1937), 33-6, figs. 135-7. See now N. Thierry, 'Un Problème de continuité ou de rupture, la Cappadoce entre Rome, Byzance et les Arabes', *CRAI* 1977, 98-145, esp. 114-7.

[25] I. Ševčenko corrected Thierry's text in 'A Shadow Outline of Virtue', *Age of Spirituality: A Symposium* (Met. Mus. of Art, New York, ed. K. Weitzmann, 1980), 53-73.

[26] Another inscription may be suggestive. Found in the village of Kurden by H. Grégoire, 'Rapport sur un voyage d'exploration dans le Pont et en Cappadoce', *BCH* 33 (1909), no. 18, p. 52, it contains the name Pieris. Grégoire commented, "Dans ce canton perdu de la Cappadoce, ce nom, porté par une femme du pays, fait penser à un culte des Muses particulièrement florissant". Kurden lies some thirty miles *nne* of Kayseri near modern Felahiye.

[27] Maraval (n. 3) p. 273, thinks that perhaps the author was thinking of the *De Anima* which often bears the MS heading τὰ Μακρίνια, but the possibility of a collection of letters remains.

[28] Franca Ela Consolino, ΣΟΦΙΗΣ ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΗΣ ΠΡΥΤΑΝΙΝ: Gli Epigrammi Funerari di Gregorio Nazianzeno (AP VIII)', *Athenaeum* n.s. 65 (1987), 407-25.

[29] 'Virginity as metaphor', 197-8.

[30] Harrison, (n. 4), p. 447 for quote. P. 455 & 464-5 for the positive view of Gorgonia's married state.

[31] Gregory of Nazianzus by contrast, arguing from the premise of male-female equality, demands equal standards of sexual fidelity in Oration 37. See C. Moreschini (ed.), *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 32-37*, SC 318 (Paris, 1985), p. 51f.

[32] Translation by W. Clarke, *The Ascetic Works of Saint Basil*, (London, 1925), p. 58.

[33] Marina S. Troiano has recently argued for date in the mid-370s, 'Sulla cronologia di Ep. 52, Ad alcune religiose, di Basilio di Cesarea', *Vetera Christianorum* XXVII (1990), 339-67. On canonicae see Gain, (n. 12), p. 119. J.-R. Pouchet, *Basile le Grand et son univers d'amis d'après sa correspondance: une stratégie de communion* (Rome, 1992), 580-1 is hesistant whether Ep. 52 really is addressed to a group of female religious, pointing out that there is nothing in the text itself to force this conclusion, and that the only evidence is provided by the manuscript headings. Moreover in some Mss one can read 'κανών...' or 'κανονική', which might suggest that the letter is a rule of faith. However, P. J. Fedwick, *Corpus Christianorum. Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis: A Study of the Manuscript Tradition of the works of Basil of Caesarea: 1 The Letters* (Brepols-Turnhout, 1993), 485-7 shows the reading 'κανονικαῖς' is by far the most common, as well as being found in the best manuscripts.

[34] By, for example, E. Clark (n. 23), 'Ascetic Renunciation and Feminine Advancement: A Paradox of Late Ancient Christianity', 175-208. The idea is also stressed in S. Elm, 'The Organization and Institutions of Female Asceticism in Fourth-Century Cappadocia and Egypt', D. Phil. Thesis, Oxford, 1987. See now Elm's *Virgins of God: Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 1994), published while this article was in proof.

[35] English translation by P. Amidon, New York, OUP, 1990.

[36] On the attribution of Basil, Epp. 169-71 to Gregory of Nazianzus see A. Cavallin, *Studien zu den Briefen des heiligen Basilius* (Lund, 1944), On Messalianism: J. Gribomont,

'Le dossier des origines du messalianisme', *Epektasis, Mélanges Patristiques offerts au cardinal Jean Daniélou* (Paris, 1972), 611-25.

[37] Maraval (n. 3), p. 86 compares Paula having bishops as pall-bearers, Jerome, Ep. 108, 29.

[38] M. Alexandre, 'Les nouveaux martyrs. Motifs martyrologiques dans la vie des saints et thèmes hagiographiques dans l'éloge des martyrs chez Grégoire de Nysse', *The Biographical Works of Gregory of Nyssa* (n. 15), p. 53.

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SIMON MAGUS AND PRISCILLIAN IN THE *COMMONITORIUM* OF VINCENT OF LÉRINS*

BY

ALBERTO FERREIRO

In the history of doctrine the fourth century certainly stands forth as one of the most polemical and decisive in Church History. In the East the Arian controversy gripped the minds and emotions of the Church involving the Emperor and bishops as they debated intensely over Trinitarian formulas. The West also became the stage of debate concerning the Trinity, but in the fourth century it was temporarily overshadowed by the advent of Priscillianism and for a time this heresy occupied the attention of the Church in the West, particularly in Spain and France. As in the Arian dispute, Priscillian attracted the attention of the western Imperial authorities, the major ecclesiastics, and the laity. Contemporary sources indicate that Priscillianism was the major heretical group in Spain, one that allegedly embodied the teachings of the Gnostics and Manichaeans. Monastic asceticism was also making its initial appearance in the Iberian Peninsula, and Priscillian was one of numerous ascetics who had a wide following of both men and women. The Priscillianist controversy ended tragically with Priscillian's execution at Treves at the hands of the usurper Emperor Maximian in 385/86.[1]

As Priscillianism spread outside of Spain well after his death into the sixth century, the response from non-peninsular writers became vigorous.[2] In Southern France, where Priscillianism had a significant presence, Vincent of Lérins turned his attention to Priscillian within a broader consideration of heresy in his most well known work, the *Commonitorium*. Theological arguments aside, through the use of typology Vincent of Lérins invoked Simon Magus to oppose Priscillian.[3] I propose to demonstrate the significant place of the Simon Magus 'type' in Vincent's work. To that end, I will discuss: A brief exploration of select patristic sources that shaped the Simon Magus 'type' prior to Vincent and his own contribution to the tradition. And, the essential nexus Simon Magus provides between Priscillian and other heresies.

Vincent's commentary on Priscillian is found in three brief

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references, and they all reveal several significant concepts this study intends to explore. In the first, Priscillian appears in a partial list of heretics, some of which are dealt with by Vincent in detail (*Comm.* 2. 3. 13-20. pp. 148-149). The second is found within Vincent's condemnation of apocryphal non-canonical books used by heretics, and Priscillian is identified as one who made use of such books (*Comm.* 25. 3. 9-12. p. 182). The third and final reference focuses upon Priscillian only and it is central to Vincent's arguments against all heresies (*Comm.* 24. 10. 41-45. p. 181). It is here, the lengthiest entry, where we find the essential concepts enunciated by Vincent, substantiated by a rich patristic tradition that form the crux of his arguments against Priscillian:

> "Quis ante magum Simonem, apostolica districtione percussum, a quo uetus ille turpitudinum gurges usque in nouissimum Priscillianum continua et occulta successione manauit, auctorem malorum, id est scelerum impietatem flagitiorumque nostrorum ausus est dicere creatorem Deum?" (*Comm.* 24. 10. 41-45. p. 181).

Three substantial concepts:

(a) The identification of Simon Magus's primacy [Quis ante magum Simonem].

(b) The apostle's wrath against Simon, an implicit reference to St. Peter [apostolica districtione percussum].

(c) A secret heretical succession [continua et occulta successione manauit].

The primacy of Simon Magus appears in patristic sources in two forms. In some writers Simon tops the list of Christian heresies without any explicit language about his primacy, but his position is meant to convey that message.[4] There are a few exegetes who with explicit language identify Simon as the 'font' of all Christian heretical doctrines.[5] In either form the message is the same: all heresies are spiritually derived from Simon Magus. Simon's primacy is implied in Vincent's statement "Quis ante magum Simonem," (*Comm.* 24. 10. 41. p. 181) and in "continua et occulta successione" (*Comm.* 24. 10. 43-44. p. 181). Here Vincent provided the precise language to express the succession of heretics from Simon. Similarly to Jerome, he extended the idea of pseudo-apostolic succession far beyond any of the earlier writers, such as Epiphanius of Salamis who limits the successors of Simon Magus to the Gnostics.

These affirmations are intended to convey that Priscillian the 'new' heretic through a secret succession is a spiritual heir of Simon "usque

in nouissimum Priscillianum'' (*Comm.* 24. 10. 43. p. 181). The *Commonitorium* suggests two parallel successions: In the first Simon Magus has primacy over a succession of heretics or pseudo-apostles, and in the second Simon Peter has primacy over the legitimate successors of the Apostles. Vincent posits a pseudo-apostolic succession of heresy which in his day he believed to be embodied in Priscillian. Vincent likewise advocated, like Pope Leo I, that all previous heretical errors were now manifest in the teachings and practices propagated by Priscillian.[6]

Vincent repeatedly served notice that his teachings are those handed down and entrusted to true believers by 'our spiritual ancestors' (*Comm.* 1. 6. 32-33. p. 148), the Apostles. True believers are charged to hold fast to the core traditions believed everywhere and always by all (*Comm.* 2.5. 24-25. p. 149). If all heretics spiritually originate from Simon Magus, then, their teachings are clearly non-apostolic and must be rebuked by the true heirs of the Apostles. The preservation of orthodoxy has been one of enormous personal sacrifice by the 'Confessors' who have gloriously defended the one and only apostolic Catholic truth (*Comm.* 5.5. 33-36. p. 152). In this same vein, Vincent stressed the 'vigor, zeal, and fighting spirit of the blessed apostles' (*Comm.* 6.3. 10-14. p. 153). The orthodox are now to be the zealous and cautious guardians of the dogmas 'deposited' into their hands (*Comm.* 23.16. 75-78. pp. 179-180). Vincent also insisted that there is no secret about the clear teachings of the Apostles, for they are expounded openly for all to read in the Creeds of the great councils (*Comm.* 23. 18-19. 82-93. p. 180).[7] Catholic dogma shall remain, therefore, 'uncorrupted one and the same throughout the ages for ever and ever' (*Comm.* 24.2. 6-9. p. 180). These arguments by Vincent on 'apostolic succession' are crucial for the internal unity of the *Commonitorium* and his condemnation of pseudo-apostles like Priscillian whom he believed descend from Simon Magus.

Equally important to the tradition is Simon Magus's confrontation with the apostle Simon Peter. Vincent diligently referred to the incident ''Quis ante magum Simonem, apostolica districtione percussum'' (*Comm.* 24. 10.41-42. p. 181). Simon Magus, in the *Acts of the Apostles*, was confronted by Peter and John when he attempted to buy from them the power of God. Of the two apostles it is Simon Peter who rebuked, warned, and admonished Simon Magus to abandon such wicked thoughts (*Acts* 8:18-25). In the account, Simon Peter 'the Rock' crushed by his apostolic authority, Simon Magus 'the Magician' the

anti-apostle. Eusebius of Caesarea is notable for his descriptive account of Peter's rebuttal of the Magician. He called Simon Magus and his followers spiritual 'lepers.' Simon Magus was hailed the greatest enemy of the Apostles, while Simon Peter emerged as the Chief Apostle who vanquished the arch-enemy of Christ.[8] Patristic writers preceding Vincent of Lérins made use of the incident in *Acts* and the apocryphal *Acts of Peter and Paul*, but aside from Vincent only Jerome connected Simon with Priscillian. In a preliminary study on Jerome's *letter* 133 written to Ctesiphon, approximately in 415, I have demonstrated conclusively how Simon Magus and Priscillian are juxtaposed as the Alpha and Omega of heresy. While Jerome's arguments are couched in implicit language, Vincent of Lérins is more forthcoming.[9] The emphasis in this section by Vincent is the primacy and centrality of apostolic authority. In the concluding chapters Vincent accused heretics of opposing the Holy See at Rome, specifically the pontiffs Sixtus and Celestine, the successors of St. Peter. To add an extra touch of authority Vincent mentioned the "blessed Apostle Paul" (*Comm.* 33. 1-4. 1-24. p. 194).[10] Peter and Paul, together, formed an overwhelming source of authority that vindicates Petrine primacy and apostolic succession, respectively. In the pages of the *Commonitorium*, then, Priscillian surfaces, as all heretics do, as a direct opponent of St. Peter.

A crucial element in Vincent's thought is his reference to a "secret and continuous succession" [Continua et occulta successione manauit *Comm.* 24. 10. 43-44. p. 181] of heretics. Vincent rejected the claim by heretics of possessing the true faith, allegedly concealed for centuries, and which has now been made manifest in their teachings (*Comm.* 21.7. 31-34. p. 176). He found these arguments wholly unacceptable and warned sternly, "Where in previous times there was the sanctuary of chaste and uncorrupted truth there will be a brothel of impious and filthy errors" (*Comm.* 23.15. 71-74. p. 179). Heretics uphold doctrinal innovations never followed or accepted at any time by Catholics. In order to emphasize the provincial nature of heresies Vincent observed how heretics invariably surface at punctuated times, in limited geographic areas, and under the name of specific individuals (*Comm.* 24.6. 26-29. p. 181). When heretics claim to have the true teachings of the faith they imply that everyone else has been in doctrinal ignorance for centuries. Priscillian was one of several heretics whom Vincent mentioned as holding such attitudes. (*Comm.* 24. 4-5. 14-25. pp. 180-181). He also recalled the manner in which heretics emphasize *their* church,

an exclusive divine grace, truth known only to their own *small circle*, and given to their select members (*Comm.* 26. 8-9. 28-37. p. 185). The apostolic message, on the other hand, is consistently open and believed by the faithful everywhere and at all times. Heretical teachers, therefore, consciously break away from the abiding universal teachings of the Church.

A corollary dimension to the 'secretive' nature of heretical teachers is their insatiable pursuit of 'profane novelties' coupled with an abhorrence of traditional knowledge (*Comm.* 24.12. 51-56. p. 182). Sulpicius Severus described Priscillian of being 'restless' [*inquies*] for new knowledge, vain about his own learning, and of attracting people [especially women] prone to seek out doctrinal novelties.[11]

Damning proof of relentless appetite for novelties is heretics's attraction to and use of apocryphal non-canonical books. Priscillian was unanimously accused for his use of apocryphal books and Vincent is quick to mention this activity (*Comm.* 25.3 9-12. p. 182).[12] The secret succession of heretics is made all the more apparent by their limited following and use of unauthorized documents. Vincent charged heretics of abusing the Canon when citing it in their own heretical writings (*Comm.* 25. 1-3. 1-12. p. 182), Priscillian is oftentimes displayed as a prime example of those who abuse the Word of God.[13]

While Vincent upheld the Canon of scripture as sufficient in itself he recognized that it was also subject to a variety of interpretations (*Comm.* 2. 2. 11-13. p. 148). Even so, in the midst of varying interpretations, Vincent believed a core apostolic doctrine remained inviolate. The doctrinal innovators, so it seems, were those who distort the core. Vincent, in chapter 23, explained the difference between expounding a core doctrine and changing one into something else together. He defined *progress* of faith as something which grows internally without in essence abandoning its true inner meaning. Heretics do not promote progress of faith, they *change* the faith by transforming sound doctrine into heretical opinions (*Comm.* 23. 1-3. 1-12. pp. 177-178). On account of his use of apocryphal books Priscillian was accused of creating heretical novelties contrary to the core tradition of the orthodox.[14] True believers were charged to care for, expound, and polish up the ancient dogmas while at the same time not distorting apostolic doctrine (*Comm.* 23. 15. 67-71. p. 179).

Vincent maintained that even the most eminent, well established 'doctors of the Church' were vulnerable to heretical opinions (*Comm.* 10.

1. 1-3. p. 158 and 10.8. 33-39. p. 159). While Sulpicius spoke highly of Priscillian's background, praising his eloquence, education, and ascetic charisma he emphasized that through pride Priscillian fell into error.[15] Vincent believed heretics are spiritual malcontents not satisfied with the true faith (*Comm.* 21.1.1-7. p. 175).[16] Just as Simon Magus, on account of his pride, was not able to enter into the inner circle of the Apostles, so are all of his secret successors, like Priscillian doomed to exclusion and censure from the Church universal.

As a final show of authority Vincent turned to conciliar legislation to forcefully silence heretical opinions. Vincent pinpointed specific principles the faithful are to use to identify orthodoxy: universality, antiquity, and consent, all openly made known through the councils. He argued that all heretics when considered against the backdrop of the councils, including the opinion of the Fathers, emerge isolated from the consensus of the universal Church. Those who wish to validate teachings that are doubtful are encouraged to use the Canon, Tradition, and the Councils (*Comm.* 29. 2. 7-10. p. 189). If the councils do not address a specific teaching Vincent recommended reading the Fathers, who have agreed with the councils (*Comm.* 29. 6. 24-29. p. 190).[17] With this criteria, so Vincent advocated, the Church would be able to control the proliferation of heresies (*Comm.* 27.5. 21-23. p. 186).

The ecumenical councils represent the collective voice of the Church, and accompanied by the Creeds they form the clearest expression of apostolic truth (*Comm.* 23. 18-19. 82-93. p. 180).[18] This means every heretic mentioned in the *Commonitorium* has been silenced by the ecumenical councils, including Priscillian.

It seems highly unlikely Vincent of Lérins was not cognizant of the specific conciliar decrees directed against Priscillian in the Iberian Peninsula. Two Iberian councils, contemporaneous with Vincent, convened to deal with Priscillianism; they were the Council of Zaragoza (c. 380) and First Council of Toledo (400), respectively.[19] Of the two, it is generally agreed that not all of the canons of the Council of Zaragoza are directed against Priscillian.[20] No similar doubts exist for the First Council of Toledo where we find detailed opposition to Priscillianism. Among other censures, in Canon 18 the bishops expressly accuse Priscillian of opposing the See of St. Peter: "If anyone follows or teaches the errors of Priscillian, or administers a baptism that is contrary to the See of St. Peter, let him be anathema."[21] What Vincent wished to convey in regard to conciliar confrontation is: as the bishop

of Rome is the successor of Peter and Priscillian a successor of Simon Magus, so the confrontation between the 'Magician' and the 'Rock' is continually being played out spiritually speaking in the councils.

Vincent of Lérins borrowed from an earlier Simon Magus tradition referred to in the *Acts of the Apostles* in the New Testament and in pastristic writers to advance his arguments to censure Priscillianism. We cannot find any trace in Vincent of a use of the apocryphal *Acts of Peter and Paul* in the *Commonitorium*. This is not indicative, however, that he was not acquainted with that tradition. Vincent believed he was upholding in the *Commonitorium* the traditions and teachings of the apostles enunciated in the universal Councils. It is through Priscillian that Vincent was able to identify 'living proof' of the spirit of Simon Magus working in his own time through a secret succession. Whereas in the earlier tradition Simon Magus was held culpable of engendering Gnosticism only, now he is charged by Vincent of spiritually propagating in Priscillian a continuing line of heretics.[22] Of all the Church Fathers, Jerome and Vincent alone extend the idea of heretical succession from Simon Magus far beyond the Gnostic.

As in the case of all non-peninsular writers, Vincent had a distant knowledge of Priscillianism. If he had any direct encounter with the teachings of Priscillian, it is not self-evident in the *Commonitorium*.[23] Vincent's commentary is a rhetorical attack against Priscillian, as such it does not inform us specifically about the rituals or theology of the sect. The fact that Vincent and other non-peninsular writers turned their attention to Priscillianism is testimony of its far reaching effects in Southern Gaul and Iberia in Late Antiquity.

NOTES

* Versions of this article were presented at the *Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy*. 19-21 March, 1992. Columbus, Ohio; and, *27th International Congress on Medieval Studies*. 7-10 May, 1992. Western Michigan University. I wish to thank Jeffrey B. Russell and Glenn W. Olsen for their valuable insight and critique. This article is dedicated to the memory of my brother, Eduardo Ferreiro.

[1] W. H. C. Frend observed, "for the first time, a Christian had been condemned to death on what appeared to be a religious issue," in *The Rise of Christianity*. Philadelphia, Fortress, 1984, p. 713; On Priscillian consult the fundamental study by Henry Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila. The Occult and the charismatic in the early church*. Oxford, 1976; also the recent work by Raymond Van Dam, "The heresy of Priscillianism", chapter 5 in his book, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 8. University of California Press: Berkeley, 1985. pp. 88-114.

[2] See Jerome's *Epistula 133.4.* CSEL, 56. pp. 247-248. Ambrose of Milan, *Epistula* 30 (*Maur.* 24) chapter 12, in *Sancti Ambrosii Opera, pars decima. Epistulae et Acta.* Tom. 1. *Epistularum Libri I-VI.* CSEL, 82,1. pp. 214-215 and *Epistula* 68 (*Maur.* 26) CSEL 82,2, pp. 169-178. Augustine, *De haeresibus* 70, CCSL, 46. p. 333. The evidence for Martin of Tours and Pope Damasus is in Sulpicius Severus, *Chron. II.* ch. 48, CSEL, 1, p. 101 and ch. 50, CSEL, 1. p. 103.

[3] Vincentii Lerinensis, *Commonitorium. Excerpta.* (cura et studio) R. Demeulenaere. Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 64. Turnholti, 1985, pp. 127-195. [Hereafter cited as *Comm.*]. This article will eventually form part of a booklength study that I am pursuing on the figure of Simon Magus titled, *Simon Magus in the Early Christian and Medieval Tradition.*

[4] Though lacking any specific reference to "succession" from Simon Magus these sources are very clear about his implicit 'primacy': Irenaeus, *Contra haereses*, 1.23.2, in Irénée de Lyon. *Contre les hérésies.* Livre 1,2. (ed. A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau) Sources Chrétiennes, 264. Paris, 1979, pp. 314-315. Augustine, *De haeresibus*, 1. CCSL, 46. p. 290. Filastrius of Brescia, *Diversarum haereseon liber*, 29, CCSL, 9. pp. 228-229.

[5] The *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* speak of a succession of all heresies from Simon Magus but limits it to the Gnostics, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques Tome II. Livres III-VI.* (ed. Marcel Metzger) Sources Chrétiennes, 329. Paris, 1986, 6.8.1, pp. 314-317. Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium* in Die griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller, 3. Band (ed. Paul Wendland) Leipzig, 1916, 6.7, 3: 134-135. Eusebius of Caesarea, *HE*, 2.13.1. in Eusèbe de Césarée, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 4 vols. (ed. Gustave Bardy) Sources Chrétiennes, 31: 66-68. These two sources likewise limit the succession to Gnostics: Pseudo-Tertullian, *Adversus omnes haereses.* CCSL, 2.2. p. 1401. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion haer. (1-64).* in Die griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller. 2. Band (ed. Karl Holl and Jürgen Dummer). Leipzig, 1915 and 1980; 21, 2.2-3.6.1: 239-242. Also Jerome, *Epistula 133,4.* CSEL, 56. pp. 247-248.

[6] *Epistula. 15, praef.* PL 54: 678-679.

[7] Vincent cited specifically the Council of Ephesus, "Ephesinam quoque synodum, id est, totius paene orientis sanctorum episcoporum iudicata proculcet, quibus diuinitus placuit, nihil aliud posteris credendum decernere, nisi quod sacrata sibique in Christo consentiens sanctorum patrum tenuisset antiquitas." (*Comm.* 33. 2. 8-12. p. 194).

[8] *HE*, 2, 1. 10-12. SC, 31: 51. and 2.13.1 and 2.14.1, SC, 31: 66-67 and 68, respectively.

[9] Due to limitations of space imposed by the publisher the article considers only the figures of Simon Magus and Nicolas of Antioch, Alberto Ferreiro, 'Sexual Depravity, Doctrinal Error, and Character Assassination in the Fourth Century: Jerome against the Priscillianists,' in *Studia Patristica* 28 (1993) 29-38. The full treatment of Jerome's letter is in, Id., 'Jerome's polemic against Priscillian in his *Letter* to Ctesiphon (133,4),' *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 39, 2 (1993) 309-332.

[10] *Comm.* 32.1-7. 1-31. p. 193 and 33.1-7. 1-40. pp. 194-195.

[11] Is ubi doctrinam exitiabilem aggressus est, multos nobilium pluresque populares auctoritate persuadendi et arte blandiendi allicuit in societatem. ad hoc mulieres nouarum rerum cupidae, fluxa fide et ad omnia curioso ingenio, cateruatim ad eum confluebant. *Chron. II.* 46, CSEL, 1. pp. 99-100.

[12] Numerous sources, other than Vincent, identify the use of non-canonical books by the Priscillianists. Consult Pope Leo I, *Epistula 15, praef.* PL 54: 680 see also 687-688. Augustine in a letter to Ceretius addressed this topic. *Epistula* 237, CSEL 57, pp. 526-532

and his *De haeresibus*, 70, CCSL, 46. pp. 333-334. Jerome, *Commentariorum in Esaiam. Libri xii-xviii.* CCSL, 73A. *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera*, Pars 1, 2A. Turnholti, 1963. p. 735, and *Praefatio S. Hieronymi in Pentateuchum*. PL: 28: 180-181. Also, his *De viris inlustribus*, 121-123 in *Hieronymi: De viris inlustribus* (ed. W. Herding) *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*. Leipzig, 1879. pp. 62-63. = PL 23: 750-751. There exists conciliar legislation on this matter, too, First Council of Toledo (400) in *Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos*. José Vives (ed. et al). Barcelona-Madrid, 1963. pp. 29-31 and 33. In the same volume, First Council of Braga (561), pp. 69, 73.

[13] Consult Pope Leo I in *Epistula 15, praef.* PL 54: 680 and 687-688. And, Augustine's letter to *Ceretius, Epistula* 237, CSEL, 57. pp. 526-532.

[14] Denique si universae haereses quae ante Priscilliani tempus exortae sunt diligentius retractentur, nullus pene invenietur error de quo non traxerit impietas ista contagium: quae non contenta eorum recipere falsitates qui ab Evangelio sub Christi nomine deviarunt, tenebris se etiam paganitatis immersit ... *Epistula 15, praef.* PL 54: 679.

[15] *Chron. II.* 46, CSEL, 1. pp. 99-100.

[16] Vincent quotes 1 Timothy 6: 20-21 in this regard, (*Comm.* 21. 3. 14-17. p. 175).

[17] The most prominent Church Fathers to oppose Priscillian or who at least were heavily involved in the controversy were: Jerome, Ambrose of Milan, Augustine, Martin of Tours and Pope Damasus. See note 2 above.

[18] Vincent employed the councils in several places, and the more significant are: Councils of Rimini (*Comm.* 29. 8. 34-40. p. 190), African councils (*Comm.* 6.9. 43-46. p. 154), and Council of Ephesus (*Comm.* 33. 2. 8-12. p. 194).

[19] See the edition, *Concilios Visigóticos*, pp. 16-18 and for the First Council of Toledo, pp. 28-31.

[20] The various learned opinions on this problem are gathered together in, José Orlandis and Domingo Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los Concilios de la España Romana y Visigoda*, Ediciones Universidad de Navarra: Pamplona, 1986. pp. 65-80. The most thorough treatment of the Council of Zaragoza and Priscillian is in, *I Concilio Caesaraugustano MDC Aniversario*. Zaragoza, 1981, especially the essays by Jacques Fontaine, Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, Antonino González Blanco, and José María Blázquez Martínez.

[21] *Concilios Visigóticos*, p. 28.

[22] The sources that most directly attribute Gnosticism to Simon Magus are: *The Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*. 6.8.1. SC, 329: 314-317. Epiphanius, *Panarion haer.* 21, 2.2-3.6. GCS, 1: 239-242.

[23] Antonio González Blanco correctly points out that most works written against heretics have little to do with reality, "Cuando San Epifanio, Filastrio o San Agustín escriben sus obras antiheréticas, éstas son más bien catálogos de errores, la major parte de los cuales, por no decir todos, son sistemas estereotipados, que tienen poco que ver con la situación real de la iglesia de su tiempo ..." "El canon 7 del Concilio de Zaragoza (380) y sus implicaciones sociales." *I Concilio Caesaraugustano*. p. 248.

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TRANSFORMATION THROUGH VISION IN JEWISH GNOSTICISM AND THE COLOGNE MANI CODEX

BY

GILLES QUISPEL

In the *Cologne Mani Codex* (C.M.C.) a certain Baraies, a pupil of Mani himself, quotes one of the many apocryphal writings that were current among the Jewish Christian Baptists, among whom Mani was reared:

> In the same way his (Adam's) son Sethel has written the following in his Apocalypse: I opened my eyes and saw before me an angel whose radiance I could not describe: for he was all lightning. He said to me: ... (3 lines lost).
> When I heard that, my heart rejoiced, my mind was transformed an *I became like one of the greatest angels* (ἐγενόμην ὡς εἷς τῶν μεγίστων ἀγγέλων).
>
> 50, 8-51, 6, Koenen-Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex* 32-33.

We have not the slightest reason to suppose that the *Apocalypse of Seth* did not exist at that time (the third century A.D.), that it was not used by the Jewish Christians and was not Jewish in origin.

C.R.A. Morray-Jones has recently argued that in the apocalyptic-Merkabah tradition the ascent into heaven and the vision of the kabod involves a transformation of the visionary into an angelic or supra-angelic likeness of that Glory or divine Image.[1] As an example, he quotes the esoteric writing 3 *Enoch*, where Enoch's transformation into the angel Metatron or the Lesser YHWH is described:

> When the Holy One, blessed be He, took me to serve the Throne of Glory, the wheels of the Merkabah and all the needs of the Shekinah, at once my flesh turned to flame, my sinews to blazing fire, my bones to juniper coals, my eyelashes to lightning flashes, my eyeballs to fiery torches, the hairs of my head to hot flames, all my limbs to wings of burning fire, and the substance of my body to blazing fire. (15:1f.)

What the esoteric Jew attributes to Enoch, the author of the *Apocalypse of Seth* attributes to the third son of Adam. This new evidence again shows how old these esoteric Jewish traditions are and how great

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their impact was on Jewish and Gentile Christianity from the very beginning.

In origin, however, this concept of transformation through vision is Hellenic and Greek and mysteriosophic.[2] In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* the initiated who has beheld the mysteries of Mother and Daughter is said to participate in eternal life: "Blessed is he among men on earth, who has beheld this". (480)

The concept was imported into the Hermetic tradition in Alexandria: "He can become blessed, because he has seen Him". (*Corpus Hermeticum* fr. 6:18, Festugière III, 39) "The soul which has beheld the beauty of the Good is deified by this vision, but that happens only when man is no longer in the body". (*Corpus Hermeticum* X, 6, Festugière 1, 116)

The ascent to heaven and the transformation into one of the highest angels, who stand before God and see God, leads to *theopoièsis* according to the *Poimandres*:

> And then, stripped of the instincts induced by the planets of the cosmic frame, the mystic enters the Ogdoad, the heaven of the fixed stars, having come to himself and nothing but himself; and with the heavenly beings there he sings hymns in praise of the Father. The angels that are present in the Ogdoad rejoice together with him in his coming. *He becomes equal to his companions* (ὁμοιωθεὶς τοῖς συνοῦσιν) and also listens to certain angelic Powers that are beyond the Ogdoad and hymn God with sweet voices. Consequently in due course they rise to the Father and offer themselves to these Powers. Having become Powers themselves, they live in God (καὶ δυνάμεις γενόμενοι ἐν Θεῷ γίνονται).
> This is the final good, the consummation of the highest grade of initiation for those who have been granted Gnosis: to be made god.
>
> *Poimandres* 26, Festugière I, 16;
> cf. translation Copenhaver, *Hermetica* 16

In Alexandria at a very early date this concept of transformation was integrated into Jewish esoteric tradition. According to Ezekiel the Dramatist, the oldest witness of the Merkabah tradition (±200 B.C.E.) Moses saw in a dream the kabod, here called *Phōs* (Man), on the divine throne and was ordered to seat himself upon that throne.[3] As a result of his vision he is transformed and becomes a god himself.

It has been a great surprise that Mani, like some other founders of a religion, was a Jewish boy. Judaism at that time, however, was pluriform and variegated: the shade of Jewish Christianity, against which Mani reacted and to which he was indebted, was not only apocalyptic, but also visionary and esoteric, like Merkabah Gnosticism: it dared to

say in Hebrew terms that man was deified by the experience of divine vision. They did not differ greatly from the author of the *First Letter of John*, who wrote:

> Dear brethren and sisters, we are already here and now the children of God, although it is not yet evident what will be our ultimate destiny. And yet we know for sure that, when the Messiah shall manifest himself, *we shall be equal to him, because we shall behold him in his divine essence* (ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ ἐσόμεθα, ὅτι ὀψόμεθα αὐτὸν καθώς ἐστιν).
>
> 3:2 (Paraphrase of the author).

This transpires to be very Judaic and very Hellenistic at the same time. "What have Jerusalem and Athens in common?" asked Tertullian. The correct answer seems to be: "Quite a lot".

NOTES

[1] C.R.A. Morray-Jones, "Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic Merkabah Tradition", *Journal of Jewish Studies* XLIII, 1, 1992, 1-31.

[2] More examples in: "Judaism, Judaic Christianity and Gnosis" in Logan and Wedderburn, *The New Testament and Gnosis*, Edinburgh 1983, 46-69. On Greek and Egyptian elements in the *Corpus Hermeticum* see: Peter Kingsley, "Poimandres: the etymology of the name and the origin of the Hermetica", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. LVI, 1993, 1-24.

[3] Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praeparatio Evangelica* IX, 29:5; Ithamar Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, Leiden 1980, 129, doubts that deification was implied by this vision, though he admits that it implied the initiation of Moses into the heavenly realms. But certainly the Hellenistic deification by vision, so common in Alexandria, was the backdrop of Ezekiel's bold expressions. Cf. the learned article of Wolfgang Fauth, "Tatrosjah-Totrosjah und Metatron in der jüdischen Merkabah-Mystik", *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, Vol. XXII, 1, 1991, 40-87. Gruenwald remarks: "Admittedly, this scene has a tremendous dramatic affect, but it also betrays the fact that people in Alexandria were familiar with such *experiences* and that they clearly understood what such experiences implied. If so, we may assume that mystical or semi-mystical experiences were part of the intellectual milieu of the Jewish-hellenistic world."

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REVIEWS

M. Hengel, A.M. Schwemer (ed.), *Die Septuaginta zwischen Judentum und Christentum* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament,72). Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr, 1944. VII + 325 S.

R. Hanhart, Textgeschichtliche Probleme der LXX von ihrer Entstehung bis Origenes, p. 1-19. — R. Feldmeier, Weise hinter 'eiseren Mauern'. Tora und jüdisches Selbstverständnis zwischen Akkulturation und Absonderung im Aristeasbrief, p. 20-37. — J. Schaper, Der Septuaginta-Psalter als Dokument jüdischer Eschatologie, p. 38-61. — A.M. Schwemer, Die Verwendung der Septuaginta in den Vitae Prophetarum, p. 62-91. — G. Veltri, Der griechische Targum Aquilas. Ein Beitrag zum rabbinischen Übersetzungsverständnis, p. 92-115. — Id., Die Novelle 146 περὶ Ἑβραίων. Das Verbot des Targumvortrags in Justinians Politik, p. 116-130. — C. Markschies, Hieronymus und die 'Hebraica Veritas' — ein Beitrag zur Archäologie des protestantischen Schriftverständnisses?, p. 131-181. — M. Hengel, Die Septuaginta als 'christliche Schriftensammlung', ihre Vorgeschichte und das Problem ihres Kanons, p. 182-284.

Ce volume a une réelle unité, dont l'objet est explicitement formulé: c'est la volonté, pour ceux qui sont des théologiens chrétiens et des exégètes du Nouveau Testament, de remettre en valeur l'importance de la Septante, prise avec son propre canon. Venant de Tübingen, l'ouvrage présente un intérêt historique très particulier, car il exprime un regret affleurant plusieurs fois dans l'ouvrage: les Eglises protestantes, est-il écrit, ont négligé la Septante, elles ont pris pour seuls livres canoniques ceux du canon hébreu, elles n'ont pas accordé suffisamment d'intérêt à la dizaine de livres supplémentaires que contient la Bible en grec. Ces livres sont cependant eux aussi, authentiquement, dans le canon du christianisme primitif. Et ils sont précieux, eux aussi, pour rappeler à l'Eglise chrétienne ses racines juives.

A ce propos, C. Markschies pose la question d'une éventuelle continuité entre l'attitude de Jérôme à l'égard de l'*hebraica veritas* et celle de Luther. Il souligne toutefois que la préférence de Jérôme pour l'hébreu est une attitude intellectuelle, d'ordre philologique, plutôt qu'une position théologique réfléchie: il n'y a pas chez lui ce qui sera le principe de la Réforme, 'sola scriptura'. Il recourt seulement aux procédés usuels de normalisation des textes. Que cela soit fondé sur la philologie ajoute un malaise: sa grande performance philologique a des limites théologiques. Mais peut-on se moquer de cette attitude alors que, dans l'usage de l'Ecriture actuellement pratiqué par la théologie évangé-

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lique, le rapport à la formule fondamentale de la Réforme, 'sola scriptura', est si peu clair?

Les huit importantes contributions de ce recueil apportent plus ou moins directement des arguments pour établir la valeur historique et théologique de la Septante. Cette brève recension n'a pas la prétention de présenter toute la richesse d'études qui sont toujours précises et accompagnées d'une large bibliographie. Elle a surtout pour but de donner une vive approbation aux méthodes de travail et aux conclusions qui se dégagent de l'ensemble du livre. Oui, c'est la Septante tout entière qui assure le passage des convictions juives dans le christianisme. Dans la production actuelle d'études sur la Septante, ce livre est le plus proche des positions que nous défendons nous-mêmes, en France, depuis notre présentation de 'La Bible grecque des Septante' (1988) et dans les cinq premiers volumes de la collection 'La Bible d'Alexandrie' (1986-1994).

L'usage du mot 'entre' qui figure dans le titre du volume est précisé dans l'Avant-Propos de M. Hengel par l'image du 'pont'. La Septante en effet n'est pas seulement 'entre' les deux religions au sens chronologique; elle a eu un rôle de transmission. On peut cependant s'interroger sur le sens précis de cette transmission: outre l'apport indéniable que la Septante donne par les livres 'supplémentaires' de son canon, y a-t-il en elle des convictions 'supplémentaires' par rapport au texte hébreu, une sorte de progrès de la révélation, qui ferait d'elle une étape entre le Judaïsme et le Christianisme? Les auteurs, comme nous-mêmes, se réfèrent à l'article fameux de Dominique Barthélemy, 'L'Ancien Testament a mûri à Alexandrie' (1965). Pour le moins, on ne peut refuser de voir dans la version grecque des phénomènes d'actualisation. La difficulté est de reconnaître en elle une théologie qui lui serait propre, marquée, par exemple, dans les domaines des 'messianismes' ou de l'eschatologie. Dans cette quête d'un 'supplément' théologique qu'elle apporterait, nous courons le risque de 'sur-théologiser' ses textes grecs, comme James Barr nous a appris à ne pas le faire. Peut-être dans ce volume l'étude de J. Schaper n'échappe-t-elle pas tout-à-fait à cet écueil: la reconnaissance d'un sens 'eschatologique' pour certains mots du Psautier n'est pas toujours convaincante.

L'ensemble du volume, comme le font voir les titres des articles, est plutôt consacré à l'histoire des livres de la Septante dans la tradition juive, puis chrétienne, qu'ils soient présents ou non dans le canon juif. R. Hanhart apporte une nuance à l'idée d'un 'canon' autonome de la Septante: pour lui, l'histoire textuelle montre que la Septante a été sur-

tout considérée dans son rapport d' 'Abbild' par rapport à son 'Urbild', qu'elle a été soumise dans les premiers siècles à un contrôle continu par rapport à son 'modèle', le texte original hébreu, et que la traduction pouvait être considérée comme canonique en vertu de l'autorité canonique de son original hébreu.

L'étude la plus copieuse, et qui donne le sens du livre, est celle de Martin Hengel. Sa conclusion plaide pour que les théologiens chrétiens délaissent une position en contradiction avec leur foi: puisque l'Eglise croit que 'la loi et les prophètes vont jusqu'à Jean' (Lc 16,16), que le Nouveau Testament est l'accomplissement de l'Ancien Testament, a-t-elle besoin d'un canon vétéro-testamentaire relevant d'un 'biblicisme' qui ne tient pas compte de l'histoire, — strictement délimité, fondé sur le canon étroit de Jabné, hébreu ou plutôt pharisien? C'est un plaidoyer pour l'acceptation de la Septante tout entière: une collection de livres peu à peu constituée, au fil d'une longue histoire, dans le judaïsme et aux débuts du christianisme.

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The Works of Philo Complete and Unabridged: New Updated Version, translated by C. D. Yonge, with a foreword by David M. Scholer. Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody, Massachusetts, 1993. xx + 918 pages + 6 maps. Hardbound. Price $29.95.

During the past two hundred years a constant presence in theological (and to a lesser extent classical) libraries has been William Whiston's classic translation of the works of Josephus, first published in 1736. Even now the latest publisher of the volume, Hendrickson, sells thousands of copies every year. The success of this enterprise caused the same publisher to wonder whether a comparable volume of Philo's complete works might also be a commercial success. The work under review is the result, the first single volume complete Philo that has been published in modern times. The book is beautifully printed and bound, and the price cannot possibly be a deterrent to purchase. If one wants a translation of Philo only, the cheapest alternative—the 12 volumes of the Loeb Classical Library edition—costs more than eight times as much. The appearance of this volume, which is according to reports already selling very well, is thus a landmark in the history of Philonic

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studies, and it is only fitting that this journal devotes some attention to it. After all, a number of the Church fathers had a copy of Philo on their shelves. For modern students of Patrology this is surely also a *desideratum*, and now it can be done more cheaply than ever before. The purpose of this review will be carefully to examine what we are given in this new publication and reach a verdict on its value and usability.

First of all it is important to emphasize that we have here a reprinting of a translation first published in the mid-19th century in Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library. Henry G. Bohn made a fortune publishing and selling cheap editions of solid and instructive books. By 1896 his 16 Libraries totalled 748 volumes, which could be purchased for £160. Among these were 4 volumes of *The Works of Philo Judaeus*, translated by C. D. Yonge (1812-91) and first published in 1854-55. The son of an Eton schoolmaster, Yonge graduated from Oxford with first-class honours in Classics in 1835. For the next 30 years he appears to have supported himself by means of private teaching activities and literary work, until in 1866 he was appointed to the Regius professorship of Modern History and English Literature in Queen's College, Belfast, a position which he retained until his death. Yonge was a prolific writer. Not only did he translate 19 volumes for Bohn, but he also published 36 other works in 42 volumes, making 61 volumes in all. Until 1855 these were all in the area of the Classics. The period 1852 to 1855 saw a flurry of activity. In 1853 2 volumes of Diogenes Laertius appeared, in 1854 3 volumes of Athenaeus, in 1854-55 4 volumes of Philo. It would seem that a total of nearly 4000 pages of Greek text were translated in less than 4 years. One must suspect that the translation of Philo occupied him for a year at the most. The question that springs to mind is, of course: how thoroughly was the task carried out?

A chief defect of Yonge's translation is that it was produced on the basis of a pre-critical text. In his preface (reprinted in the present volume) he informs us that the text he used was 'generally that of Mangey'. Thomas Mangey's edition of Philo's works was a remarkable achievement for its time (1742), but it has been far superseded by the edition of Cohn and Wendland (1896-1915) which we still use. In fact many of the features of the *corpus Philonicum* which we simply take for granted, e.g. in the organization and the ordering of the various treatises, were the work of Cohn, and so were not present in the text that Yonge had at his disposal. From footnotes we learn that Yonge also

consulted the partial edition of A. F. Pfeiffer (1785-92) and the reprint of Mangey by C. E. Richter (1828-30). Fortunately the last edition had included some important new discoveries (especially the Latin translation of the Armenian works by J. B. Aucher), which Yonge could insert in his translation. It is somewhat of a puzzle that he stops his rendering of Aucher at the end of *QG* Book 3. It would seem that the tireless translator had had enough.

It is now time to look at the modern reprint of this old translation. It commences with a brief foreword of 8 pages by the leader of the project, David Scholer, who gives a brief account of the life of the translator, of Philo's life and writings, and of his interest for modern readers, concluding with a useful and very up-to-date bibliography (but only including English-language items). If we turn to the presentation of the translation itself, the method used in the project becomes very clear. Every effort has been made to adapt Yonge's work as much as possible to what in North America has become the standard presentation of Philo's writings, the Loeb Classical Library edition. With a few exceptions the titles Yonge gives to Philo's treatises are altered to conform to the Loeb titles. In two cases this leads to the prolongation of titles that are rather unsatisfactory: 'Allegorical Interpretation' for *Legum Allegoriae*, and especially the absurd 'On mating with the preliminary studies' for *De congressu quaerendae eruditionis gratia*. The old Roman paragraph numbering of Yonge has been retained, but most importantly the Arabic numbers of Cohn-Wendland and the Loeb edition have been added, making the translation fully compatible with modern references to Philonic writings. Various changes had to be made to treatises such as *Sacr.*, *Spec.* II, *Virt.* on account of significant differences between Mangey and the modern edition (including the need to add freshly translated passages on a number of occasions). These have been intelligently and efficiently carried out. We may conclude that the resultant adaptation of Yonge's translation is so far rather successful.

A problem looms, however, when we examine the extent to which the translation is really complete. Naturally it contains all the works preserved in Greek. But on the messy edge of the Philonic corpus we encounter many loose threads. The following treatises and parts thereof are not printed:

(a) *Quaestiones in Genesim* IV;

(b) *Quaestiones in Exodum* I and II;

(c) All of *De Providentia* I and II except the fragments in Eusebius,

which are printed, but unfortunately with the numbering of Colson's Loeb and not of Aucher;

(d) *De animalibus*;

(e) various fragments, including *De Deo*.

Instead we are given two appendices of little value: (1) *De mundo*, a non-authentic cento of passages drawn mainly from *Aet.*; (2) the fragments collected together by Mangey at the end of the second volume of his edition (this collection is wholly out-dated, and the fragments referred to are difficult to identify).

The translation is printed in two columns. The size of the letter is relatively small, but the text is very readable indeed. The margins of the pages are kept to an absolute minimum, allowing more than a thousand words per page, and so making it possible to include almost all of Philo's writings on less than 900 pages. This combination of compactness and clarity makes the book a fine example of the printer's art. It was decided to include the scanty footnotes that Yonge had included in his original version, but these are of little value. Of more importance are references to the biblical sources alluded to or commented on by Philo. These might, however, have been better placed in the text (as often in the Loeb), and could have been considerably expanded. The Scripture index is new. The Subject index has been taken over from Yonge's original work. Both are useful. The maps at the end of the volume do not seem to be of any great relevance to Philo.

The most important question remains to be dealt with. What is the quality of the translation itself? The first impression is one of surprising fluency, given the fact that it is now 140 years old. There are relatively few archaic turns of phrase, and the vocabulary seems no more antiquated than what we find in Colson and Whitaker's Loeb version. This compliment of (relative) fluency could of course be double-edged. We have to know how accurate and reliable the translation is. For testing purposes I have taken a number of short passages and examined these rather carefully. This is not the place to present the results in detail (they will be presented in a longer review article to appear in *The Studia Philonica Annual*). Instead I draw attention to the following conclusions that I reached. (1) Various careless errors were discovered. This is no doubt due to the extreme haste with which the translation was prepared. (2) On a number of occasions Yonge's use of an inferior text leads to a less meaningful rendering (but note also that at least twice he is saved from unnecessary emendations). (3) Rather often Philo's mean-

ing is not as clearly and exactly rendered as one would like (the result of the tendency to smooth over difficulties in the text). For the most part, however, the translation manages to give a reasonable indication of the contents of Philo's text. It is clear enough for a first orientation, but is quite insufficient to guarantee a precise idea of what Philo meant to say when he wrote his works. In short it would be most unwise to base a serious discussion on Yonge's translation without reference to the Greek text or to other translations.

The limitations of this new single-volume Philo must be squarely faced. It is a mid-Victorian product, hastily put together and now, after more than a century of scholarship, thoroughly outdated. The publishers have brought the organization of the volume up-to-date, and for this they are to be commended. They did not, however, take the more difficult route of revising the translation in conformity with modern standards. For this reason the value of the reprinted version has to remain limited. I conclude that this new single-volume Philo is not without value, but *only* if used *for purpose of consultation*, i.e. in order to gain access to Philo's writings, and *not* for the attempted furtherance of scholarship.

Let us, however, briefly give rein to our imagination. It is not difficult to conceive of a publication that would have the merits of this volume without its defects. It would present a new translation based on the critical text of Cohn-Wendland and incorporating the most recent results of scholarly study. It would contain brief introductions to individual treatises and full references to the biblical texts which Philo is commenting on and to classical sources to which he alludes. Above all it would be truly complete (although here a problem remains, because even now we still do not have a modern edition of Philo's fragments). It is easy to conceive of this project in one's armchair, but the actual undertaking would be long and arduous. I fear that for some time the reprinted Yonge will have the field to itself.

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Klaus Seibt, *Die Theologie des Markell von Ankyra* (AKG 59), Berlin/New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1994. XIV, 558 S. DM 258,00.

Die vorliegende Untersuchung ist die überarbeitete Fassung einer im WS 1991/92 in Tübingen angenommenen evang.-theol. Dissertation. In

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seiner Einführung (A) spricht der Vf. die wesentlichen theologiegeschichtlichen und überlieferungstechnischen Probleme an, aber auch die von ihm dann in den Hauptteilen C und D vertiefte These, Markell sei auf dem Hintergrund der konstantinischen Wende und seiner Beziehung zu Konstantin selbst zu interpretieren, womit Markell also Euseb von Caesarea zur Seite gestellt wird (S. 9). Weitere interpretative Leitlinien des Vf. liegen darin, die Kontinuität der Theologie Markells aufzuzeigen und den schöpferischen gegenüber dem traditionsbestimmten Theologen Markell herauszuarbeiten, was natürlich besonders an der Trinitätslehre und Christologie demonstriert wird.

Zuvor aber wird des längeren im ersten Hauptteil (B) die Geschichte der Markellforschung dargelegt; dies geschieht kenntnis- und materialreich und ist seiner Intention gemäß besonders da fruchtbar, wo wesentliche dogmengeschichtliche Fragestellungen herausgearbeitet werden, was noch durch eine gewisse systematische Ordnung der in der Forschungsgeschichte vorgetragenen Ansätze begünstigt wird. Daß nun jeder Autor einer Einzelrezension unterzogen wird, in der der Vf. eine Fülle von gelehrten Einzelinformationen und -kritiken darbietet (man vgl. etwa S. 56 oben), ist für die Geschichte der Markellinterpretation durchaus interessant, doch hätte man sich gerade zur Erschließung dieses Teiles ein Register gewünscht. Ein forschungsgeschichtliches Sonderproblem ist der Versuch, das markellsche Œuvre durch die Zuweisung unter anderen Namen überlieferter Schriften zu erweitern (B V, zu nennen ist hier etwa Ps.-Athanasius: De incarnatione et contra Arianos). Auch hier vollzieht der Vf. die Echtheitsdiskussionen jeweils recht detailliert nach, wobei die neu erschlossenen Marcelliana innerhalb der Echtheitsdiskussionen inhaltlich ausgewertet werden.

Im zweiten Hauptteil (C) untersucht der Vf. das Opus ad Constantinum Imperatorem: Geboten wird ein Rekonstruktionsversuch der von Euseb referierten Fragmente nach äußeren Kriterien, dazu Textkritik, Übersetzung und die Kommentierung der einzelnen Fragmente, die dogmengeschichtlich interpretiert werden. In einem Exkurs (S. 429ff), in dem ein eigenständiger Vergleich zur Exegese von 1Kor 15,24-28 geboten wird, zieht der Vf. auch die Markell neu zuzuweisenden Werke bei. Herausgearbeitet wird dabei auch die Verschränkung von Christologie (Inkarnationstheologie) und Ekklesiologie: Das Reich Christi ist die Kirche bzw. die ganze Schöpfung, die der Menschgewordene verkörpert und dem Vater in sich selbst unterwirft (S. 438ff). Dies wird dann in D weiter thematisiert.

In Teil D wird »Markell von Ankyra als Theologe der Konstantinischen Wende« vorgestellt, wobei nicht nur Markell, sondern auch Konstantin in Anknüpfung an Hermann Dörries in der Eigenständigkeit seines Denkens aufgewertet wird. Ist also Konstantin der Zuträger der Denkkategorie δυνάμει—ἐνεργείᾳ für Markell (vgl. Opitz III/1, Nr. 22, 16) und ist er somit als »selbständiger und eigenwilliger Denker« und als »Theologe« anzusprechen (S. 462f), der populärwissenschaftliche Kompromißformeln liefert (S.476)? Hiermit sind nicht nur Grundfragen des Konstantin-Bildes berührt (etwa die des »Selbstzeugnisses«, vgl. Leeb, Konstantin und Christus, 1992); vielmehr ist im Blick auf Euseb, auf dessen Zeugnis der Vf. sich hinsichtlich der konstantinischen Herkunft der δυνάμει—ἐνεργείᾳ-Kategorie stützt, noch einmal zu fragen, ob dieser seinen Kaiser wirklich wortgetreu referiert oder ihn sekundär theologisiert. Weitere Bezüge Markells auf Konstantins »Christologie« sind offenbar nicht herauszuarbeiten. In D betrachtet der Vf. nun weiterhin die Theologie Markells auf dem Hintergrund der konstantinischen Wende. Damit ist ein Themenkomplex tangiert, der jüngst auch im Blick auf Laktanz und Euseb unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Koppelung von Eschatologie und Fortschrittsdenken angesprochen worden ist (W. Kinzig, Novitas Christiana, 1994). In der Theologie Markells also ist das Gegenwartsbewußtsein von der Inkarnation entscheidend geprägt: Durch die Verschränkung von Christologie und Ekklesiologie ist die Gegenwart Heilszeit in dem Sinne, daß der Logos seine Macht in der Prolepse der Auferweckung durchsetzt und daß die Kirche schon jetzt mit Christus herrscht (S. 498f) — dies alles wird im Eschaton nur noch graduell überboten.

Da das Opus ad Constantinum von 336 in zeitlicher Parallele zu Eusebs Konstantin-Verherrrlichung steht, stellt sich also die Frage, ob und wie Markell als »Theologe der Konstantinischen Wende« anzusprechen sei. Der Vf. formuliert hierzu die These, »nach der die Beziehung Markells zu Konstantin und das Zeitgefühl und das Weltverständnis der Konstantinischen Wende bisher übersehene wesentliche Bildungselemente seiner Theologie sind« (S. 503). Dies allerdings kann nur anhand der Entfaltung dogmatischer Sachkomplexe demonstriert werden, da es bei Markell an expliziter politischer Theologie offenbar fehlt. Der »Basileus über die Kirche«, der »Basileus über alles in allem« jedenfalls ist doch Christus (Seibt, Fragm. 99. 105/Klostermann Nr. 111. 117). Der in Anschlag gebrachte »Zeitgeist« findet sich bei Markell allenfalls ekklesiologisch und christologisch reflektiert, also im Sinne der o.g.

Heilsgegenwart. Der Vf. sieht demnach »Die 'Konstantinische' Couleur der Theologie Markells« (D IV) speziell in der Verschränkung von Christologie und Ekklesiologie: An den von Markell dem Menschgewordenen zugesprochenen Hoheitsaussagen partizipiert auch die Kirche als die vom Logos durchwirkte »Menschheit« (S. 515-517). Formuliert sich so nur eine Christologie, die »von der Erhöhung und dem Selbstbewußtsein der weltwerdenden Kirche« (was meint der Begriff genau?) getragen ist, (S. 517) und ist »das Erlebnis der 'ecclesia triumphans'« also für alle Schriften Markells prägend (S. 520)? Hier stellt sich die Frage nach weiteren Indizien, die aber gerade in der von Euseb referierten und Konstantin gewidmeten Schrift fehlen.

So ergibt sich der Eindruck einer kenntnisreichen und zu Rückfragen einladenden, damit auch innovativen theologiegeschichtlichen Studie. Auf den TRE-Artikel »Marcell von Ancyra« des Vf. ist hinzuweisen.

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Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, *Über die Mystische Theologie und Briefe*. Eingeleitet, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Adolf Martin Ritter (BGL 40). Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann, 1994. XIII, 238 S. DM 190,—.

Mit diesem dritten Band Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita wird ein wichtiges Unternehmen glücklich vollendet. Nachdem 1986 Günther Heil »Über die himmlische Hierarchie« und »Über die kirchliche Hierarchie« (BGL 22) und 1988 Beate Regina Suchla »Die Namen Gottes« (BGL 26) in Übersetzung, mit Anmerkungen versehen, veröffentlichte, wird nun der letzte Teil der Werke des Areopagiten, »Über die mystische Theologie und die Briefe«, vorgelegt.

Der Übersetzung geht eine »Gesamteinleitung« und eine Einleitung zu den in diesem Band gebotenen Werken voran.

In der Gesamteinleitung erörtert der Verf. die Fragen, die aufgrund der wunderlichen Geschichte, die mit diesem Autor und seinem Werke verbunden ist, aufkommen. Wie konnte es geschenen, dass ein nahezu undurchdringbares Werk besonders in mittelalterlichen Westen so einflussreich war? Der Verf. hatte darüber schon teils mit denselben Worten geschrieben in »*Nimm und lies*«. *Christliche Denker von Origines*

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bis Erasmus von Rotterdam (Verlag W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart-Berlin-Köln 1991) S. 111 ff. Mit Recht bleibt er gegen H.U. v. Balthasar und A. Louth bei der Auffassung, das dies in hohem Masse der dem Dionysius zugeschriebenen quasi-apostolischen Autorität zu verdanken ist. Das nimmt nicht hinweg, dass offensichtlich auch die »Vision«, welche in Dionysius' Werken aufleuchtet, bei vielen Denkern das Gefühl hervorgerufen hat, dass hier von einer ganz besonderen Einsicht die Rede ist. Aus der der Übersetzung beigegebenen Erläuterung geht klar der überragende Einfluss hervor, den Gregor v. Nyssa (vor allem mit seiner Interpretation des Aufstiegs des Moses zum Gottesberg) einerseits und Proklos andererseits auf die Mystische Theologie ausgeübt haben (vgl. S. 61).

Interessant ist die Bemerkung des Verf., dass das *Corpus Dionysiacum* eine Nachahmung des *Corpus Paulinum* zu sein scheint, insofern es auch aus 14 Einzelstücken besteht, darunter vier längere; wobei noch zu bemerken sei, dass auch die Hauptschriften des Dionysius der Form nach Briefe seien, so dass es sich in beiden Fällen um 14 Briefe handele (vgl. S. 24, 52, 63).

Die Übersetzung ist auch in diesem Teil von hoher Qualität. Sie stützt sich auf die vor kurzem in PTS veröffentlichte kritische Ausgabe des griechischen Originaltextes (G. Heil-A.M. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum* I [1990] und II [1991]). Die Anmerkungen zeugen von einer grossen Vertrautheit mit diesen sehr schwierigen Texten. Am Ende findet man ein Quellen- und Literaturverzeichnis sowie Register. Der Verf. kann auf ein gelungenes Unternehmen zurückschauen.

2312 GD *Leiden*, Haarlemmerstraat 106 J.C.M. VAN WINDEN

Petri Callinicensis patriarchae Antiocheni tractatus contra Damianum. I. Quae supersunt libri secundi ediderunt et anglice reddiderunt R.Y. Ebied, A. van Roey, L. Wickham (= *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca* 29). Turnhout-Leuven, 1994. LVII, 383 p.

Quelle est la relation entre le Père, le Fils et le Saint-Esprit et cette unique essence divine qui leur est commune? Dans la seconde moitié du VI^e^ siècle, cette question, qui concerne le cœur même de la foi chrétienne, provoqua le trouble au sein de l'Église monophysite. Il y eut d'abord la doctrine lancée par Jean Ascotzangès, puis élaborée philoso-

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phiquement par Jean Philopon: seule la substance particulière de chaque hypostase existe réellement, l'essence commune de la divinité étant une abstraction de notre esprit, ce qui revenait à postuler trois substances (ou natures) différentes et donc aussi trois dieux, qui ne seraient consubstantiels que du fait que chacun d'entre eux était dieu au même titre que les deux autres. Ce «trithéisme» fut condamné avec fermeté par l'épiscopat oriental, qui recourait aux arguments traditionnels, tirés des Pères, mais n'était pas à même de formuler une réponse philosophique à la thèse de Jean Philopon.

Cette réponse n'allait venir qu'une quinzaine d'années plus tard, lorsque, vers 585, Damien, patriarche d'Alexandrie (de 578 à 607), fut prié de réfuter un certain nombre de chapitres trithéites. Très hostile à la doctrine des trois dieux, le patriarche insista si fort sur l'existence réelle de l'essence unique de la divinité qu'il allait jusqu'à identifier les hypostases à leurs propriétés caractéristiques (ἰδιότητες): ainsi l'hypostase du Père serait identique à son ingénération, celle du Fils à sa génération, et celle du Saint-Esprit à sa procession; on pourrait donc aussi bien dire que, par exemple, «Père» signifie «ingénération»; de là il n'y avait plus qu'un petit pas à faire pour refuser une existence particulière aux trois personnes. Il semble bien que Damien en soit arrivé là en confondant deux acceptions du terme ἰδιότης, lequel, chez certains Pères, désigne tantôt l'hypostase elle même (donc l'existence particulière du Père, du Fils et du Saint-Esprit), tantôt ses propriétés indicatives, c'est-à-dire les caractéristiques par lesquelles les hypostases se distinguent l'une de l'autre. Son erreur a été de ne plus accepter que cette seconde acception, empêchant ainsi que chaque personne soit considérée dans son existence particulière. Damien envoya un exemplaire de son traité à son collègue Pierre de Callinique, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (de 581 à 591).

Pierre qui, comme il ressort de ses ouvrages, était un esprit subtil, très sensible au moindre détail lorsqu'il s'agissait de l'interprétation des Pères, s'aperçut aussitôt du danger contenu dans la thèse de Damien: quoi qu'en dise ce dernier, elle n'avait pas l'appui de la tradition; elle pouvait conduire aussi bien à l'arianisme qu'au sabellianisme: si les propriétés caractéristiques sont les hypostases, celles-ci ne se distingueront plus par leurs propriétés caractéristiques, mais par leur propre existence, et c'en est fait de la consubstantialité (on retombe ainsi dans l'erreur d'Arius); ou bien, si les trois hypostases sont consubstantielles, elles devront être considérées comme des modalités de l'unique substance divine (ce qui était la thèse de Sabellius); enfin, Damien confondait

noms et choses. Pierre essaya de le convaincre de son erreur, mais assez vite les relations entre les deux patriarches se dégradèrent à tel point que Pierre se mit à rédiger un *Contra Damianum*, en trois livres, dans lequel il annonça le schisme entre les Églises d'Antioche et d'Alexandrie. Quand trente ans plus tard ces Églises se réconcilièrent, les patriarches alors en titre s'abstinrent de juger sur les torts et les raisons de chacune des deux parties...

Les documents échangés entre Pierre et Damien furent rédigés en grec, mais nous devons les pièces qui nous en sont parvenues à une traduction syriaque, difficile à dater, mais certainement fort ancienne. Des trois livres contre Damien, seuls les livres deux et trois semblent conservés (on peut se demander si le «dossier antitrithéite» publié par les mêmes éditeurs [*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 10, 1981] ne faisait pas partie du premier livre). Pour le deuxième livre, qui fait l'objet de ce volume, à part quelques passages figurant dans tel ou tel florilège, les éditeurs ne disposaient que d'un seul manuscrit (*British Library Add. MS 7191*, VII^{e} siècle), dans lequel le texte du *Contra Damianum* est mutilé au début et à la fin. Ces difficultés n'ont pas empêché les éditeurs d'obtenir un résultat admirable: grâce à l'exposé doctrinal et historique, grâce surtout à la traduction anglaise, très lisible et juxtaposée au texte syriaque, ils nous permettent de connaître le détail d'une discussion intéressante dont jusqu'aujourd'hui on ne soupçonnait que les grandes lignes; on se réjouira donc qu'ils nous aient promis également l'édition du livre III. Signalons enfin, à l'intention des chercheurs de la littérature ecclésiastique ancienne, que l'ouvrage de Pierre offre, outre des citations provenant d'ouvrages perdus de Damien, quelques fragments inédits de Sévère d'Antioche (*Contra codicillos Alexandri* et *Epistula ad Oecumenium*).

B-9000 *Gent*, Vaderlandstraat 30 José DECLERCK

Anonymus Dialogus cum Iudaeis saeculi ut videtur sexti. Nunc primum editus curante José H. Declerck (Corpus Christianorium. Series Graeca 30), Turnhout, Brepols/Leuven, University Press, 1994. CXLI, 134 p.

La Série Grecque du Corpus Christianorum publie une fois encore une édition princeps. Il s'agit d'un dialogue entre un chrétien et un juif. Une telle œuvre traite nécessairement de l'interprétation du Livre, qu'ils

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ont en commun: l'Ancien Testament. La première question fondamentale est de savoir s'il faut prendre le texte à la lettre ou si le Livre recèle un sens caché. Quand le Juif, qui tient au sens littéral, doit reconnaitre que, pour lui aussi, le texte doit souvent être interprété au delà de la lettre, le chrétien relève tout ce qui dans l'ancienne Bible insinue déjà l'existence de la Trinité, l'Incarnation du Fils, tous les événements de la vie du Christ jusqu'à son ascension et sa parousie.

Le texte grec a été édité d'aprês le codex *Vatopedinus* 236, seul témoin du *Dialogus* en cette langue. Il a été reproduit et amendé, notamment grâce à la version géorgienne, de manière excellente. Le *Dialogus* a en effet été traduit en géorgien et la version géorgienne fut à son tour traduite en arménien. L'éditeur explique cela dans l'Introduction et montre l'intérêt de la première au moins de ces deux versions.

Dans la traduction arménienne l'ouvrage est mis sous le nom de Jean Damascène. L'éditeur discute longuement cette attribution et en vient à la conclusion qu'elle est indéfendable. Le *Dialogus* semble bien être d'un siècle et demi antérieur au Damascène (p. XC).

L'éditeur décrit d'une façon précise l'état de conservation du texte, et en donne un résumé très clair.

Un nouveau dialogue, sans aucun doute fictif, entre un chrétien et un Juif, est ainsi accessible à tous les chercheurs, tant les byzantinistes que les spécialistes des relations judéo-chrétiennes, qui seront reconnaissants à l'éditeur.

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The Notion of «Religion» in Comparative Research. Selected Proceedings of the XVIth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions, Rome, 3rd-8th September, 1990. Edited by Ugo Bianchi, with the cooperation of Fabio Mora and Lorenzo Bianchi (Storia delle Religioni 8). Roma, «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 1994. XLVIII, 921 p.

This huge volume contains 105 articles on all forms of religion, as they have been practised all over the world, and contributions on methodology of comparative research, on phenomonology of religions, on anthropology, and on philosophy of religion.

For the readers of this periodical the following articles are of special impor-

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tance: M. Mach, Philo's "Philosophical" Turn to "Religion"; F.E. Brenk, Greek Epiphanies and Paul on the Road to Damaskos; A.D. De Conick, Fasting from the World: Enkratite Soteriology in the Gospel of Thomas; C. Magazzù, L'uso di religio nella polemica anti-pagana di Arnobio di Sicca; A.M. Mazzanti, La notione di "religione" in Giustino; C. Aloe Spada, L'uso di religio e religiones nella polemica antipagana di Lattanzio; B.A. Pearson, Is Gnosticism a Religion?

Manlio Simonetti, *Ortodossia ed Eresia tra I e II Secolo* (Armarium. Biblioteca di Storia e Cultura religiosa, 5). Rubbettino Editore, 1994. 88049 Soveria Mannelli.

A collection of 11 articles, recently published by a great patristic scholar.

Ortodossia ed eresia tra I e II secolo (11-45); L'Apocalissi e l'origine del millennio (47-61); Paolo nell'Asia cristiana del II secolo (63-85); Un'antica interpretazione di Luca 16,1-8 (87-99); gnosticismo e cristianesimo (101-140); ΨΥΧΗ e ΨΥΧΙΚΟΣ nella gnosi valentiniana (141-203); Eracleone, gli psichici e il Trattato Tripartito (205-244); Per typica ad vera. Note sull'esegesi di Ireneo (245-273); Polemica antiplatonica nello Ps. Giustino (275-289); Roma cristiana tra II e III secolo (291-314); Modelli culturali nella cristianità orientale del II-III secolo (315-331); Indici.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The inclusion of a book in this list, which contains all books received by the editors, does not guarantee its subsequent review.

Simon Gibson and Joan Taylor, Beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: The Archaeology and Early History of Traditional Golgotha (Palestine Exploration Fund Monograph. Series Maior 1). London, 1994. XX, 102 p. + 46 illustrations. Paper £ 19.50.

Susanna Elm, "Virgins of God". The Making of Ascetism in Late Antiquity (Oxford Classical Monographs). Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994. XVII, 444 p. £ 45.00.

Bernard Pottier, Dieu et le Christ selon Grégoire de Nysse. Étude systématique du «Contre Eunome» avec traduction inédite des extraits d'Eunome. Préface de Mariette Canévet. Culture et Vérité, Namur, 1994. 520 p. (Diffusion Brepols).

Tj. Baarda, Essays on the Diatessaron (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 11). Kok Pharos Publishing House, Kampen, 1994.

Commentaires de Jérôme sur le Prophète Isaïe. Livres V-VII. Texte établi par R. Gryson, et J. Coulie, avec la collaboration de E. Crousse et V. Somers. Introduction par R. Gryson et P.-A. Deproost (Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel. Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bible 27). Freiburg, Herder, 1994. P. 475-872.

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Culto e insediamenti micaelici nell' Italia Meridionale fra tarda antichità e medioevo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale monte Sant'Angelo 18-21 novembre 1992, a cura di Carlo Carletti e Giorgio Otranto. Bari, Edipuglio, 1994. 624 p.

Ansgar Franz, Tageslauf und Heilsgeschichte. Untersuchungen zum literarischen Text und liturgischen Kontext der Tagzeitenhymnen des Ambrosius von Mailand. Eos Verlag, Erzabtei St. Ottilien, 1994.

Pierre Lardet, L'apologie de Jérôme contre Rufin. Un commentaire (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 15). Leiden-New York-Köln, Brill, 1993.

Annelies Felber, Harmonie durch Hierarchie? Das Denken der Geschlechter-Ordnung im frühen Christentum (Frauenforschung 26). Wiener Frauenverlag, Lange Gasse 51, A-1080, Wien.

Pseudo Dionysius Areopagita, Über die Mystische Theologie und Briefe. Eingeleitet, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Adolf Martin Ritter (Bibl. d. Griech. Lit. 40). Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann, 1994. 228 S. DM 190.—.

Uwe Kühneweg, Das neue Gesetz. Christus als Gesetzgeber und Gesetz. Studien zu den Anfängen christlicher Naturgesetzlehre im 2. Jahrhundert (Marburger Theologische Studien 36). Marburg, N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1993. 358 S.

Le sacrifice dans les religions. Institut de science et de théologie des religions. Sous la direction de Marcel Neusch (Sciences théologiques et religieuses 3). Paris, Beauchesne, 1994. 310 p. 180 FF.

Laïcs dans l'Église. Regards de Pierre Damien, Anselme de Cantorbéry, Yves de Chartres, par Michel Grandjean. Préface d'André Vauchez (Théologie Historique 97). Paris, Beauchesne, 1994. XV, 434 p. 120 FF.

Histoire et théologie. Actes de la Journée d'études de l'Association française d'histoire religieuse contemporaine, sous la direction de Jean-Dominique Durand. Paris, Beauchesne, 1994. 180 p. 150 FF.

Beaudouin Decharneux, L'ange, le divin, et le prophète. Chemins de la parole dans l'œuvre de Philon d'Alexandrie dit «Le Juif» (Spiritualités et Pensèes libres 2). Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1994. 160 p. 650 Fr.B., 120 FF.

Siegfried Richter, Exegetisch-literarkritische Untersuchungen von Herakleidespsalmen des koptisch-manichäischen Psalmenbuches (Arbeiten zum spätantiken und koptischen Ägypten 5). Orosverlag, Altenberge, 1994. XII, 351 S. DM 80,—.

Questions d'un païen à un chrétien (Consultationes Zacchei christiani et Apollonii philosophi). 2 vol. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par Jean Louis Feiertag, en collaboration avec Werner Steinmann (Sources Chrétiennes 401-402). Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 1994. 224 + 277 pp. 94 + 97 F.

Jaroslav Pelikan, La tradition chrétienne. Histoire du développement de la doctrine. Vol. I: l'émergence de la tradition catholique 100-600. Traduit de l'anglais par Pierre Quillet. Révisé par Jean-Yves Lacoste. Traduction établie avec la collaboration de Françoise Vinel. Vol. II: L'esprit du christianisme oriental 600-1700. Traduit de l'anglais par Jean-Louis Breteau. Révisé par Jean-Yves Lacoste. Traduction établie avec la collaboration de Françoise Vinel et Muriel Debié. Presses universitaires de France, 108, Boulevard de Saint-Germain, 75006 Paris, 1994. XXXII, 413 + XXVI, 360 p. (The original edition was published by The University of Chicago in 1971 (vol. I) and 1974 (vol. II).

Han J.W. Drijvers, History and Religion in Late Antique Syria. Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS 464. 1994. XII, 305 p. £ 47.50.

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Catharine Osborne, Eros Unveiled. Plato and the God of Love. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994. 26 p. £ 30.00.

Wendy E. Helleman (ed.), Hellenization Revisisted. Shaping a Christian Reponse within the Greco-Roman World. University Press of America, 4720 Boston Way, Lanham, Maryland 20706.

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Nil d'Ancyre, Commentaire sur le Cantique des Cantiques. Edition princeps. Tome I. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par Marie-Gabrielle Guerard (Sources Chrétiennes 403). Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 1994. 383 p. 169 F.

Aleandr Khosroyev, Die Bibliothek von Nag Hammadi. Einige Probleme des Christentums in Ägypten während der ersten Jahrhunderte (Arbeiten zum spätantiken und koptischen Ägypten 7). Oros Verlag, Altenberge, 1995. X, 195 S. DM 60.—.

Ernst Dassmann, Ämter und Dienste in den frühchristlichen Gemeinden (Hereditas. Studien zur alten Kirchengeschichte 8). Bonn, Borengässer, 1994. X, 244 S. geb. DM/sFr 48 kart. DM/sFr 42.

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Clayton, N. Jefford (ed.), The Didache in Context. Essays on Its Text, History and Transmission (Suppl. to Novum Testamentum 77). Leiden-New York-Köln, Brill, 1995. XVIII, 420 p.

A. Schoors et P. Van Deun (edd.), Polyhistôr. Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga Septuagenarii (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 60). Leuven, Uitg. Peeters en Dpt. Orientalistiek, 1994. XV, 580 p.

Remo Cacitti, Grande Sabato. Il contesto pasquale quartodecimano nella formazione della teologia del martirio (Studia Patristica Mediolanensia 19). Vita e Pensiero, Pubblicazioni dell' Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano, 1994. LX, 207 p. L. 48.000.

H.S. Benjamins, Eingeordnete Freiheit. Freiheit und Vorsehung bei Origenes (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 28). Leiden-New York-Köln, Brill, 1994. 225 p.

Ps.-Justin (Markell von Ankyra?), Ad Graecos de vera religione (bisher »Cohortatio ad Graecos«). Einleitung und Kommentar von Christoph Riedweg. 2 Teile (Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 25/1 und 2). Basel, Friedrich Reinhardt Verlag, 1994. 711 S.

J. Ysebaert, Die Amtsterminologie im Neuen Testament und in der Alten Kirche. Breda, Eureia, 1994. VIII, 238 S.

THE ADVERBIAL USE OF *CUM MAXIME* IN TERTULLIAN

BY

J.C.M. VAN WINDEN

Cum maxime, as an adverbial expression, is used by Tertullian 35 times (see G. Claesson, *Index Tertullianeus*, Paris 1974). The way in which this grammatical phenomenon is handled by the translators betrays a remarkable divergence of understanding. The purpose of this article is to shed some light on Tertullian's use of this expression. I will argue that in his writings it most of the time has a temporal meaning and that it may concern the present ('at this very moment'), but also the past ('just a moment ago', 'very recently') and even the near future ('very soon'). In this respect it may be compared with the adverb *iam*, which also can be used with reference to the present and its surroundings in past and future. The same holds in fact for the English 'just now'.

The Thesaurus

The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Vol VIII, Col. 74 s.v. *magis*) discerns two meanings of *cum maxime*: 1) *subest notio gradationis* ('in the highest degree'); 2) *notio temporalis*. As examples of its temporal meaning one finds there first the cases in which *cum maxime* is used in its original form, viz. as a conjunction in combination with the adverb *maxime*. Cicero, *Att. 2*, 15,3 *Cum haec maxime scriberem, ecce tibi Sebosus*. R.Y. Tyrrell, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*, 1885, translates in a note: "Just as I got to this point in my letter ...", and he remarks "*maxime* like μάλιστα, means 'just', 'precisely'. In combination with a temporal *cum* it gets a temporal meaning. (In his modern edition Shockleton Bailey translates: 'Just as I was writing these lines—there was Sebosus.') Two other examples: Cicero, *Verr.* II 5,142 *Haec cum maxime loquerentur, sex lictores circumsistunt*; Livius 1,50,7 *Haec cum maxime dissereret, intervenit Tarquinius*. One can see clearly here how *cum maxime* is developing into a fixed phrase.

Then the combination *cum maxime* manifests itself as an independent phenomenon, for instance in Seneca, *Ep. 59,7 Sextium ecce cum max-*

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ime lego, "I am reading Sextius right now"; Livius 29,17,19 *passi sumus et cum maxime patimur*, "We have been suffering and suffer right now". How does Tertullian use this expression?

1. *Subest notio gradationis*

There are instances, in which Tertullian uses *cum maxime* in the first meaning. In these cases it may be translated with 'for the greatest part', 'mainly', 'most of all', 'precisely', 'just'. *De Spect.* 1,4 *Atquin hoc cum maxime paramus demonstrare.* In her edition in Sources Chrétiennes Marie Turcan remarks: "*cum maxime*: pour appuyer l'affirmation sans rien de la valeur temporelle" (she does find this temporal meaning in *De Spect.* 1,1 and 10,4; see below.)—*De patientia* 10,1 *Sed et gloria ubique vana et malitia numquam domino non odiosa, hoc quidem loco cum maxime, cum* .... "most of all in this case ...". Other instances are *De idol.* 2,1; *De fuga* 9,1; *Adv.Marc.* 35,7. In some cases one may hesitate in choosing between the qualificatory and the temporal meaning. *Adv.Marc.* 26,1 *alius deus non erat in conscientia eius, hoc cum maxime iurantis alium absque se omnino non esse.* In the Ante-Nicene Christian Library (ANL) P. Holmes translates: "especially when He (Christ) was swearing *to this very point*, that besides Himself there was absolutely no God". E. Evans, *Tertullian, Adv.Marc.*, Oxford 1972, renders: "... and in fact was *then and there* swearing ..." The same can be said of *De monogamia* 17,2, where the queen of Carthage (Dido) is said to be *tantae civitatis cum maxime formatrix.* Is she the main founder or the recent founder? But in many other instances Holmes had given *cum maxime* a qualificatory meaning, where Evans is without any doubt right in interpreting it in a temporal sense.

In all other 26 instances Tertullian uses *cum maxime* in a temporal sense.

2. *notio temporalis*

a) *'just at this/that time'*

There are cases in which this use is quite unmistakable. *De bapt.* 1 Tertullian states that he is going to instruct *tam eos qui cum maxime formantur quam et illos qui* ..., "not only those who are *just* being formed (in the faith), but also ..."—*De paenit.* 6,1 *praecipue novitiolis istis imminet qui cum maxime incipiunt divinis sermonibus aures rigare,*

"it threathens in particular those recruits who are *only just* beginning to bedew their ears with divine discourses"—*De spect.* 1,1 *Dei servi, ..., qui cum maxime ad Deum acceditis*, "you, servants of God who *at this very moment* are drawing near to God".—*Adv.Marc.* V 9,7 *ex testimonio angeli, qui nocte pastoribus adnuntiavit natum esse cum maxime Christum*, "... that Christ had just then been born" (Cf. Luke 2,11: *natus est vobis* hodie *Salvator*).

Apol. 5,3. Tertullian addresses the Roman readers and says: "Consult your histories. There you will find that Nero was the first to rage with the imperial sword *in hanc sectam cum maxime Romae orientem.* T.R. Glover translates in his Loeb edition: "against this school *in the very hour of* its rise at Rome", which is an excellent rendering. The ANL translation has: "in the Christian sect, making progress then *especially* in Rome", which gives a rather different view. But was it growing 'especially' in Rome? It seems not.—A similar case presents *De spect.* 10,4 *Nam saepe censores nascentes cum maxime theatra destruebant moribus consulentes.* The ANL translation runs as follows: "For ofttimes the censors, in the interest of morality, put down *above all* the rising theaters". But obviously Tertullian states here that the censors put down those theaters *just at the time of* their rising. (Cf. the Sources Chrétiennes translation by Marie Turcan: "Souvent les censeurs faisaient détruire les théâtres aussitôt nés par souci des moeurs")—*De orat.* 23,1 Tertullian mentions a disagreement with regard to kneeling during the prayer. Some people abstain from kneeling on the Sabbath: *quae dissensio cum maxime apud ecclesias causam dicit*, "this divergent opinion defends its case *nowadays* in the churches" (and not 'particularly', as in ANL). G.F. Diercks, in his critical edition of *De oratione*—in Dutch, Diss. Amsterdam, Bussum 1947, p. 244—has drawn attention to the temporal meaning of *cum maxime.—De orat.* 16,6 Tertullian opposes those who after praying sit down before God. He argues: *Si quidem inreverens est assidere sub conspectu contraque conspectum eius, quem cum maxime reverearis ac venereris, quanto magis* ... "If, on the one hand, it is irreverent to sit under the eye, and over against the eye, of him, whom you *most of all* revere and venerate" (Thelwall in ANL). Here, too, one should translate with Diercks "whom you *at that very moment* worship", etc.). Since the resultant behaviour is irreverent, this makes the rendering 'most of all' impossible.

Adv. Marc. IV 37,1. "Without knowing about Isaiah", Tertullian says, "Zaccheus fulfilled his instructions 'Break thy bread to the hungry

and bring into thy house them that have no covering'—*hoc cum maxime agebat, exceptum domo sua pascens dominum* (and this he was *even then* doing when he brought the Lord into his house and gave him to eat)—'and if thou see the naked, cover him'—*hoc cum maxime promittebat, in omnia misericordiae opera dimidium substantiae offerens* (*at that very moment* he promised this, when he offered the half of his good for all works of mercy)'' (tr. Evans). In the ANL translation the first *cum maxime* is rendered by 'in the best possible way', the second by 'in an equally satisfactory way'.—In *De carne Christi* 7,10 one finds a similar formula: *quod ille cum maxime agebat.*

Adv. Marc. III 22,2. The apostles parted company with the elders, rulers and priests of the Jews. Marcion suggests: 'Was not that precisely, because they were preachers of that other God?' Tertullian reacts: *Atquin ipsius eiusdem, cuius scripturam cum maxime implebant*, ''Oh, no! they were preachers of that very same God, whose scriptures they were *just then* fulfilling'' (Cf. tr. Evans).

Adv. Marc. IV 27,6. When Jezus attacks the doctors of the Law, because they burden others with burdens which they themselves do not touch with a finger, he does not do that as a denouncer of the burdens of that Law, Tertullian states. And he continues: *Quomodo enim detestator, qui cum maxime potiora legis praetereuntes incusabat, elemosynam et vocationem et dilectionem Dei*, ''How could he have been a denouncer, when *at that moment* he was accusing those who passed over the more important things of the Law ...'' (Cf. tr. Evans). Instead of 'at that moment' one could also translate 'a moment ago' (i.e. some verses ago in the 11th chapter of Luke). In that case this text should be arranged under b).

On several occasions Tertullian opposes Marcion's opinion that the God of the New Testament is another than the One of the Old Testament. This opinion implies that the god of Marcion revealed himself *only recently* (see *Adv. Marc.* IV 16,15, below). It means also that Christ *only at that time* was attempting to teach mankind about God (i.e. in the time of his earthly life): *Adv. Marc.* IV 17,13 *qui cum maxime edocere temptabat.* And the human beings could *only then* gain knowledge of him: *Adv. Marc.* IV 29,3 *cum maxime discentes eum*; because this god was *only then* making approaches to them: *Adv. Marc.* IV 31,8 *quos cum maxime adgreditur.* He was *only then* revealing his greatness through Christ: *Adv. Marc.* IV 25,2 (*magnitudinem sui*), *quam cum maxime per Christum revelabat.* In all these cases, IV 17,13

excepted, the translation of ANL was non-temporal and, therefore, missed Tertullian's point.

b) *'Just a moment ago', 'only recently'*

De ieiunio 4,3. Tertullian answers the question, why God in Genesis 9,3 only forbade to eat the flesh with the life (the blood) still in it, and not the other kinds; *ad haec respondemus non competisse onerari hominem aliqua adhuc abstinentiae lege, qui cum maxime tam levem interdictionem, unius scilicet pomi, tolerare non potuit.* "To this we reply that it was not suitable for man to be burdened with any further special law of abstinence, who *so recently* showed himself unable to tolerate so light an interdiction of one single apple" (Cf. tr. Thelwall).

Adv. Hermog. 26,3. Arguing against Hermogenes who asserted that the earth (*terram*) of Genesis 1,1 was different from that of Genesis 1:2a (*terra autem erat invisibilis et rudis*), Tertullian says about the earth of Genesis 1:2a: *quam deus scilicet fecit, de qua scriptura cum maxime dixerat*, "that is, the earth which God made and about which Scripture had just made a statement", viz. in Genesis 1:1 (tr. J.H. Waszink in Ancient Christian Writers).

De pudicitia 3,1. Having argued in the previous chapter that the sins of adultery and fornication are unforgivable, he refers now to that species of repentance, *quam cum maxime definivi venia carere*, "which I have *just* defined as being without pardon". (For the reading *definivi*, see *Vigiliae Christianae* 48, 1994, 386-387). In his rendering in Ancient Christian Writers William P. Le Saint translates: "that form of penitence which we assert *categorically* is without pardon". He is followed by Ch. Munier in the Sources Chrétiennes edition. Tertullian, it is true, is not one to eschew a categorical statement. But one cannot assume that he says "as I have asserted categorically", as if that would strengthen the argument.

De pud. 6,3. Tertullian contends in this chapter that an appeal to the Old Testament is invalid, because *vetera transierunt*. Then he remembers that he himself made such an appeal in the previous chapter, and says: *Nam et si cum maxime a lege coepimus demonstrando moechiam, merito ab eo statu legis, quam Christus non dissolvit sed implevit*, "For even if we have *just a moment ago* begun with the Law in demonstrating the nature of adultery ..."

De pud. 15,2. Tertullian argues that the Apostle Paul should not be

made to blush by making his later declarations inconsistent with his earlier ones. *Quale est enim, ut cum maxime incesto fornicatori postliminium largitus ecclesiasticae pacis statim ingesserit de aversatione immunditiarum.* "For how is it possible that *just after* he grants the incestuous fornicator the right to renewed fellowship in ecclesiastical peace, he at once begins to speak about avoiding impurity" (Cf. tr. Thelwall). One finds a similar argument in *De pud.* 15,8.

Adv. Marc. IV 16,15. *Itaque deus Marcionis cum maxime revelatus* ... "And so Marcion's god now that he has *only recently* been revealed" ... (tr. Evans). Thelwall's rendering in ANL, "though *especially* revealed" obviously missed the point.

The reader will have noticed that in all cases of section b) the verb had a perfect (in one case a pluperfect) tense. It stands to reason that, in combination with a verb in perfect tense, the temporal *cum maxime* refers to the (near) past.

c) *'very soon'*

Adv. Marc. III 4,1. Tertullian addresses Marcion: *Dedignatus, opinor, est mutare ordinem dei nostri, ut displicentis, ut cum maxime revincendi.* Evans translates: "Your god was too proud, I suppose, to copy our God's ordening of events, since he disapproved him and thought he would *soon* be shown wrong". Since the verbal form, *revincendi*, concerns the future, Evan's translation must be right.

It may be concluded that the observations made in the course of this article demonstrate how crucial the right understanding of *cum maxime* is for the interpretation of Tertullian's words.

Finally I would raise a question. *Cum maxime* had two quite different meanings. In the one case it was almost equivalent with *maxime* (without *cum*); in the other it was almost equivalent with *núnc maxime* or *túnc maxime.* Might one perhaps have been able to hear a difference in the pronunciation, so that in the first case the accent was on *maxime*, in the second on *cum*?

2312 GD *Leiden*, Haarlemmerstraat 106

WAS HIPPOLYTUS A SCHISMATIC?

BY

ALLEN BRENT

The discovery of Parisinus *suppl. graec.* 464 by Minos Minoides in the Mount Athos Library in 1841,[1] provided the completion of the separately transmitted Book I of a work whose first sentence provided the title Ἔλεγχος κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων.[2] This work was identified in 1851 as a work of Hippolytus.[3] From that time onwards, whether Hippolytus' authorship of this work along with the works listed on the Statue was accepted, or whether indeed these were attributed to a different writer, the events recorded in *El.* IX, 7-13,1 were regarded as the events of a schism.[4]

Such a view was to be reinforced by the entry recorded in the Chronographer for 354, the so called Liberian *Catalogus*, in which the account of Pontianus *episcopus* and Hippolytus *presbyter*, martyred together in Sardinia, seemed to be a cryptogram for a division healed.[5] There were very many other presbyters in the Roman Church at the time, and therefore, so it seemed, the singling out of just one of them indicated that Hippolytus, the presbyter in question, needed some reason to be so singled out.[6] The reason, in the light of *El.* IX, 7-13,1 was surely that Hippolytus (or, as I would prefer, his predecessor) and his group had made peace with the successor of Callistus. Such a view finds sanctification in contemporary Roman rites in which the 13th August commemorates the martyrdom of both Pontian and Hippolytus, with a rubrical explanation about a division healed.[7] Thus Hippolytus emerges as the one and only anti-pope to be commemorated with the saints. Tertullian and Origen might even look on with envy!

The second corroboration of Hippolytus' "schism" appeared in the form of the reconstruction, with the assistance of fragments dug out of the pavement of St. John Lateran, of the Philokalian epigram of Damasus from the Corbei *ms.*[8] Here was commemorated Hippolytus the presbyter and martyr, known also later from Prudentius, *Peristephanon* XI, who adhered to the Novatian schism, but, overcome with the grace of martyrdom, exhorted his followers to forsake their error and return to the Catholic Church. Here clearly Hippolytus is

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identified as a schismatic indeed, but with a clear problem of chronology. The Novatian schism was a movement of the mid-third century, yet the events of *El.* IX, 12, 15-26 take place around 217. At this point there have been explanations along the lines that Damasus was simply indicating a movement that reflected the later spirit of Novatianism.[9]

But why, if Hippolytans are, like Novatians, equally execrable, are they not execrated in their own right? Why is not Novatian terrible because he is very much like Hippolytus, who historically preceeds him? As I have argued elsewhere, Damasus reveals by his anachronism that the notion of schism is conceptually problematic in relation to the events as recorded in *El.* IX, 12,15-26. Both he and Eusebius had, it is reasonable to infer, more records than are available to us. Both conceptualised in terms of a later age what was otherwise incomprehensible to them in an earlier age.[10] Damasus as such was the first of a long line to apply misleadingly the concept of schism to the events recorded in *El.* IX, 12,15-16, and to their aftermath within the Roman community.

Let us review briefly what is involved in regarding those events as a schism, in the light of the understanding of the age subsequent to Cyprian, which Eusebius and Damasus believed to have pertained from the very first.

1. The classical definition of schism

A schism in the age of Cyprian and subsequently does not simply involve one group breaking away from another on grounds of discipline or false doctrine or both. It requires that the group breaking away obtain the consecration of a bishop as their head. Then some flocks with their bishops will communicate with one side, but others with the other.[11]

Next a council of at least provincial bishops will agree to gather, will hear the causes of the division, and they will decide which one to recognise as the true bishop. If there are rival councils recognizing different bishops, then things become distinctly messy. But if near unanimity can be reached, then the majority, one after the other, can pronounce their anathemas upon the putative bishop and his flock who have lost the case.[12] Then the civil power, if at all sympathetic, as happened in the case of Paul of Samosata under Gallienus in 265, can be called upon to award property possessed communually to the winning party.[13] Perhaps the operational definition of schism, shorn of the need

for any value-judgement about the merits of the opposing sides, is that if we manage to get the altar and Church building and get you out, then you are the schismatics, but if you alternatively get our buildings and our altar, then it is we who are the schismatics.

Let us now examine firstly to what extent generally this definition of what constitutes a schism can possibly fit the circumstances of the Roman community in the late second century, and secondly, and in particular, the circumstances revealed in *El.* IX, 12,15-13,1. The later document, as the only unquestionable contemporary evidence we have of an actual conflict before Cyprian, will thus be critical in corroborating or modifying such a definition.

2. *The meaning of "schism" in second century Rome*

Stated in such stark terms, it is *prima facie* difficult to see how the classical definition of schism could be satisfied in what we can reconstruct of the history of the Roman community at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century.[14] As the later-Wittgenstein has taught us, every element in a definition does not have to be satisfied in order for a particular instance to be classified within it. But I submit that there will not even be the kind of family resemblance between the events of *El.* IX, 11-13,1 in which some of the features schism as defined could be found there.

It is I believe significant that from the moment "schism" has been applied to interpret those events, the problems have fallen thick and fast. Dix believed that there was a schism, but was then faced with an embarassing question. If Hippolytus or his predecessor was the author of *El.* and had become a rival bishop in 217, and had excommunicated what he describes as the Callistians, from where did he get his coconsecrators?[15] Von Preysing had recourse to a view that the writer of *El.* IX, 11, 1-3 and 12,15-19 had cunningly concealed in his text the ecclesiastical process that he believed would have had to have taken place against the author, who had at all costs to avoid admitting that he had been formally condemned for ditheism.[16] Frickel is latest in the line to simply affirm the conclusion of the last one-hundred and fifty years, when he reiterates with approval the description of "Gegenpapst" or "illegaler Bischofsitz", derived from Dölliger and Reutterer respectively.[17]

It is at this point that we must bring to the forefront of our discusion

the generally emerging critical view of the development of the Roman community in the second century. Judge's work, taken up and developed by Lampe, has argued cogently for a view of a fractionalized community in the late second century. Lampe draws on archeology in combination with literary sources to show the existence, before Victor at least, of a community of house-churches each with its own presiding presbyter, in a loose but clear relation of intercommunion through the exchange of the eucharist. Briefly, he draws a connection between the various house-groups addressed in *Romans* 16, 3-16 with the archeology of the *tituli* churches that emerged in the third century and later. Clement, Praxedis and Pudens, Sabina, Caecilia, etc., without their later "St." prefixes, were the original owners who provided their premisses for Christian worship.[18] The literary evidence corresponds with the proposition that the names of the *tituli* were originally the private owners of house-churches. *Acts of Nereus and Achilleus* 22 mentions that their house "was just as though a church" (καὶ γέγονεν ὁ οἶκος... καθάπερ ἐκκλησία).[19] In the *Acta Justini* we read of the meeting place of Justin's group "over the bath of Martin son of Timothy".[20] The Valentinian community at Rome, moreover, have left an inscription and a grave-stone associated with a Villa on the via Latina.[21]

Little can be established regarding any further organisation that may have united the house Churches beyond the mutual recognition implied by the exchange of the eucharist mentioned in Eusebius *H.E.* V, 25,15. But I believe with Lampe that in one critical respect a rudimentary central organisation can be uncovered. Paul wrote to the Romans a single letter, but made it clear, in 16, 3-16, that he was addressing various different congregations. But if the communities were difficult to locate, and were governed by councils of presbyters, to whom would the letter be sent for circulation? Lampe's particular answer to this question I myself arrived at independently, in a paper which appeared in the same year as the first edition of his book.[22]

We read the functions of someone who could have fulfilled such a role, and may indeed have been Clement of Rome himself, in Hermas *Vis.* II, 4, 2-3. Clement will send the βιβλαρίδιον of his vision "to the cities outside, for this has been committed to him (ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται)". But Hermas himself is to read it "to this city in the company of the presbyters who preside over the church (μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν προϊσταμένων τῆς ἐκκλησίας)". We see here a picture of presbyters who, arguably, preside over different congregations (πρεσβυτέρων τῶν

προϊσταμένων τῆς ἐκκλησίας) meeting to hear read out a book addressed to the church as a whole. We see also the figure of Clement who has the entrusted task or ministry (ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται) of writing to external churches on behalf of the Roman community.

We can furthermore understand how Eusebius, with the lack of any developmental perspective in his historiography, could have read Dionysius of Corinth's letter to Soter (*H.E.* IV, 23,10), and have concluded that the latter was a monarchical bishop in a fourth century sense, and not a kind of secretary of the Roman presbytery. Clement was indeed more like a foreign minister than a "mere" secretary, but something less than a monarchical bishop, as far as the presiding presbyters of the house-churches were concerned. But the foreign secretary did not simply send letters externally on behalf of a group of house-churches, and receive them. He also became responsible for sending poor relief to other churches. Such relief administered externally, as Soter's case makes clear,[23] would have come to be associated with the function of ἐπισκοπή exercised by one presbyter (like the προεστώς of Justin *Apol.* 1,61) but no others. Thus a centralisation of poor relief, necessitated by the internal growth of the Roman community at the end of the second century, would have combined external with internal episcopal functions and lead to monarchical episcopacy at Rome.[24]

In the light of Judge and Lampe's reconstruction, we may now pose the question regarding the application of our earlier definition of schism to such a state of affairs.

Firstly, our operational definition fails, since one group dividing from another cannot lose or gain corporate property since there is none. The property of a house Church is that of he or she whose name is on the *titulus*. As in *Ap. Trad.* 27, 9-13 and 28, 7-15, the context of eucharistic or agapeistic celebration is that of a private house in which the πρεσβυτέρος-ἐπίσκοπος who offers the oblation is to be mindful of the quite different house-owner who invited him and has made provision.

> For every oblation (*oblationem*), let him who offers it be mindful of he who invited him (*memor sit qui offert eius qui eum vocavit*); for he himself has prayed earnestly (*depraecatus*) with a view that (*propterea*) he might come under his roof....

The presiding presbyter or presbyters would thus find it very difficult to cut off from access to a eucharist or an agape meal those of whose theology or doctrine they disappoved when the right of invitation was

that of the houseowner. Schism in the later sense was under these conditions quite impossible. Zephyrinus was, of course, sufficiently wealthy to own his personal graveyard, as recorded in *El.* IX, 12,14. In the *Hypogaeum* under his own wealthy, above-ground grave his *familia* could be buried. But it was purely coincidental that he was also in this case the προεστώς. Lampe argues that the inner-Church consciousness of a cemetery administered by the bishop and his deacon was not reflected externally in terms of the recognition of corporate ownership by the State in whose eyes it was merely a bequest from one individual to another.[25]

Secondly, if the happless προεστώς wished to exert pressure by a wider appeal, to where was he to go? Eusebius' picture, in *H.E.* V, 24, 9, of Victor holding episcopal councils etc against the Quartodeciman practice, in consequence of which he "excommunicates (ἀποτέμνειν) from the common unity (τῆς κοινῆς ἑνώσεως) the dioceses (παροικίας) of all Asia along with the adjacent churches," is generally and rightly regarded as anachronistic. Victor's action was against one or more communities in Rome itself, on whose behalf Polycarp had previously pleaded with Anicetus. Thus Eusebius' παροικίαι in question were in fact originally Asiatic "parishes" within Rome, and not external "dioceses" in Asia Minor.[26]

One answer to the question of where the erstwhile προεστώς might go in order to assert his authority is to the kind of group which assembled around Hermas to hear read out his vision. These were the πρεσβυτέροι οἱ προϊσταμένοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας drawn from the various house-churches over each of whose eucharist one or more of them might preside. If they were the group that would gather to hear the contents of Hermas' βιβλαρίδιον, then we may hypothesise that they might also receive or hear not only what he was going to write to other churches but what other churches had written to them. It would be the place to consider how much relief the particular πρεσβύτερος-ἐπίσκοπος, entrusted with this secretarial ministery, was going to be authorised to send, and indeed how much the individual congregations would in fact give. It would also be the place, given the issues of Hermas' βιβλαρίδιον, where doctrine and discipline might be discussed. It is from such a source that some collective pressure might therefore be brought to bear against a recalcitrant presbyter, and indeed against a houseowner continuing to give invitations to someone considered heretical.

Thus we can move to a third difference with the Roman community

of the late second century and the application of classical definitions of schism. In the age of Cyprian, internal condemnations and anathemas would be met with external approaches to other churches to recognise such decisions and to shun the offending bishop and his congregation and to recognise some other. A generation later, in the reign of Gallienus in 265, this was the fate of Paul of Samosata, though Domnus had to wait for the property until Zenobia's defeat by Rome. But at this time, if the loose presbyteral-episcopal group thus meeting for quite general purposes with its foreign secretary came to the conclusion that either someone or some group was seriously in error regarding doctrine or discipline, what mechanism for condemnation and exclusion was there?

The answer is very little beyond persuasion given the absence of the corporate ownership of property, and the absence at this time of a central, monarchical ἐπίσκοπος. But it should be noted that this situation corresponds exactly with what Eusebius' published sources reveal about the situation in what the latter wishes to regard as ecclesiastical councils. Let us take, for example, the examination of Beryllus, bishop of Bostra in *H.E.* VI, 33,2-3.

Eusebius records that Beryllus "tried to introduce things foreign to the faith (ξένα τινὰ τῆς πίστεως παρεισφέρειν ἐπειρᾶτο), perverting the Church's rule (τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν παρεκτρέπων κανόνα). He then proposes to read the proceedings as if they were a trial of Beryllus, claiming that there were many bishops conducting an inquiry but naming none of them. But this is not the record of an ecclesiastical Council meeting to pass judgement. We should note that Eusebius' introduction into his picture of the πλείστων ἐπισκόπων ζητήσεις καὶ διαλόγους is a contrivance of his latter ideology.

The one and only player in this debate is Origen, a lay catechist or a presbyter, depending on the date, who conducted examinations (ζητήσεις) and discussions (διαλόγους) with a bishop of a See. It is of this discussion alone that he can claim any documents, since the ἔγγραφα of the so-called "Synod" contain only Origen's ζητήσεις. There are no actions or contributions of any bishop mentioned other than Beryllus. It is more like a dispute in a philosophical school between two protagonists, one of whom wins the debate which the other concedes. Origen finally "restored him to his former healthy opinion (ἐπὶ τὴν προτέραν ὑγιῆ δόξαν ἀποκαθίστησιν)".[27]

Eusebius has in the case of Beryllus clearly imposed the model of a

Synodical process upon proceedings which were more open-ended. The process of correction at this point in time was educative rather than juridicial. One only has to examine the record of the condemnation of Paul in Eusebius, *H.E.* VII, 27-30, with the episcopal participants named, the stenographers recording the proceedings, the letter recording the judgement sent to other bishops who had not attended, the final decree etc. to point up the difference between schism prior and post Cyprian.

From such a critical analysis of the evidence of Eusebius for ecclesiastical processes, we may be confident therefore that though a προεστώς of a Roman congregation might take his case against someone or some group to the Hermas' πρεσβύτεροι προϊστάμενοι, the result could not at this time have been of the character of a trial with a judicial decision. The outcome would have been at best like winning a debate in a philosophical school with hope that all concerned would be persuaded.[28] As Lampe points out, second century heretics were not generally excluded by due process from the Roman community but they left of their own accord. Valentinus left as Tertullian says, because he did not become a bishop. "With two or three exceptions (Marcion, Cerdo; at all events the Carpocratians as well)", he notes, before Victor, "a period of ongoing tolerance (*eine Periode weitgehender Toleranz*)".[29]

We have marked therefore a stage in the development of Church Order, witnessed by the Roman community at the end of the second and at the beginning of the third century, in which as yet none of the key features of the later definition of schism can be found. In summary there was neither an unambiguous central episcopal monarch over all the house-communities, nor could such a monarch, had he existed, have wielded authority to excommunicate punitively through his control over ownership of community property. The community was divided into groups which met in private houses though they might exchange the eucharist as a sign of wider unity. Any central forum between these communities was a place of discussion and debate, rather than a court of judgement. A period without central authority was also a period in which a wider episcopal consensus with churches outside Rome was not yet possible to the extent that what one diocesan judged could be ratified and accepted by due process within the territory of another in the way that Cyprian was later to imply in the *De Catholicae Ecclesiae Unitate.*

Having sketched this general thesis about late second and early third

century Church Order at Rome, we must now examine how specifically this state of affairs is reflected in or modified by the unique and first-hand account of a dispute within the Roman community as recorded in *El.* IX, 12,20-25.

3. El. *IX, 12, 20-25: The nature of excommunication*

Let us begin with the charge of the author of *El.*, whom I believe to have been Hippolytus' predecessor, that Callistus founded a school, and the extent to which this implies a formal schism in mid-third century terms. *El.* states of Callistus that, having fallen into an ambivalent heterodoxy that was sometimes Sabellian and sometimes Theodotian:

> The wizard behaved so rashly and founded a school (συνεστήσατο διδασκαλεῖον) having thus taught against the catholic church (κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδάξας); and he was the first to plan to allow people to yield to their pleasures, claiming that they could all have their sins forgiven by him. For he who gathered with a different person (ὁ γὰρ παρ' ἑτέρῳ τινὶ συναγόμενος) and was called a Christian ([καὶ λέγομενος] χριστιανός), if he sinned, asserted Callistus, the sin would not be reckoned to him if he would flee to the school of Callistus. This rule (οὗ τῷ ὅρῳ) pleased many whose conscience had become hardened and at the same time, many who became excommunicated under the influence of many heresies (οἱ ὑπὸ πολλῶν αἱρέσεων ἀποβληθέντες), and some who had been expelled from the church by us (τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἔκβλητοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑφ' ἡμῶν γενόμενοι) at an examination (ἐπὶ καταγνώσει) attached themselves to him and swelled into his school (ἐπλήθυναν τὸ διδασκαλεῖον αὐτοῦ)... and in their vanity they attempted (ἐπιχειροῦσι) to call themselves the Catholic Church (καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀποκαλεῖν).
>
> (*El.* IX, 12,20-21 and 25)

Callistus was to appear later in the Liberian list as the bishop of Rome and successor of St. Peter, and neither the author of *El.* nor (as I believe) his successor, "presbyter" Hippolytus, despite the former's claim to apostolic succession (*El.* I, *prooem.* 6). In consequence, this passage has often been read as though a single group had split into two, with the bishop of one excommunicating the bishop of the other and their followers.[30] Let us now examine whether this can possibly be the case.

To begin with, the situation here described is fully consistent with the organisation of the Church of Rome before the time of Victor, as we have reconstructed it. The phrase ὁ γὰρ παρ' ἑτὲρῳ τινὶ συναγόμενος clearly

implies that in Callistus' time, two episcopal removes after Victor, there were still separate congregations at Rome meeting under separate presbyteral/episcopal leadership. A member of such a group is recognised as a Christian ([καὶ λέγομενος] χριστιάνος) by *El.*, and not as a heretic who really followed Greek philosophers. *El.*'s argument is not therefore that his group alone formed the true Church and that anyone outside of his group was in schism. What he makes objection to is not that a member of his congregation ought not to join that of Callistus because the latter has no proper jurisdiction, but rather that the latter had admitted those convicted by him of heresy and other sins, and that others, not specified as being from his particular congregation, and moved by heresy and not orthodoxy (οἱ ὑπο πολλῶν αἱρέσεων ἀποβληθέντες), had taken the same route. Had Callistus remained orthodox, then there would have been no objection to his presidency of his own congregation.

There appear in this passage therefore two distinct groups of adherents:

1. There is a general, large group (πολλοί... οἱ ὑπὸ πολλῶν αἱρέσεων ἀποβληθέντες). This phrase is consistantly mistranslated as "excommunicated for many heresies" usually with the addition of "by us" though that addition does not occur in the text in connection with this phrase. Its sense is obscure but I suggest something like "become excommunicated under the influence of many heresies". Of this wider group, who had joined Callistus' congregation that now has become a conventicle (διδασκαλεῖον), self-excommunication could therefore have been what *El.* is endevouring to describe. Such self-excommunication, in which it is the heretic who takes the initiative in leaving, was characteristic of the Church of Rome also in the time before Victor and, we shall argue against Lampe, for the time after Victor until Pontianus too. The translation "become excommunicate under the influence of many heresies" (πολλοί... οἱ ὑπο πολλῶν αἱρέσεων ἀποβληθέντες) therefore either indicates:

(a) a process of such informal and self-driven excommunication which would seem justified by the contrast with the description of formal condemnation (ἐπὶ καταγνώσει) by the author of *El.* which now follows regarding a smaller and separate group (τινες), and which otherwise would be a redundant distinction, or otherwise:
(b) those excommunicated by, or leaving from, other congregations

than those of that author himself who are in communion with each other and with his community through the exchange of the eucharist (*frumentum*).

On either interpretation, this group testifies to the endurance of the pre-Victor situation in the post Victor Church. But,

2. In addition to this larger group (πολλοί), there is mentioned a smaller group (τινες) who have been condemned and excommunicated specifically by the author himself (ἐπὶ καταγνώσει ἔκβλητοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑφ' ἡμῶν γενόμενοι). The Damasian interpretation of the situation described in this passage, like that of Frickel, supposes that there are only two groups involved, each claiming to be the true, "Catholic" Church, each describing the other as schismatical and its bishop accordingly invalid. But if there are also two groups in question, one in a schismatical relation to the other, where did the larger group of excommunicants (ἀποβληθέντες) come from? It would surely be unlikely that even that author of *El.* was being so egotistical here as to claim some special status for those (τινες) condemned to excommunication by an ecclesiastical court (ἐπὶ καταγνώσει) of which he simply happened that day to be a chairman? Clearly in the background to his words here there is more than one congregation with a πρεσβύτερος-ἐπίσκοπος exercising jurisdiction over its members that other πρεσβύτεροι-ἐπίσκοποι of other congregations are expected to respect and not to ignore as Callistus was now doing.

It is disciplinary convention of not communicating with those whom another has excommunicated that clearly constitutes the "customary boundary" (οὗ τῷ ὅρῳ) that Callistus is accused of overstepping in this passage. It would be anachronistic therefore to have translated ὅρος as "canon" in this context, but such a distortion is quite frequent in the literature. To quote one example, Preysing endeavoured quite inaccurately to find evidence for Callistus' alleged universal, papal edict from the use of the term ὅρος.[31] Only by defining this term in the sense of a canon or Church law could he refute Adam's obvious argument that there could be no edict of Callistus involved since the dispute was about what he taught (οὗτος ἐδογμάτισεν).[32]

If moreover these groups are centred on different house or school-groups, it becomes quite comprehensible how the presbyter/episcopus of one such group can oppose the centrifugal forces that are in process of making a presbyter/episcopus of a larger group into a nascent

monarchical bishop. We do not have here so much a schismatic presbyter seeking power and pre-eminence by means of a puritanical ideology. Rather we have in Callistus one bishop of one of several communities seeking spiritual power and jurisdiction over excommunicate members of others by a policy of deliberate laxity. If the dispute had been between two contenders to a single episcopal chair, as in the case of later antipopes, it is curious that Hippolytus set out his account of the dispute in no such terms.

It is not simply that Hippolytus fails to acknowledge Callistus as bishop of Rome, but he nowhere claims that title for himself. All that he says enigmatically is that Callistus νόμιζων τετυχηκέναι οὗ ἐθηρᾶτο ("thought that he had achieved what he desired"), without further identifying this with Rome's sole episcopal chair, although earlier Callistus is described as θηρώμενος τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον ("yearning for the throne of oversight") (IX, 11,1 cf. 12,15). Zephyrinus is not described as occupying that seat before him, nor indeed is anyone else. His words are perfectly consistent with a refusal to acknowledge the presbyter of any one group occupying such a position, even though the foreign secretary may have seemed potentially to occupy such a position. Thus in *El.* Callistus' full title is as nameless as Hippolytus'. See in Eusebius *H.E*, VI, 20 and Jerome *De Vir. Ill.* 61.

But the passage also says of Callistus that he "founded a school" (συνεστήσατο διδασκαλεῖον), and this at first sight appears to indicate physical separation of two groups who have become divided. But what precisely does the passage mean when it says of Callistus that he συνεστήσατο διδασκαλεῖον in the context of the early third century?

4. El. *IX, 12,20*: συνεστήσατο διδασκαλεῖον

It may at first sight seem that these words imply the separation of Callistus from Hippolytus' community. I shall now argue that this phrase does not indicate the physical separation of one group from another. Rather it is a term of value judgement, in which it is a movement purely of thought that is recorded on the part of the group so described from what is held to be apostolic Christianity to heresy as a thinly disguised paganism.

The writer of *El.* follows Irenaeus in applying this description to a group that had become heretical. Cerdon has his "school" in which the Marcion who "succeeded" him was a pupil.[33] Valentinus, who arrived

under Hygenus and left under Anicetus, founded a school.[34] Thus we find in numerous passages the close association between such terms as διαδεξάμενος, αἱρέσεως τὰς ἀρχάς, and διδασκαλεῖον. But it is to be emphasised that Valentinus at all events "left" of his own volition and was not excommunicated. Furthermore, "left" may be a metaphorical way of expressing Valentinus' action in breaking with the Church in view of the fact that they were one house group amongst many into which the communities were divided. We have the excavated house on the Via Latina where the Valentinians met for the sacrament of the Bride chamber. His own presbyter, Florinus, was accepted by Victor.[35] Did leaving the church mean simply excluding psychics from that community, and amount to simply changing one's doctrinal stance finally and radically?

Cerdo similarly and earlier was described by Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III, 4,3, as "sometimes secretly teaching (... ποτὲ μὲν λαθροδιδασκαλῶν), but at others openly confessing (ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν ἐξομολογούμενος), and then refuted by certain persons (ποτὲ δὲ ὑπό τινων ἐλεγχόμενος) for what he taught perversely (ἐφ' οἷς ἐδίδασκε κακῶς), and so departing from agreement with those of right faith (καὶ ἀφιστάμενος τῆς θεοσεβῶν συνοδίας)". There is here no monarchical bishop presiding over a formal judicial process that excommunicates Cerdo, but "certain persons by whom he is refuted (ὑπό τινων ἐλεγχόμενος)". Lampe is surely right to see here Cerdo presiding over a house-school which, when criticised, itself by its own initiative refuses to continue to exchange the eucharist.[36]

Clearly then to found a school does not mean to be formally excommunicated in the mid-third century, Cyprianic sense of that term. It does not mean action resulting from being expelled from, nor leaving of one's own volition, one community and self consciously then founding another. It does not further mean the loss of community owned church buildings by the group that loses the ecclesiastical trial.

Furthermore, from the standpoint of those outside the church, there would have appeared to be no formal difference between the communities of Victor, the Quartodecimans, or that of the author of *El.* There was no objective distinction obvious to an external observer. All the Christian communities at Rome, as we have argued, would have appeared objectively as house-schools. The term διδασκαλεῖον had by the time of Irenaeus become the subjective and value laden, pejorative term that it clearly was not in the writings of Justin Martyr, who regards his eucharistic community precisely in terms of a philosophical school with

a προεστώς both as director of the school and president of the eucharist.[37]

The distinction between καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀποκαλεῖν and συστήσασθαι διδασκαλεῖον was the distinction between those who preserved the apostolic tradition, or changed it into a version of Greek philosophy, not the distinction between the new location and the old location of groups that had physically separated from each other. The individual private houses would have remained the same both before and after. In the case of Callistus in this passage, we do not find him, any more than Cerdon, as physically moving to new premises. In this connection, we shall now do well to look at the concept of διαδοχή as used by the author of *El.* in his own version of Irenaeus' reference to the apostolic succession as specifically a succession of teaching.[38]

In Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* III, 3,2) the primary focus is upon a succession of teachers, rather than on a succession of personal authority figures. Irenaeus sees the διαδοχαί of the heretics going back to Simon Magus, the opponent of St. Peter in *Acts* 8, 9-24. The connection however is a connection of ideas, not of any physical premises or continuing or separating group of individuals with a physically specifiable location. But the author of *El.* will not allow the heretical schools to be rooted in a founder such as Simon who was originally converted to Christianity but who, it is claimed, corrupted it. The author of *El.* would claim, rather, that all heresies are but thinly disguised versions of Greek philosophy whose final origin is in the snake worship of the Naasenes. Thus we are invited to believe that Marcion, for example, is no radical Paulinist expositor of the Old Testament but rather represents the Empedoclean dualism of νεῖκος and φίλια. Thus both in the case of Marcion as well as Callistus to "compose a heresy" (συστήσασθαι αἵρεσιν), becomes equivalent to "establish a school" (συστήσασθαι διδασκαλεῖον). Its fundamental meaning is to reconstruct the apostolic tradition into something alien, and not necessarily to set up a new community in some new venue.

In further confirmation of this point, we need only to look at the way in which Socrates and Plato are described in the following passage:

> Socrates then was the hearer of Archelaus the physicist, who put forward "know yourself", and having founded a great school (μεγάλην σχολὴν συστήσας), maintained that Plato was the worthiest of all of his disciples (ἔσχε πάντων τῶν μαθητῶν ἱκανώτατον τὸν Πλάτωνα), himself leaving no written treatise (μηδὲν σύγγραμμα καταλιπῶν). But Plato, re-composed

(ἀπομαξάμενος)[39] all of his wisdom (τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ σοφίαν), and established the school (συνέστησε τὸ διδασκαλεῖον), having combined together physics, ethics and dialectic (μίξας ὁμοῦ φυσικὴν ἠθικὴν διαλεκτικήν).

(*El.* I, 18,1-2)

Socrates was responsible for a number of schools who did become separate groups though some of them, such as that of Aeschines, still met within the general area of the parkland that was the Academy. Other philosophers who were "founding schools" also lived in the same garden such as Xenocrates, Polemon and Archesilaus.[40] Yet what constitutes for *El.* a different school is here nevertheless the reconstruction of teaching, without any clear mark of a break in terms of a split in physical location. Those who taught within the geographical area called the Ἀκαδημία, moreover, whilst gathering around different teachers were nevertheless still within range of each other's discussion and conversation.

Plato inherited some of Socrates' disciples, but it was the latter who could be described as μεγάλην σχολὴν συστήσας. Plato can be described, as this passage shows, as in a metaphorical sense setting up a school by recomposing his master's wisdom. His μίξας ὁμοῦ φυσικὴν ἠθικὴν διαλεκτικήν amounts to founding a new school (συνέστησε τὸ διδασκαλεῖον), even though the community will remain housed on the same premises and consist approximately of the same members. Plato did not establish a new school in the sense of physically separating with his disciples from those of Socrates and finding new premises. Thus when the author claims (*El.* IX, 12,20) that Callistus συνεστήσατο διδασκαλεῖον κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὕτως διδάξας, his words should be taken to mean that it was Callistus' own group, by their change of teaching, who had made themselves into a school, with whom his own group would no longer associate.[41]

Of course it could be argued that, although συστῆναι διδασκαλεῖον might be equivalent to συστήσασθαι αἵρεσιν/δόξας/δόγμα in general,[42] in the case of Callistus and the author of *El.* συστήσασθαι διδασκαλεῖον could have involved the physical separation of two congregations originally meeting together whose doctrines came to diverge too greatly. In fact Lampe would seek to date the emergence of the monarchical episcopate at Rome from Victor's time. This would mean that though prior to Victor there were separate congregations under the presidency of presbyters, and exchanging the eucharist, after Victor any congregation doing so without his or his successor's permission would be

schismatical. From his excommunication of the Quartodeciman group at Rome, all other congregations would now have become διδασκαλεῖα, whilst his own was the Catholic Church. I believe that in this one critical respect Lampe is mistaken, and that a careful analysis of the relevant *El.* passage demonstrates this fact.

It is one thing to initiate revolutionary change in the form of revolutionary chaos, but quite another to complete the revolutionary process with a new ecclesiastical Order. The dispute between Callistus and the author of *El.* has shown that monarchical episcopacy took a generation after Victor to appear. Callistus' activity can by no means be understood, as Lampe's thesis requires, as the exercise of new powers derived ultimately from Victor via Zephyrinus, which created a schism in the classical sense with another group within the Roman community. A further example of this we shall now consider.

5. El. *IX, 7,1-3: Intercommunion between groups in Zephyrinus' time*

That the fragmentation witnessed in his dispute with the author of *El.* was not itself the creation of Callistus' own activity can be further demonstrated from how the author describes the situation whilst Zephyrinus is still alive. The passages describes how Noetus introduced what was really the philosophy of Heraclitus, how his deacon Epigonus came to Rome, and how Kleomenes became his disciple. The passage continues:

> Kleomenes, who was in life and conversation alienated from the church (βίῳ καὶ τρόπῳ ἀλλότριος τῆς ἐκκλησίας), adopted the teaching (ἐκράτυνε τὸ δόγμα) at the time when Zephyrinus thought that he was managing the Church (διέπειν νομίζοντος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν), being a common man and a money grubber. Zephyrinus was persuaded by the pecuniary incentive offered him and communicated (συνεχώρει) with those joining Kleomenes as his disciples (τοῖς προσιοῦσι τῷ Κλεομένει μαθητεύεσθαι), and he himself being in course of time dragged down, he was moved in the same direction since he had Callistus as counsellor and fellow protagonist in these evils.... The school of these men continued being adopted (τούτων οὖν κατὰ διαδοχὴν διέμεινε τὸ διδασκαλεῖον κρατούμενον) and increasing due to the assistance of Zephyrinus and Callistus (ἐπαῦξον διὰ τὸ συναίρεσθαι αὐτοῖς τὸν Ζεφυρῖνον καὶ τὸν Κάλλιστον), even though we never communicated with them (καίτοι ἡμῶν μηδέποτε αὐτοῖς συγχωρησάντων), but we often opposed them and refuted them, compelling them reluctantly to confess the truth. They for a time showed shame, and drawn to conclusions (συναγόμενοι) by the truth, confessed it, but not long afterwards they were rolling themselves again in the same mire.
>
> (*El.* IX, 7,1-3)

Here clearly even in Zephyrinus' time the author of *El.*'s community is spatially separate from that of the former, so that it cannot be the case that they separated only in Callistus' time. Both Zephyrinus and Callistus "communicate"—and he uses συνεχώρει, the technical term for being "in communion",—with the διδασκαλεῖον of Kleomenes. But the author of *El.* and his group ("we") "never communicated with them (καίτοι ἡμῶν μηδέποτε αὐτοῖς συγχωρησάντων)". If they had been members of the same monolithic community from Victor's time, whose unity was superintended by an episcopal monarch, they would have either communicated or not communicated with Kleomenes.

These words are therefore only consistent with two distinct groups, both of which are still in communion with each other (because they still exchange the eucharist), one of which, that of the author of *El.*, will not communicate with a third group, whereas the other, that of Zephyrinus, will. Since *El.* only describes Callistus and never Zephyrinus with the phrase συστήσασθαι τὸ διδασκαλεῖον, we may conclude that the spiritual separation between the house-school of *El.* and that of Zephyrinus never happened during the latter's lifetime.

But they had always been physically separated communities, even after the pontificate of Victor. Their intercommunion was indeed fragile in Zephyrinus' time. The author of *El.* had to bring pressure upon them and their constant adaptation of their ambiguous formularies. Zephyrinus and Callistus were considered to be following the Heracleitan and not the apostolic διαδοχή (τούτων οὖν κατὰ διαδοχὴν διέμεινε τὸ διδασκαλεῖον) in supporting Kleomenes and his predecessors (διὰ τὸ συναίρεσθαι αὐτοῖς Ζεφυρῖνον καὶ τὸν Κάλλιστον). Thus the successors to Victor acknowledged by the later Liberian succession list are not unambiguously acknowledged as such by their contemporaries.[43]

We see however that the later principle did not appear to have been adopted at Rome at this time, namely that anyone who communicates with an excommunicated person are themselves excommunicated. Zephyrinus and Callistus, in communicating with those with whom *El.* and his community will not communicate, do not themselves *ipso facto* break communion. Such a later principle was also central to the classical definition of schism. Moreover, there is no sentence of excommunication on whole communities rather than individuals (as in *El.* IX, 17,21). The process of συστήσασθαι διδασκαλεῖον is a gradual one, with ambiguity in formularies as yet no reason for a decisive break. But two house-schools still in communion until they grow apart sufficiently in terms of doctrine is what is thus meant.

Frickel dissents from such a conclusion, as we mentioned previously. Thus he must show how other bishops of other Sees would have had to be involved in the excommunication of Callistus, if not through a synodical gathering at least through the sending and receiving of formal episcopal letters. Frickel must regard *El.* IX, 12,15 as evidence that the author, whom he identified with Hippolytus, had written to other churches regarding his theological controversies with modalist monarchians.[44] Thus we might have action resembling the correspondence between Cyprian and Cornelius and culminating in Synods of bishops acknowledging their communion with one side in a disputed succession and declaring the other side schismatical. Hence we see once again that Damasus was not alone in finding the conceptual resources of the age of the Novatian presbyter alone sufficient to comprehend the age of Hippolytus some thirty years earlier.

But let us consider the relevant passage, and the issues that it raises, in further detail. Let us in conclusion examine his case.

6. El, *IX, 12, 15-16: A appeal to wider Christendom?*

The critical passage for Frickel's thesis is where, with reference to Callistus, the author says:

> He, after Zephyrinus' decease, thinking that he had achieved what he desired (νομίζων τετυχηκέναι οὗ ἐθηρᾶτο), excluded (ἀπέωσεν) Sabellius for his unorthodox opinions (ὡς μὴ φρονοῦντα ὀρθῶς), because he had come to fear me (δεδοικὼς ἐμέ), and thinking thus he would be able to subvert the charge against him to the churches (ἀποτρίψασθαι τὴν πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας κατηγορίαν) on the grounds that his opinion was not alien; he was, then, a sorcerer and a rascal and for a time took in many. But having the poison residing in his heart, and simply thinking nothing whilst he was ashamed to tell the truth because in public he had insulted us (διὰ τὸ δημοσίᾳ ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζοντα εἰπεῖν) and said: "You are ditheists (δίθεοί ἐστε)", and other things as well because of Sabellius' constant accusation (διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαβελλίου συχνῶς κατηγορεῖσθαι) that he had transgressed the primitive faith (ὡς παραβάντα τὴν πρωτὴν πίστιν), he devised the following heresy. He said that the Logos himself was the Son and himself the Father, being called by name Son and Father, but being one, the indivisible Spirit.
>
> (*El.* IX, 12, 15-16)

Undoubtedly the phrase ἀποτρίψασθαι τὴν πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας κατηγορίαν appears to refer to external churches. The various communities in Rome are never called by the plural ἐκκλησίαι. In Ignatius, *Romans* praes., the

congregations spread throughout the various quarters of the city are still collectively refered to in the singular as ἡ ἐκκλησία ... ἥτις καὶ προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων, as we have seen was also the case with Hermas' πρεσβύτεροι προϊστάμενοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας. However, Marcovich's textual amendment excludes any application to foreign churches. Marcovich amends the reading in Parisinus *suppl. graec.* 464 τὴν πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας κατηγορίαν ("the charge made to the churches") to πρὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ("the charge arising from the church"). The ἐκκλησία in question would be, I submit, the ἐκκλησία of the πρεσβύτεροι προϊστάμενοι to whom Hermas addressed the account of his vision as they endeavoured to convince the disputatants to remain in communion, as Origen had convinced Beryllus.[45]

In support of such an amendment, we should consider that what this prase is held by Frickel to imply, namely the sending of letters by bishop Hippolytus (as he maintained) to other bishops to secure Callistus' condemnation, is denied by IX 13,1. Here it is claimed that it was Callistus' teaching that was taken throughout the world (κατὰ πάντα τὸν κόσμον διηχηθείσης τῆς διδασκαλίας) and attracted Alcibiades and his Elkasite texts to Rome, and not some general condemnation by a group of bishops recognising the author's congregation. There is no evidence of such distant churches being involved in any such controversy at Rome as happened some forty years later for the first time in connection with the Novatian schism. The later *tituli* churches and their archaeology, combined with the literary evidence, as we have seen, are clear indications that there never was simply one congregation at Rome in the second century.

Our quotation from *El.* IX, 12,16 suggested a public occasion on which the house-schools, or their presbyteral leadership, could meet jointly. The insult of ditheism had been a public one (διὰ τὸ δημοσίᾳ ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζοντα εἰπεῖν· δίθεοί ἐστε).[46] Presumably the occasions for "Sabellius' constant accusation (διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ Σαβελλίου συχνῶς κατηγορεῖσθαι), that he had transgressed the primitive faith (ὡς παραβάντα τὴν πρώτην πίστιν)", were equally public (δημοσίᾳ), outside the narrower house-school meeting. Our reconstruction of the situation within the Roman Church prior to Victor is once again fully consistent with this post-Victor situation reflected in the dispute between the author of *El.* and Callistus. Thus the πρεσβύτεροι προϊστάμενοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας before whom Hermas read his vision is arguably where the dispute about ditheism also took place.[47]

If therefore the movement towards an episcopal monarch at Rome was merely began by Victor, what indications are given in our fragmentary texts regarding when finally it emerged? I believe that it is here that work of the Liberian Chronographer of 354, and its relation with the συναγωγὴ χρόνων, the work published by Bauer and Helm as the *Chronicon* of Hippolytus,[48] becomes critical as I shall now show. That work has at least connections with that mentioned in *El.* X, 30,2 as the author's own work, and the Χρονικῶν inscribed on the Statue.

7. Chronographic recensions and the Chronographer of 354

Lampe sought to use the emergence of the Roman episcopal succession list in Irenaeus as an index for the establishment of monarchial episcopacy not later than the episcopate of Victor.[49] But such an undated list is evidence for the quest for the establishment of continuity of teaching rather than of individual teachers, to which the author of *El.* also subscribes at the same time as he provides evidence for the complete absence of an agreed figure of central authority.

The Liberian *Catalogus* itself bears testimony, in the distinction in dating in its early and later parts, to the shift from the embryonic and developing situation that we have described in the late second century, and full blown monarchical episcopacy. It is here that we find evidence for the precise date of the hardening of the concept of episcopal authority in the form that it was recognised by Eusebius and Damasus in the fourth century.

As is well-established, the list of names in the Liberian List only have realistic dates subsequent to Pontianus (231-235), with whom, as we have seen, according to the Liberian *Catalogus*, presbyter Hippolytus, successor to the author of *El.*, had experienced martyrdom in Sardinia. Pontianus is the first name on the list for whom the days of the commencement and termination of his episcopate is given with any reliability. Previously each bishop appears to either commence office or die exactly at the end of a consular year, in consequence of which their dates are exposed as a transparent fictional and later addition.[50]

Now whereas a precisely dated list implies the notion of one bishop per geographical See, as one bishop as it were must correspond to one emperor, undated lists do not necessarily carry such an implication. The period 235-250, issuing in the Novatian schism in Rome and North Africa, was therefore a critical stage in this development which is

marked by a transition from undated to dated episcopal reigns. This fact has increased significance in the light of our earlier demonstration of Damasus' need to associate Hippolytus anachronistically as a Novatian in order to make sense of what incomprehensibly to Damasus he was some thirty five years earlier.

Before the lists of bishops were gradually collated with and then assimilated to the consular lists by the early third-century chronographers such as Africanus, the undated lists, standing on their own, carried a quite different significance to that which they were to possess later. That significance we have sought to bring out in our account of the concept of διαδοχή in Irenaeus, and *El.*, in the light of our reconstruction of the organisation of the Roman Church in the late second century.

I believe that there is a good case for arguing from a comparison of the binitarian theology of *El.* with the trinitarian theology of the genuinely Hippolytan *Contra Noetum* that on such literary grounds alone Hippolytus as successor to the author of *El.* and his community was reconciled with that of Pontianus, heir of Callistus. A close analysis of the relevant passages will reveal a trinitarian theology that makes selfconscious concessions to Callistus' monarchian accusations of ditheism, even though the λόγος theology that results is quite bizarre.[51] That theological reconciliation is reflected in the acceptance of the episcopal monarchy of Pontianus, the basis for which Callistus had laid, and which is marked by the entry in the *Catalogus* in which Hippolytus is acknowledged as a martyred *presbyter* alongside *Pontianus episcopus.*

The Liberian Chronographer of 354 represents a composite work of the archetype of which, I believe, to have been the Χρονικῶν (*Chronicon*) of the Statue, and owned by the author of *El.* X, 30,15.[52] If that is the case, I would submit firstly that the recensions that were subsequently to take place would have been at the hands of the community that possessed the archetype, namely the community of initially the writer of *El.* The Liberian *Catalogus*, like *Liber Generationis* I, show a clear imposition of real dates after Pontianus, and of fictitious dates before Pontianus, which were therefore inserted at the same time. As the martyrdom of Pontianus and Hippolytus' take place in 235 when the fictitious dates become real, we may hypothesise that in all probability, one immediate recension of an undated succession list up until Pontian was executed by Hippolytus the martyred presbyter whose unique mention indicated that he had been regarded as more than a presbyter.

That Hippolytus produced a recension of the Χρονικῶν (*Chronicon*) is indicated by the fact that the work ends with the death of Severus Alexander.[53] But the author of *El.*, his predecessor, had produced the original of that work, completed before 217, and mentioned accordingly in *El.* X, 30,15.[54] Given that there are at least two authors in the *corpus*, which others I believe to have satisfactorily established,[55] the role that I have assigned Hippolytus as author of the *C.N.* block as the editor and revisor of parts at least of the *El.* block, in the interests of ecclesial reconciliation, may seem at first sight to rest upon a speculative hypothesis about literary relationships alone. But I believe that my thesis has more than the support of a particular piece of literary analysis alone.

There is, on the plinth of the Statue, what the inscriptions themselves entitle as an ἀπόδειξις χρόνων.There is a feature of those Passover and Easter Tables with which neither Richard nor Nautin convincingly dealt in their battle over one or two authors.[56] There are found at various points at the margins of the inscribed tables certain corrections κατὰ Δανιήλ. Those corrections when examined can be seen not to be arbitrary but rather forming a clear pattern that warrants the description of an alternative chronology. The amended ἀπόδειξις χρόνων as it thus appears on the Statue presents a dual chronology. The Passover in the wilderness, of Joshua, Ezra, Hezekiah, and Josiah each have two different dates.[57] When the alternative dates are qualified κατὰ Δανιήλ moreover, they correspond with the chronography given in Hippolytus' Commentary, *In Danielem*.

I find it very difficult to regard other than as contrived Richard's attempt to show that such a dual, corrected chronology did not imply a different author for *In Danielem* from that of the ἀπόδειξις χρόνων, the latter of which agrees with what *El.* has to say about his different work which also appears on the Statue as the Χρονικῶν (*Chronicon*).[58] As such, my picture of Hippolytus, author of *C.N.*, *Dan.*, and related works, as the conciliator and reconciler of the work and community of of the author of *El.* with that of Callistus is corroborated. His hand is present in the inscriptions on the Statue themselves, correcting their chronology, just as his hand had modified the theology of *El.* so as to produce a reconciliation with the moderate monarchians.

But if this is the case, Nautin's position is undermined to the extent that it rested on a view that the Statue was a monument to a single, individual author, and that his and his only hand and works could be

present on the Statue.[59] Hippolytus was not a member of some Eastern community far from Rome with no concern for the Statue whose chronology he quite clearly amended. He was a member of the community that erected the Statue, not to the author of *El.* personally, but as an ikon of the common life of their community.[60] Some indeed therefore of the works listed may have been Hippolytus' along with others clearly by the author of *El.* and each title must be careful analysed in its own right without the prejudice that the Statue necessarily lists the works of a single, common author. The ἀπόδειξις χρόνων has a dual chronology corresponding to two authors, and there is no reason to rule out *a-priori* that the other works too may be able to be shared amongst the two authors.

In the light of the hand of Hippolytus in the inscription of the Statue his role as the continuator of the the Χρονικῶν which ended in 235 becomes very plausible. But that recension contained, according to Caspar's cogent argument, an episcopal succession list where the name of Callistus as successor of Zephyrinus, and not the name of the writer of *El.* would have appeared, destined to be dated by the next editor. Thus Hippolytus was reconciled not simply to the theology of the successor of Callistus but to his concept of monarchical ecclesiastical Order as well. Hippolytus had thus consented to one episcopal monarch over the presiding presbyters of the fractionalized Roman community. His community, now reconciled, not only dated the undated succession list but made further posthumous additions, including the note on the circumstances of his death. That note, along with the inclusion of dated episcopal reigns, reflected the historical process within the Roman community by means of which the community of the author of *El.* and then Hippolytus became reconciled, despite the past history of the events recorded in *El.*, with the Roman monarchical episcopate of the successors of Callistus. With the inclusion of real dates, bishops emerge as monarchs with reigns and not simply teachers in a pure apostolic διαδοχή.

8. *In conclusion*

The community of *El.* and his successor Hippolytus was therefore by no means schismatic in the Cyprianic sense of this word. Indeed, the details, added posthumously to the Χρονικῶν and preserved in the Liberian *Catalogus*, make this point. We read in the entry for Cor-

nelius, mention of reconciled, Novatian schismatics in the following words:

> In his episcopate Novatus ordained Novatian in the city of Rome, and Nicostratus in Africa, outside the church (*extra ecclesiam*). After this (*hoc facto*), the confessors who had separated from Cornelius (*se separaverunt a Cornelio*), with Maximus the presbyter, returned to the Church (*ad ecclesiam reversi*).

Thus in Cyprianic language (*extra ecclesiam, ad ecclesiam reversi, se separaverunt a Cornelio*) we have, during the episcopate of Cornelius (251-252), a conceptualising of what it means to be "schism". The Chronographer also understood what it was for *confessores qui se separaverunt a Cornelio* to be described as *ad ecclesiam reversi*.[61] But he did not choose to describe Hippolytus in Pontianus' entry in such a way, separated from Cornelius' only by that of Antheros and Fabius. As we have argued, Hippolytus was hardly the only presbyter at Rome to be exiled to Sardinia, and was so mentioned because his leadership rivalled that of Pontianus. That Hippolytus' schism is not so described shows that for the Liberian Chronographer, or his source, such categories that applied in Cornelius' time did not apply in that of Pontianus. It was still possible to have then ambiguous presbyters and ambiguous bishops.

Indeed, far from opposing the emergence of a monarchical bishop, as we have seen, the work of the revisionist Hippolytus and his successors contributed to the final phase of the development of the form of Church Order that made schism possible. Those of us who have to live under that kind of episcopal church government may be forgiven for not hailing his work as an unmixed blessing.

NOTES

[1] H. Omont, Minoïde Mynas et ses missions en Orient (1840-1856), in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* XL, (Paris: 1916), p. 337-419; P. Nautin, Hippolyte et Josipe: Contribution à l'histoire de la littérature chrétienne du troisième siècle, in *Etudes et Textes pour l'histoire du dogme de la Trinité*, 1 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 1947), p. 20-22.

[2] M. Marcovich, Hippolytus: Refutatio Omnium Haeresium, in *Patristische Texte und Studien* Bd 25, (Berlin: De Gruyter 1986), p. 1-6 ff. and p. 43.

[3] D. Jacobi, Besprechung von E. Miller's Erstausgabe der Refutatio (Elenchos), in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliches Leben und christliche Wissenschaft* (Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben) no. 26 June-July (1851), p. 203-206; I von Döllinger, *Hippolytus und*

Kallistus oder die Römische Kirche in der ersten Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts, (Regensburg: Joseph Manz 1853), p. 11-24.

[4] For a full discussion with bibliography of this problem see e.g. V. Loi, L'identità letteraria di Ippolito di Roma, in *St.Eph.Aug.* 13 (1977), p. 9-16; J. Frickel, *Das Dunkel um Hippolyt von Rom: Ein Lösungsversuch: die Schriften Elenchos und Contra Nöetum.* (Grazer Theologische Studien: Bauer 1988); M. Simonetti, Aggiornamento su Ippolito, in *St.Eph.Aug.* 30 (1989), p. 75-130.

[5] Lightfoot Part I Vol. I p. 255:

PONTIANUS, ann. v, m. ii, d. vii. Fuit temporibus Alexandri, a cons. Pompeiani et Peligniani. Eo tempore Pontianus episcopus et Yppolitus presbyter exoles sunt deportati in Sardinia, in insula nociva, Severo et Quintiano cons. In eadem insula distinctus est iiii Kl. Octobr., et loco eius ordinatus est Antheros xi Kl. Dec. cons. *ss.*

[6] P. Testini, Di alcune testimonianze relative a Ippolito, in *St.Eph.Aug.* 13 (1977), 60-61 and tav. II p. 65.

[7] Ibid. p. 51-51; R. Reutterer, Legendenstudien um den heiligen Hippolytos, in *ZKTh* 95 (1973), p. 286-310. See also Frickel (1988) p. 18-26.

[8] *ICUR* 7, 1993 2 G. B. De Rossi, La silloge epigrafia d'un codice già corbeiense ora nella Biblioteca imperiale di Pietroburgo, in *BArC* 6 (1881) ser. 3, p. 5-7, 26-27; E. Josi, Quatro nuovi frammenti del carme di Damaso in onore di S. Ippolito, in *RivAC* 13 1936, p. 233-235; E. Josi, Altre tre frammenti, in *RivCA* 16 1939, p. 320-321. A. Ferrua, Epigrammata Damasiana, in *Sussidi allo Studio delle Antichità Cristiane* 2 (1942), p. 169 no. 35:

HippolYTVS FErtVR PREMERENT CuM IVSSA tyranni (1)
PrESBYTer in sCISMA SEMPER MANSISSE NOvati (2)
TemPOrE QUO GLAdius SECUIT PIA VISCERA MAtris (3)
dEvoTVS CHRISTO peteret cuM REGNA PIOrum (4)
QUAESISSet populus ubinam proceDERe poSSEt (5)
CATHoLICam dixisset fidem sequerentur VT OMNES (6)
SIC NOSter meruit confessus martyr VT esseT (7)
Haec audita refeRT DAmasus PROBAT oMNIA *XPS* (8)

[9] This point of view was argued by J. C. L. Gieseler, Über Hippolytus, die ersten Monarchianer und die römische Kirche in der ersten Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, (Hamburg: F. Perthes) IV (1853), p. 759-789. For Gieseler (p. 514) the author of *El.* was an anonymous Novatian before Novatian made of it a fully fleged schism. His views were partly accepted in that they were used in support of Novatian himself, before his later schism, as the author of *El.*, by H. Grisar, Bedarf die Hippolytus-Frage einer Revision? in *ZKTh* 2 (1878), p. 505-533.

[10] A. Brent, Hippolytus' See and Eusebius' Historiography, in *StudPatr* 24 (1993), p. 28-37.

[11] Cyprian, *De Cath. Ecc. Unit.* 5-7; 23-24; Eusebius, *H.E.* VI, 43,2-10.

[12] Cyprian, *Ep.* 54, 13; 73, 1-3.

[13] Eusebius, *H.E.* VI, 28-30.

[14] These questions have been asked more generally by G. Schöllgen, Hausgemeinden, oikos—Ekklesiologie und monarchischer Episkopat. Überlegungen zu einer neuen Forschungsrichtung, in *JbAC* 31 (1988), p. 74-90. p. 150-151 and in D. L. Powell, The Schism of Hippolytus, in *StudPatri* XII Part 1 (1975) p. 449-456.

[15] Bradshaw argues that the original version of *Ap. Trad.* 2 reveals the Roman presbyters

themselves ordaining their προεστώς. The various textual variants between *Epitome* III,6, L, S(AE) and the *Canones Hippolyti* (of the rubric commanding presbyteral silence during their imposition of hands) make this point along with the important consideration that rubrics commanding silence only make sense if originally the expectation was speech. See, P. F. Bradshaw, The participation of other bishops in the ordination of a bishop in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, in *StudPatr* XVIII, 2 (1989), p. 335-338, and P. F. Bradshaw, Ordination, in *Essays on Hippolytus*, (Ed. G. J. Cumming) Grove Liturgical Study 19, (Grove: Bramcote p. 34-36). Cf. E. C. Ratcliff, "Apostolic Tradition": Questions Concerning the Appointment of the Bishop, in *Liturgical Studies*. Edited by Couratin A. H. and Tripp D. H. (London: S.P.C.K. 1976), p. 156-157, 159.

[16] The traditional reading of the nature of the dispute between Callistus and the author of *El.* was defended by K. von Preysing, Hippolyts Ausscheidung aus der Kirche, in *ZKTh* 42 (1918), p. 177-186 on the grounds that it did not suit the author (whom he claimed as Hippolytus) to admit his status as a schismatic specifically (p. 178). But as Lampe (1989) p. 326-327 pointed out, there was no process against heretics in the second century Roman community, but these simply left of their own accord like Valentinus and Marcion. If they did so, then there was no requirement for us to assume anachronistically the later mechanism of conciliar degradation and the choice and consecration of a valid successor etc.

[17] Frickel (1988) p. 7-9.

[18] P. Lampe, Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten, in *WUNT* 2,18 (Mohr: Tübingen 1989), p. 124-141. E. A. Judge, *The Social Pattern of the Christian Groups in the First Century*, (London: Tyndale 1960); —, Christliche Gruppen in nichtchristlicher Gesellschaft, in *Neue Studienreihe* 4 (Wuppertal 1964); —, The Social Identity of the First Christians. A question of Method in Religious History, in *JRH* 11 (1980) p. 210-217.

[19] Ibid. p. 306.

[20] *Acta Justini* III,3: When the prefect Rusticus asks him where he dwells, Justin replies: ἐγὼ ἐπάνω μένω τινὸς Μαρτίνου τοῦ Τιμιοτίνου βαλανείου, καὶ... οὐ γινώσκω ἄλλην τινὰ συνέλευσιν εἰ μὴ τὴν ἐκείνου. καὶ εἴ τις ἐβούλετο ἀφικνεῖσθαι παρ' ἐμοί, ἐκοινώνουν αὐτῷ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγων.

[21] Ibid. p. 257-264, p. 306.

[22] A. Brent, Pseudonymity and Charisma in the Ministry of the Early Church, in *Augustinianum* 27 3 (1987), p. 347-376. Cf. also A. Brent, *Cultural Episcopacy and Ecumenism*, (Brill: Leiden 1992) p. 119-130. Cf. Lampe (1989), p. 336-338.

[23] Dionysius wrote: ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστίν τοῦτο, πάντας μὲν ἀδελφοὺς ποικίλως εὐεργετεῖν ἐκκλησίαις τε πολλαῖς ταῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἐφόδια πέμπειν, ὧδε μὲν τὴν τῶν δεομένων πενίαν ἀναψύχοντας, ἐν μετάλλοις δὲ ἀδελφοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐπιχορηγοῦντας... (Eusebius *H.E.* IV, 23, 10).

[24] Lampe (1989) p. 336-337.

[25] Lampe himself admits that the evidence is against the existence of community owned property before the mid-third century at Rome only at which time is there evidence of rooms in houses being specifically set aside for cultic use. The counter-example, namely the appointment by Zephyrinus of deacon Callistus over the *coemeterium* he explains convincingly in terms of an arrangement within the community which externally would appear as the handing on of privately owned property between individuals. That the private individuals were deacons under a presiding bishop had no legal status but was purely incidental. See Lampe (1989) p. 15-17; 310-313.

[26] J. F. McCue, The Roman Primacy in the Second Century and the Problem of Development of Dogma, in *ThS* 25 (1964), p. 161-196; T. G. Jalland, *The Church and the Papacy*, (London 1944), p. 115-222; N. Maurice-Denis Boulet, Titres urbains et communauté dans la Rome chrétienne, in *Maison Dieu* 36 (1953), p. 21. cf. Lampe (1989) p. 322-323 ff.

[27] We can furthermore also see in the letter of Polycrates of Ephesus to Victor the tendency of Eusebius to turn a letter from a single bishop citing the authority of his community's tradition, and his personal biography, into a synodical encyclical (*H.E.* V, 24,8). At the end of Polycrates' original letter, in the mid-second century, we are invited, by Eusebius' addition, to believe that there were with the author as he wrote numerous bishops who urged him to write on their behalf.

[28] For the appropriateness of the model of a philosophical school to the fractionalized Roman community see E. A. Judge, The Early Christians as a Scholastic Community I, in *JRH* 1 (1960) p. 4-15. —, The Early Christians as a Scholastic Community II, in *JRH* 2 (1961), p. 125-137; See also A. Brent, Diogenes Laertius and the Apostolic Succession, in *JEH* 44,3 (1993), p. 367-389.

[29] Lampe (1989) p. 330-334.

[30] J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Part I Clement of Rome, London 1890, p. 255.

[31] K. von Preysing, Existenz und Inhalt des Bussediktes, in *ZKTh* 43 (1919) p. 358-362.

[32] K. Adam, *Der Sogennante Bussedikt des Papstes Kallixtus*, (München 1917), p. 31.

[33] *Adv. Haer.* 1,27,2: Διαδεξάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν Μαρκίων ὁ Ποντικὸς αὔξησε τὸ διδασκαλεῖον. cf. *El.* X,19.

[34] *Adv. Haer.* I, 11,1; *El.* VI,38,2; *Adv. Haer.* I,13,1 (ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτος ἀπὸ τῆς λεγομένης Γνωστικῆς αἱρέσεως τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰς ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα διδασκαλείου μεθαρμόσας Οὐαλεντῖνος οὕτως ὡρίσατο); *El.* VI,39,1; Tertullian *De Praesc.* 42.

[35] Lampe (1989) p. 326-334.

[36] Ibid. p. 331-332.

[37] Brent (1993) p. 369-371.

[38] E. Molland, Irenaeus of Lugdunum and the Apostolic Tradition, in *JEH* 1,1 (1950), p. 12-28, which would indicate that Irenaeus knew nothing of Victor as an episcopal monarch as opposed to the bearer of a body of teaching.

[39] ἀπομαξάμενος means literally "to wipe off or level corn."

[40] P. Natorp, Akademia, in *PWK* 1, 1134-1136 ff.

[41] See for an earlier version of such themes, Brent (1993), p. 34-37.

[42] For examples see *El.* I, *prooem.* 9; IV,47, 5; VI,21, 3 (Valentinus); 41, 20 (followers of Marcus); VIII, *prooem.* 4 (Tatian, Valentinus, Marcion); VII, *prooem.* 7 (Cerinthus).

[43] One notes yet again an attempt to rehabilitate Zephyrinus on the assumption that later conditions of Church Order prevail in his time in B. Capelle, Le cas du pape Zépherin, in *RBen* 38 (1926), p. 321-330. Following a comparison of *El.* IX, 11,13 with the view of Noetus expressed before the "blessed presbyters" in *C.N.* 1 (p. 321-328) and finding their sentiments identical, he then challenges the validity of *El.*, p. 328 ("Le fait que la formule de Zéphyrin est celle même de Noet engendre fatalement le doute sur l'authenticité de cette formule. Zéphyrin a-t-il pu s'exprimer ainsi? Le pape de Rome a-t-il pu s'approprier publiquement les terms d'une doctrine condamnée par un concile en communion avec lui?") Here we find intruding anachronistically the later notion of an ecclesiastical council

passing judgement, rather than of a philosophical school analysing a doctrine and coming to some conclusion about its validity. I have argued here that the latter is the case in the late second century.

[44] Frickel (1988) p. 207-208.

[45] Marcovich (1986) p. 353.

[46] Note once again the persistent anachronism in the interpretation of this scene in Preysing (1918) p. 163 "Nun erwähnt H. zum zweiten Mal die Verwerfung seiner Lehre durch Kallist und bezeichnet sie als offizielle Amtshandlung (δημοσίᾳ εἰπεῖν); Kallist ist in seinen Augen in diesem Momente noch Bischof."

[47] Thus Preysing (1918) presents an *argumentum e silentio* with a vengeance when he says: "Dass H. Kallists Bischofswahl und -Weihe nicht mit ihrem Namen nennt, sondern mit den Worten "er glaubt erlangt zu haben, nach was er strebt" zu umschreiben sucht, beweist nur, wie umbequem ihm diese Tatsache war." (p. 182) I have argued here that it was not the uncomfortable character of the fact, but the ambiguous character of the office and therefore the location of the τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον that underlay the amorphous description. Note how this passage also was used in support of the claim that Callistus was here producing a general edict, resting primarily as it does on the interpretation of "this rule (οὗ τῷ ὅρῳ)" in *El.* IX, 12,20-21, cf. K. von Preysing, Existenz und Inhalt des Bussediktes Kallists, in *ZKTh* 43 (1919), p. 359.

[48] A. Bauer and R. Helm, Hippolytus Werke, Bd. 4 Die Chronik, in *GCS* 46(36) (Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1955).

[49] Lampe (1989) p. 342-343 with which cf. Molland (1950), and section 5 above. How does Lampe therefore reach the conclusion from what he himself describes as "zwölfgliedrigen Namenskatalog von den Aposteln bis Eleutherus. Das Interesse der Liste ist, die gegenwärtige Lehre durch eine Sukzessions-Kette von Gewährsmännern bei den Aposteln zu verankern." p. 342 "... als Rom die Ausbildung des monarchischen Episkopats erlebt, wird eine zwölfgliedrige Namensliste bis zurück zu den Apostlen konstruiert. In Analogie zur Gegenwart des Eleutherus stellt man sich nun auch in der Vergangenheit je einem herausgehobenen Traditionsträger vor. Die Gegenwart eines monarchischen Traditionsträgers wird in die Vergangenheit zurückgespielt." p. 343.

[50] Lightfoot (1889-90) op. cit. *Clement of Rome*, Part 1 Vol. 1, p. 253-258, and 260.

[51] Compare for example the λόγος as personal agent before creation in *El.* X, 33,1-2 with the instrumentalizing of the same in *C.N.* 10,4. In the latter passage the λόγος is an instrument of the Father's will as opposed to the former where he follows that will as a separate agent. It is by this means that Hippolytus in *C.N.* is prepared to rebut the charge of ditheism or tritheism, even at the expense of denying that the pre-existent λόγος can be, fully personal as τέλειος υἱός before the incarnation. (*C.N.* 4, 10-13) There have been attempts to remove what is a major obstacle to the single authorship of both works in terms of the Monophysite corruption of the text of *C.N.* transmitted in a single *ms. Vat. graec.* 1431. Richard, in response to Nautin, was the most radical of them all in proposing that *C.N.* was primarily a homiletic composition from the Byzantine epoch constructed in a maladroit fashion from extracts from a few of Hippolytus' genuine writings; see M. Richard, Sainte Hippolyte, "Hippolyte e Josipe": Bulletin de Patrologie, in *MSR* 5 (1948), p. 294-308; M. Richard, Hippolyte de Rome, in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* VII (1969) p. 533. Richard appeared to be supported by H. de Riedmatten, Review of Nautin's Hippolyte et Josipe, in *DomSt* 1 1948, p. 169 and 171-172 and by Capelle (1950), p. 148 ff. ("une étude prolongée du cas d'Hippolyte m'a forcé à soulever des doutes sur la valeur

du texte de l'Antinoët, tel qu'il nous est parvenu.") who in turn was criticized by P. Nautin, La controverse sur l'auteur de l'Elenchos, in *RevHE* 47 1952, p. 36-39. But in B. Capelle, A propos d'Hippolyte de Rome, in *RThAM* 19 1952, p. 193-202 he clarified his viewpoint and regarded *C.N.* as genuine but by the same author as *El.*, claiming the influence of the former work on Origen particularly in his Commentary on the Psalms (p. 201-202). See also M. Richard, Dernières remarques sur S. Hippolyte et le soi-disant Josipe, in *RecSciRel* 43 (1955), p. 392-394. See also C. Martin, Le Contra Noetum de saint Hippolite, in *RevHE* 38 (1941), p. 5-23; C. P. Bammel, The State of Play with regard to Hippolytus and the *Contra Noetum*, in *Heythrop Journal*, 31 (1990) p. 196. I believe the interpolation thesis has been well refuted in P. Nautin, *Hippolyte, Contra les hérésies, fragment. Étude et édition critique*, (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 1949) p. 42-49 who gives a list of parallels with uninterpolated works such as *Ant.*, *Dan.* and *Ben. Jac.*

[52] οβ′ ἔθνη... ἐν ἑτέραις βίβλοις identifiable with the Χρονικῶν (= βίβλοι) of the Statue and therefore with the συναγωγὴ χρόνων καὶ ἐτῶν ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἕως τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας. See A. Bauer, Die Chronik des Hippolytos in Matritensis graecus 121, in *TU* 29,1 (Leipzig: 1905) p. 33 18a, and Bauer and Helm (1955) p. 6 (1). That the Χρονικῶν had originally an undated episcopal succession list see E. Caspar, Die älteste römische Bischofsliste, in *Schriften der Königberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse* 2,4 (Berlin: 1926), p. 384-385. *Matriensis graec.* 121 omits this list but Caspar argued that *Liber Generationis* I was a more original version. Therefore originally there was in the Χρονικῶν an undated episcopal succession list which was the archetype of that found with dates added both in the (Liberian) Chronographer of 354 and in *Liber Generationis* I. Cf. Bauer (1905) p. 156-157, and Bauer and Helm (1955) p. 139 footnotes 757-778.

[53] Ibid. p. 140: (*Liber Generationis* I, 778 (398)), "Alexander ann. XIII d. VIIII."

[54] See note 14.

[55] See note 4.

[56] M. Richard, Comput et chronographie chez Saint Hippolyte, in *MSR* 7 (1950), p. 237-268; —, Comput et chronographie chez Saint Hippolyte, in *MSR* 8 (1951), p. 19-51; P. Nautin, La controverse sur l'auteur de l'Elenchos, in *RevHE* 47 (1952), p. 5-43; M. Richard, Encore le problème d'Hippolyte in *MSR* 10 (1953), p. 13-52, 145-180; P. Nautin, L'auteur du Comput Pascal de 222 et de la Chronique anonyme de 235, in *RecSciRel* 42 (1954), p. 226-257; M. Richard, Dernières remarques sur S. Hippolyte et le soi-disant Josipe, in *RecSciRel* 43 (1955), p. 379-394; —, Notes sur le comput de cent-douze ans, in *RevEtByz* 24,1 (1966), p. 257-277.

[57] We are indebted here to Richard (1950) p. 22 for his Table I, reproduced as Nautin says (1952) p. 11 footnote 2 from *DACL* VI, 2423.

[58] Richard (1950) p. 248-257; (1953) p. 39-52; Richard (1955) p. 389-392.

[59] Nautin (1947), p. 79-85; (1949), p. 228-230; Nautin (1952) p. 33.

[60] Guarducci points to the character of the Statue as originally feminine, and not of a particular person, and therefore to be interpreted allegorically, like any other piece of early Christian art, see M. Guarducci, La Statua di sant' Ippolito, in *Epigrafia Greca* IV (Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato: Roma 1978), p. 535-545; —, La statua di "sant' Ippolito" in Vaticano, in *RPARA* 1974-5, p. 166-170; —, La Statua di sant'Ippolito, in *St.Eph.Aug.* 13 (1977), p. 17-30; —, La "Statua di sant' Ippolito" e la sua provenienza, in *St.Eph.Aug.* 30 (1989), p. 61-74. Yet whether originally located on the via Tiburtina ((1977) p. 20-21), or in the Pantheon Library ((1989) p. 72-74) she still regards it as a monument to the life and thought of an individual, albeit a culturally representative

individual, whose list of works is inscribed upon the plinth. Cf. also P. Testini, Di alcune testimonianze relative a Ippolito, in *StEph.Aug.* 13 (1977), p. 46-51 and —, Vetera et nova su Ippolito, in *StEph.Aug.* 30 (1989), p. 10-14. Neither Guarducci nor Testini appeared to have registered how critical the assumption that the Statue is that of the individual whose works are inscribed upon it is to the reconstruction of the Hippolytan corpus whether in terms of one or two authors, nor how that reconstruction is considerably shaken by the presence of an originally allegorical female figure who could instead stand as the ikon of a school, its λόγος theology, and its distinct position on the celebration of the date of Easter.

[61] Lightfoot (1989-90) Part 1 Vol. I p. 255-256.

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THE MARTYR DEATH AS SACRIFICE: PRUDENTIUS, *PERISTEPHANON* 4. 9-72[1]

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In *Peristephanon* 4 Prudentius gives fullest expression to his understanding of the soteriological significance of the martyr death. Taking in his purview the entire history of the Church of Caesaraugusta, he attributes the conversion of the city and its ultimate salvation at the Last Judgement to the efficacy of the martyrs' self-sacrifice. In his portrayal of the martyr death as a sacrifice that redeems and purifies a given community constituted by ties of shared blood, soil, and historical experience, the poet voices views that were seldom expressed in the west and, in the east, most explicitly formulated by Origen.

Prudentius boldly avers that it was the blood of the martyrs that first cleansed of demons the erstwhile pagan Caesaraugusta: *Omnibus portis sacer inmolatus/ sanguis exclusit genus invidorum/ daemonum et nigras pepulit tenebras/ urbe piata./ Nullus umbrarum latet intus horror,/ pulsa nam pestis populum refugit;/ Christus in totis habitat plateis,/ Christus ubique est.* (The sacrifice of holy blood has shut out the race of malign devils from all thy gates and driven black darkness from thy cleansed city. No shuddering fear of spirits lurks within, for the plague has been driven away in flight from thy people, and Christ dwells in all thy streets, Christ is everywhere, 65-72). The thought of these strophes is quite different from that of the famous apophthegm that Tertullian flung at the pagan oppressors of Christianity: *Etiam plures efficimur quotiens metimur a vobis: semen est sanguis Christianorum!*[2] While the apologist was extolling the powerful attraction that Christian heroism in the face of death exerted upon curious outsiders, Prudentius asserts the efficacy of the martyr death itself. Through the sacrificial shedding of their blood, the numerous martyrs of the city drove out the envious powers of darkness and thereby redeemed their townspeople just as Christ's death has freed the entire race from servitude to the devil.

We can spot this soteriological conception of the martyr death—while

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Christ offered Himself for all humanity, the martyrs died on behalf of their own people—also in the preceding praise of St. Cassian of Tangier, whose death, says Prudentius, brought the Massyli of Africa under the yoke of Christ.[3] The same ideas figure prominently in *Peristephanon* 2, where St. Lawrence, from the grill, conjures Jupiter to flee Rome now that the city has been washed in the blood of the apostles: *Discede, adulter Iuppiter,/... relinque Romam liberam/ plebemque iam Christi fuge!/ Te Paulus hinc exterminat,/ te sanguis exturbat Petri,/ tibi id quod ipse armaveras/ factum Neronis officit.* (Away, thou lecherous Jupiter,... Leave Rome at liberty, flee from her people, who now are Christ's. Paul banishes thee hence, the blood of Peter drives thee out. That deed of Nero's for which thou didst put the sword in his hand hurts *thee*, 465-72). Here, as in the fourth hymn, the martyrs' passive resistance ends the rule of the evil forces that has separated their fellow citizens from God.

In *Peristephanon* 4, the parallelism of the martyrs' victory over the envious demons with that won by Christ on the cross is reinforced by the use of Passover imagery. In lines 65-68, the blood of the Christian heroes, which drives the demons from the city gates, recalls the blood of the paschal lamb that the captive Hebrews smeared on doorposts to protect their homes from the Lord's destroying angel (Ex. 12.3-13).[4] The poet's audience would compare the martyrs not only to the Hebrew animal offering but also to the Lamb of God. In fact, in *Apotheosis*, Prudentius describes Jesus' death on the cross as the fulfilment of the Passover sacrifice prescribed by the Mosaic law. Those of us whose heads are marked with the blood of the Lamb need not fear the assault of the powers of sin and death: Apostrophizing the Jewish nation, he asks, *Non sapis, inprudens, nostrum te effingere pascha/ legis et antiquae praeductis pingere sulcis/ omne sacramentum, retinet quod passio vera,/ passio quae nostram defendit sanguine frontem/ corporeamque domum signato conlinit ore?/ Hanc fugit exclusis Aegyptia plaga procellis,/ haec regis Farii regnum ferale resolvit.* (Art thou so ignorant as not to understand it is *our* Passover thou dost represent? That in the lines drawn before by the old law thou dost portray all the mystery contained in the true passion, that passion which protects our foreheads with blood and smears it on our bodily dwelling in a mark on the brow? It is from this that the Egyptian plague flees, its violence shut out; it is this that gives release from the deathly rule of the king of Egypt, 355-61). Here an imagery very similar to that of *Pe.* 4.65-72 is applied to

individuals rather than a community. The blood marking the Christian's forehead (*nostram... frontem, A.* 358) corresponds to that covering the gates of Caesaraugusta (*Pe.* 4.65); the danger of death menacing the individual (*Aegyptia plaga, A.* 360) corresponds to that threatening the city (*pestis*, 70), and the escape of each baptized Christian from the power of the devil (*regis Farii regnum, A.* 361) corresponds to the liberation of the entire city from demonic darkness (*genus invidorum/ daemonum, Pe.* 4.66-67).[5] We conclude that, despite the lapse of time and other external differences, the passion of the Spanish martyrs shared profound similarities with the events of Calvary: both effected deliverance from the powers of sin and death.

The sacrificial imagery of *Peristephanon* 4 is, however, complex and somewhat inconsistent in its spatial dimensions, for it describes not only repulsion on the outside but also ejection from inside. The blood of the martyrs not only drives away evil powers threatening the gates from without; it also purifies the city within: *nigras pepulit tenebras/ urbe piata* (67f). *Urbs*, I believe, is best understood as a metonymy for the people of Caesaraugusta; Prudentius' landscape is here, as often, an external manifestation of the spiritual conditions of the soul. The account of Cyprian's conversion in *Peristephanon* 13 offers the closest parallel. In that poem the imagery of the scattering of darkness, here applied to the cleansing of a city, describes Christ's sudden purification of the libertine magician: *discutit et tenebras de pectore, pellit et furorem.* ([Christ] scattered the darkness from his heart, drove out its frenzy, 26). Then the spatial metaphor of Christ filling a newly cleaned space, the streets of Caesaraugusta, is closely similar to that of the love of Christ filling the purged soul of the one-time devil worshipper (13.23), who now feels only shame for past sin: *Inplet amore sui, dat credere, dat pudere facti.* ([Christ] filled it [*i.e.*, his heart] with love of Him, giving him the gift of faith and of shame for his past behavior, 27).[6] The citizens of Caesaraugusta, I take it, undergo the same internal transformation. As Christ's sudden intervention dispelled the darkness and madness in which Cyprian had pursued the study and practice of magic and prepared him to embrace a new way of life, so the martyrs' deaths dispel the polluting shades of idolatry and free their co-citizens to receive Christ in baptism. Consequent upon the cleansing effected by the martyrs, Christ has come to dwell in all the streets of Caesaraugusta, *i.e.*, in the hearts of all the people.[7] The martyrs' blood has, thus, at once cleansed minds darkened by the worship of the powers of sin

(internal purification) and defended the Caesaraugustans from the death of the soul (external threat) that would have been the consequence of their persistence in pagan worship.[8] As the Hebrews freed from Egypt could sacrifice to the true God in the desert (Ex. 3.18; 4.23; 5.1), so the people of Caesaraugusta, free at last from the powers of sin and death, will be able to offer a pure worship to Christ, the true Lord of history (71f).

Prudentius, then, conceives of the martyr death as a sacrifice at once redemptive and purificatory. Patristic authors rarely accord to human self-sacrifice such a decisive significance in the drama of salvation. Origen provides the closest parallels. In his commentary on John 1.29 ("Behold the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world!"), the Alexandrian notes that the Old Testament prescribed the sacrifice of five animals. Christ, he explains, is called the Lamb, because He consented to die (καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν ἀνεδέξατο) as a sacrifice of redemption (ὠνούμενος τῷ ἑαυτοῦ αἵματι ἀπὸ τοῦ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμᾶς πιπρασκομένους ἀγοράσαντος) and purification (ὁ ἀμνὸς σφαγεὶς καθάρσιον γεγένηται ... τοῦ ὅλου κόσμου).[9] Then, posing the question what the other four prescribed victims represented, he concludes that these other sacrifices, related in nature to the offering of the lamb, must prefigure the deaths of the martyrs.[10] Their passive resistance receives the violent onslaught of the demons, who exhaust themselves in futile attacks on the martyrs' invincible constancy. Drained of their malevolent energies, the demons must withdraw defeated and even release their hold on many others, whom they have held in thrall. But while Christ's offering effected a global atonement, the martyrs' deaths benefit only their fellow countrymen. Origen compares them to the pagan heroes of old who dedicated themselves to avert plagues from their peoples (*in Ioh.* 6.54).[11]

The similarities between the two texts are striking. Both make use of sacrificial imagery drawn from the Old Testament to explicate the significance of the martyrs' passion. In both, the martyrs are said to die to free others from peril of death. In addition, both present the martyrs' death as a victory over the powers of darkness, who are forced to relinquish their grip on pagans, who can now offer praise to the Lord. Finally, Origen's comparison of the martyrs' offering to the self-dedication of ancient patriots who thus averted plague from their fellow citizens may be implicit in Prudentius' civic imagery.[12]

It is difficult to find true parallels, east or west, for this valuation of the martyrs' sacrificial death in the redemption of humanity.[13]

Chrysostom offers the closest in his sermons *De Sanctis Martyribus* and *In Sanctum Ignatium Martyrem*. In the first, he speaks of the shedding of the martyrs' blood as itself bringing about a change in the relationship between their fellow citizens and God. Like Origen, he draws an explicit parallel between the martyrs' death and Christ's passion, and like Origen and Prudentius, he understands the martyrs' blood offering to achieve the salutary effect of nullifying the power of the devil. Unfortunately, it is not clear precisely whose redemption he attributes to the martyrs' sacrifice: that of pagans, or of sinful Christians, or of both? In the second, he declares that Ignatius, Peter, and Paul were sacrificed in Rome so that their blood might wash clean the city defiled by blood offered to idols. Here the sacrifice obviously initiates the salvation of a pagan people.[14] In combination, these two passages contain the most important ideas, if not all the biblical and civic imagery, we have found in *Pe.* 4.65-72 and Origen's commentary on John 1.29.

Augustine also shows some awareness of these ideas in *Ep.* 185.31, where he praises orthodox Christians who, by shedding their blood, (*passionibus suis... suo sanguine*) have redeemed (*lucrarentur*) from deadly error and brought back to the church the very Donatists who put them to death. Quoting 2 Tim. 2.25-26, he concludes, *potens est dominus et misericors quem cotidie rogamus ut etiam ceteris det paenitentiam et resipiscant de diaboli laqueis, a quo captivi tenentur.* This language is less clear than that of Origen, Prudentius, and Chrysostom. The verb *lucrificari* does suggest redemption and, therefore, implies that the martyr's death parallels the sacrifice of the paschal lamb, on the one hand, and the passion of Jesus, on the other, but Augustine does not explain how the martyr's sacrifice produces its effects: by its moving testimony of devotion to the Catholic church or by the shedding of the blood itself? In particular, he does not explain whether it is the blood offering that releases the heretics from the snares of the devil.[15]

Peter Chrysologus opposes martyr to devil when he interprets the request of Herodias' daughter for the head of the Baptist by reference to the curse of the serpent in Gen. 3.15: *Ille tuum observabit caput.* In a somewhat obscure rhetorical flourish, the bishop asserts that the serpent's plots against John were vain, for *tota germina serpentis antiqui iste Iohannes noster interemit et effusione sui sanguinis extinxit occisus.* While this suggests that the Baptist routed the devil by shedding his own blood, it does not explain the significance of John's victory for the

salvation of others. Though the effusion of blood figures prominently, no clear idea of sacrifice emerges.[16]

From this overview, I think it apparent that, of the western ecclesiastical authors, Prudentius reflects most fully the nuances of Origen's understanding of the martyr death. In the evocation of the Passover sacrifice and the use of patriotic civic imagery, *Peristephanon* 4 displays details of similarity with Origen's exegesis lacking even in Chrysostom's sermons. While this does not prove that Prudentius drew directly from Origen, it does at least suggest the possibility and encourage attentiveness to other similarities.

Like Origen, Prudentius attributes to the martyr's blood a significant role not only in the initial redemption at the foundation of the local church but also in the final salvation at the Last Judgement. In his exposition of Jesus' refusal to grant a sign to the scribes and Pharisees (Mt. 12.38-42 and Lk. 11. 19-32), Origen had explained that the Queen of the South who came from afar to hear the wisdom of Solomon is a figure of the gentile church coming from the ends of the earth to hear the judgement of the Prince of Peace. The perishable gold and vestments that the ancient queen bore to Solomon foreshadow the far more precious gifts of faith and the blood of the martyrs with which the gentile church will seek to conciliate the Lord's favor.[17] In a remarkably similar vision, Prudentius imagines the cities of Spain, northern Africa, and southern Gaul, each personified as a woman,[18] rushing to offer Christ the relics of her martyrs.[19] At that moment, the community that has the most to offer the Judge will feel most secure: *Singulis paucae tribus aut duobus,/ forsan et quinis aliquae placebunt/ testibus Christi prius hostiarum/ pignere functae* (49-52). The witnesses to Christ (*testibus Christi*) whom their cities offered in sacrifice to God (*functae*) in ages past (*prius*) will be the guarantors (*pignere*) of the eternal felicity of their townspeople.[20]

In lines 51f, the poet adverts, not to the purification of those outside the chosen people, but to the cleansing of the chosen people themselves. Here again, he follows a teaching also espoused by Origen in an exposition of the sacrificial provisions of the Old Testament. Commenting on the text, *Et dixit Dominus ad Aaron: tu et filii tui et domus patris tui tecum sumetis peccata sanctorum* (Num. 18.1), the Alexandrian exegete understands in *peccata sanctorum* the sins of the holy (*i.e.*, Christian) people and interprets Aaron as a figure of Christ and his sons as types of the martyrs: *Redeamus ad pontificem nostrum, 'pontificem*

magnum, qui penetravit coelos,' Iesum Dominum nostrum et videamus, quomodo ipse cum filiis suis, Apostolis scilicet et martyribus, 'sumit peccata sanctorum.' Like Christ, the martyrs are sin offerings as well as priests, and their deaths remit the sins of their brethren among the faithful.[21] Origen remarks that the devil has avoided inciting pagan violence in order to foreclose this avenue of grace: *Haec* (*i.e.*, persecution) *non facit inimicus, vel quod ipse gloriae nostrae invidet.* As a result, the Christian community is left to struggle under its burden of sin.[22] Prudentius, like Origen, considers persecution a source of grace for the majority of the Christian community, those sinful members unendowed with the heroic virtue of the martyrs. But while Origen is thinking of martyrs purifying their contemporaries, Prudentius contemplates the value of the martyrs' offering for all Christian generations of the past, present, and future.[23]

In the course of setting out the theological ideas expressed in the compressed and figurative language of *Pe.* 4, especially lines 65-72 and 49-52, we have established the surprising fact that this view of martyrdom as a sacrifice of redemption and purification finds its closest and most explicit parallel in the works of Origen. In particular, the remarkable similarity in thought and imagery between *Pe.* 4.65-72 and Origen's comment on John 1.29 raises the question of direct or indirect dependence. Since actual verbal parallels that would permit us to conclude direct dependence are lacking, we can only admit it as a possibility and briefly consider the alternative.[24]

Rufinus comes to mind as a possible indirect source. The translator of Origen's theological and exegetical works was in Rome from 397 until his departure for Aquileia in 399 and may have returned to the vicinity of Rome as early as 403.[25] If Prudentius, as seems plausible, spent 397-spring 402 in Milan and Rome, he would have had the opportunity to meet Rufinus or members of his circle.[26] The poet's use in *Pe.* 13 of elements of a story regarding the conversion of Cyprian of Carthage told also by Gregory Nazianzen in *Oration* 24 may, in fact, point to some such relationship. We know that Apronianus, one of Rufinus' Roman friends, had asked for a translation of works of Gregory and in 399 or 400 had received the Aquileian's version of nine of the orations.[27] It would be satisfying to be able to place Prudentius among the personalities arrayed in the camp sympathetic to the embattled translator of Origen, but we do not know whether Rufinus was acquainted with this particular oration of Gregory's or with Origen's commentary on

John.[28] Furthermore, his translation of the commentary on Numbers was completed only in 410, probably too late for it to have influenced Prudentius' thought regarding martyrdom.[29] The question of indirect influence must, therefore, likewise, remain open.

However he came by these ideas, through discussion or personal study of Origen's exegesis or through some other means, the poet displays profound theological learning and notable boldness in adapting to the story of the Christian community of Caesaraugusta a soteriological understanding of the sacrifice of martyrdom that was, to judge from the extant attestations, little known in his day.[30]

NOTES

[1] I cite the text of Prudentius according to M.P. Cunningham, *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Carmina* (=CChr.SL, 126), Turnhout, 1966. *C.* = *Cathemerinon*, *A.* = *Apotheosis*, *H.* = *Hamartigenia*, *C.S.* = *Contra Symmachum Libri*, and *Pe.* = *Peristephanon*. I refer also to M. Lavarenne, *Prudence*, vol. 4: *Le Livre des Couronnes, Dittochaeon, Épilogue* (Coll. des Univ. de France), Paris, 1951 and H.J. Thomson, *Prudentius* (Loeb Class. Libr.), 2 vols., London, Cambridge, Mass., 1953. The English translations of Prudentius are Thomson's. There are two recent studies of *Pe.* 4: P. Riposati, 'La struttura degli Inni alle tre vergini martiri del Peristephanon di Prudenzio,' *Paradoxos Politeia: Studi Patristici in onore di Giuseppe Lazzati*, ed. R. Cantalamessa and L.F. Pizzolato, Milan, 1979, pp. 25-41 and J. Petruccione, 'The Persecutor's Envy and the Rise of the Martyr Cult: *Peristephanon* Hymns 1 and 4,' *VigChr* (45) 1991, pp. 327-346.

[2] *Apol.* 50.13, *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Apologeticum*, ed. E. Dekkers in *Q.S.Fl. Tertulliani Opera, pars* 1, *Opera Catholica* (=CChr.SL, 1), Turnhout, 1954. *V.* M. Pellegrino, 'Semen est Sanguis Christianorum,' *Atti dell' Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche 90 (1955-56), pp. 371-442.

[3] At the last judgement, *Ingeret Tingis sua Cassianum,/ festa Massylum monumenta regum,/ qui cinis gentes domitas coegit/ ad iuga Christi* (45-48).

[4] Ex. 12.3-13, esp. 6-7: *immolabitque eum [agnum] universa multitudo filiorum Israel ad vesperam. Et sument de sanguine eius ac ponent super utrumque postem, et in superliminaribus domorum* (*Biblia Sacra Latina Veteris Testamenti Hieronymo Interprete*, ed. J. Heyse and C. Tischendorf, Leipzig, 1873).

[5] For Pharaoh as an allegorical figure of the devil *v.* M.M. Van Assendelft's remarks (*Sol Ecce Surgit Igneus: A Commentary on the Morning and Evening Hymns of Prudentius*, Groningen, 1976) on *C.* 5.45 and 80.

[6] For other exx. of landscapes reflecting internal psychological realities *v., e.g., H.* 247ff; *C.* 5.109-24; *Pe.* 14.94-111.

[7] In both poems, the cleansing of darkness is not a cleansing from sin or the guilt of sin but a cleansing from the oppressive delusions of pagan worship; it, thus, produces the apotropaic effects of exorcism, a necessary preliminary to baptism, where the cleansing from sin and the reception of the new spiritual life will take place. I take *Inplet amore*

sui in *Pe.* 13.27 and *Christus in totis habitat plateis* in 4.71 as references to the implantation of this new spiritual life and, therefore, as presupposing baptism. *Cf.* with *Pe.* 4.65-72 the very similar imagery of cleansing and conversion in 2.453-56. For a more explicit juxtaposition of the dispersal of pagan *tenebrae* and the reception of baptism, *v.* 6.28-30. *Cf.* also *A.* 474-94.

[8] *Cf. H.* 389-466, 149-52, 697-705.

[9] *In Ioh.* 6.53, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 4: *Der Johanneskommentar* (=GCS, 10), ed. E. Preuschen, Leipzig, 1903. The interpretation of Jn. 1.29 in the light of texts relating to the Passover victim (*e.g.*, Ex. 12.5) accounts for the combination of the ideas of redemption by substitutionary sacrifice and of purification, the first symbolized in *Pe.* 4 by the repulsion of the external threat at the gates of the city, and the second by the driving out of the powers of darkness from within. *Cf.* T. Mariani, 'Gesù Agnello Pasquale,' *Atti della Settimana Sangue e Antropologia Biblica nella Patristica*, Rome, 1981, p. 235.

[10] λοιπαὶ δὲ καὶ συγγενεῖς ταυτῇ τῇ θυσίᾳ αἱ ἐκχύσεις εἶναί μοι φαίνονται τοῦ τῶν γενναίων μαρτύρων αἵματος (*In Ioh.* 6.54). In a search of the citations of Jn. 1.29 listed in the indices of *Biblia Patristica*, vol 1: *Des origines à Clément d'Alexandrie et Tertullien* and vol. 2: *Le troisième siècle* (*Origène excepté*), Paris, 1975 and 1977 (Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) and of the remarks on Jn. 1.29 in the commentaries and fragments of commentaries on the gospel of John by the Greek and Latin exegetes listed in the *Index Biblicus* of the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, vol. 5, 1987 and in the *Index Systematicus* (under *Evangelia*) of the *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, vol. 3, 2nd ed., 1961, I have discovered no other exegete of the first five centuries who draws this parallel between the lamb/Christ and the other sacrificial animals/martyrs. I was unable to examine all the Greek *catenae* catalogued as C 140.1-C 148 in *CPG, ib.*

[11] *V.* also Orig., *in Num. hom.* 24.1 and *Exhort. ad Mart.* 42, 50. P. Hartmann ('Origène et la théologie du martyre,' *EThL* 34 [1958], note 3, p. 822) discerns doubt concerning the redemptive value of the martyr's death in the cautious language (τάχα ... τινες) used by Origen in ch. 50 of the *Exhort.* But in light of the unqualified affirmations of ch. 42, this reserve seems more rhetorical than real. I cite *Origenes Werke*, vol. 1: *Die Schrift vom Martyrium* (=GCS, 2), ed. P. Koetschau, Leipzig, 1899. G. Lomiento, ('I topoi nell' *Exhortatio ad Martyrium* di Origene,' *VetChr* 1 [1964], pp. 91-111 and πρᾶγμα e λέξεις nell' *Exhortatio ad martyrium* di Origene,' *ib.* 2 [1965], pp. 25-66) does not discuss Origen's theology of martyrdom. W. Hellmanns (*Wertschätzung des Martyriums als eines Rechtfertigungsmittels in der altchristlichen Kirche bis zum Anfange des vierten Jahrhunderts*, Breslau, 1912) understates (p. 21) Origen's position by hesitating to ascribe to him a belief in the efficacy of the martyr's sacrifice in itself, and H. von Campenhausen (*Die Idee des Martyriums in der alten Kirche*, 2nd ed., Göttingen, 1964) overestimates (pp. 96f) the extent to which Origen's teaching undercuts the uniqueness of Christ's offering. *V. in Ioh.* 6.55, *in Num. hom.* 24.1, and *Exhort. ad Mart.* 12, where Origen affirms the necessity and preeminence of Christ's sacrifice.

[12] *Cf. pulsa nam pestis populum refugit* (*Pe.* 4.70) with πολλοί τινες λοιμικῶν ἐνσκηψάντων νοσημάτων, ἑαυτοὺς σφάγια ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ παραδεδώκασιν (*in Ioh.* 6.54). These texts share also an eschatological context (*in Ioh.* 6.57; *Pe.* 4.5-52) and a reference to Apoc. 6.9 (*in Ioh.* 6.54; *Pe.* 4.189-92). *Cf.* Origen's comparison of the martyr to a man who has killed a dangerous snake or drawn the poison from its fangs (*in Ioh.* 6.54) to the very similar metaphors in *C.* 9.88-90, *Pe.* 5.381f, and 10.26-30.

[13] For the presentation of the substitutionary and redemptive value of martyr deaths in

Jewish sources *v.* 2Macc. 7.37-38 and 4Macc. 6.24-30, 17.20-22. T. Baumeister discusses these passages in *Die Anfänge der Theologie des Martyriums* (=MBTh, 45), Münster, 1980, pp. 42, 49, and note 75, p. 180. Von Campenhausen (note 11 above) sees (p. 78) the beginning of a tendency to confer redemptive value on the martyr's sacrifice in Ignatius' use of the term ἀντίψυχον (*Ephes.* 21.2; *Smyrn.* 10.2; *Poly.* 2.3 and 6.1), but Ignatius speaks of his death benefitting other Christians, not pagans. Nor does he speak of rescuing humanity from the devil through a bloody self-sacrifice. *Cf.* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4.75.1-2 and ps.-Cypr., *ad Vigil. Episc.* 10 (CSEL, 3, part 3). In 'Martyre,' *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 10 (1980), W. Rordorf discusses 'La signification du martyre pour l'Église' (coll. 728-30) and 'Le monde non-chrétien et les martyres' (coll. 731-32) without considering martyrdom as sacrifice of redemption and/or purification.

[14] *De S. Mart.* 2, PG, 50, col. 709: The blood of the martyrs was not common blood ἀλλ' αἷμα σωτήριον, αἷμα ἅγιον, αἷμα τῶν οὐρανῶν ἄξιον, αἷμα διηνεκῶς τὰ καλὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἄρδον φυτά. When the devil saw the martyrs' blood, he shuddered, ἀνεμνήσθη γὰρ ἑτέρου αἵματος Δεσποτικοῦ. *In S. Ig. Mart.* 4, *ib.*, col. 593: Sts. Peter, Paul, and Ignatius ἐτύθησαν ... ἵνα μολυνθεῖσαν τὴν πόλιν τοῖς τῶν εἰδώλων αἵμασι, τοῖς οἰκείοις αἵμασι ἐκκαθαρῶσι.

[15] *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis Episcopi Epistulae, pars IV*, ed. A. Goldbacher (=CSEL, 57), Vienna, 1911. *Cf.* also *Civ. Dei* 2.28.

[16] *Sermo* 173, A. Olivar, *Sancti Petri Chrysologi Collectio Sermonum* (=CChr.SL, 24-25B), Turnholt, 1975-82. *Cf. ib.*, 79.3. M. Spinelli's ('Sangue, Martirio e Redenzione in Pier Crisologo,' *Atti della Settimana Sangue e Antropologia Biblica nella Patristica*, Rome, 1981) translation and interpretation of a passage from *Sermo* 103.5 (p. 540) rest on a defective text. A. Quacquarelli does not discuss *Pe.* 4 in 'Cristo e il Sangue nella Poesia Tardo-Antica,' *Atti della Settimana Sangue e Antropologia nella Letteratura Cristiana*, Rome, 1982, pp. 1353-74.

[17] *Fragg. in Matt.* 277; *v. Origenes Werke*, vol. 12,1: *Origenes Matthäuserklärung*, (=GCS, 41), ed. E. Klostermann and E. Benz, Leipzig, 1941.

[18] Prudentius' personifications reflect the iconographical schemes of Roman imperial art; *v., e.g.*, R.R.R. Smith, '*Simulacra Gentium*: The *Ethne* from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias,' *JRS* 78 (1988), pp. 50-77, esp. 70-77. The scene painted throughout *Pe.* 4.9-60 plays on themes associated with the *adventus* of the emperor. V. S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1981, pp. 17-61. The poet may have invented his *theoria* without knowledge of Origen's exegesis.

[19] Origen's identification of the Queen of the South with the gentile church reappears occasionally in subsequent exegesis of Mt. 12.42 and Lk. 11.31 (Greg. Nyss., *Or.* 7 *in Cant. Cant.*; Hil., *in Mt.*; Ambr., *Expos. Evang. sec. Lc.*; *Expos. Quat. Evang.*=*CPL* 631; Ps.-Orig., *Hom.* 8 *in Mt.* 12.38ff). But, whether or not she is taken as a figure of the gentile church, the queen is always presented as condemning the Jews (Hil., *in Mt.*; Ambr., *Expos. Evang. sec. Lc.*; Juvencus, 2.709-14; Chrysos., *Hom.* 43 *in Mt.*; Peter Chrys., *Sermo* 37.5; Cyr. Alex., *in Lc.*; *id., frag. in Mt.* preserved in the Arabic catena on Mt., for which *v. StT*, 255, p. 139; ps.-Orig., *Hom.* 8 *in Mt.* 12.38ff.) or all those (even nominal Christians) indifferent to the Lord's teaching (Iren., *Haer.* 4.27.1; ps.-Clem. *Hom.* 11.33.1=*Recog.* 6.14.2; Orig., *in Cant. Cant. Hom.* 1,6 [GCS, 33, p. 37] and *Op. Impf. in Mt.*). Not even the later, but clearly Origenist, authors of the *Op. Impf. in Mt.* (=*CPL* 707; *cf.* J. Quasten, *Patrologia*, vol. 3, *I Padri latini*, ed. A. Di Berardino, Rome, 1978, pp. 93-95) and *Hom.* 8 *in Mt.* 12.38ff (=*CPL* 675 and *CPG* 1517; available in PLS, 4, coll. 887-98) represent her interceding for peccant Christians. I can find no other

exegete of the first five centuries (for my method *v.* note 10 above) who in the interpretation of this gospel saying (in either its Matthaean or its Lucan form) makes reference to the queen's gifts; these Origen has introduced from 1Kgs. 10.2. He offers a different allegorical interpretation of the gifts in *Comment. in Cant. Cant.* 2 (GCS, 33, p. 119). *Cf.* Greg. Nyss., *Or. in Cant. Cant.* 7 (*Greg. Nyss., Opera*, ed. W. Jaeger, vol. 6, ed. H. Langerbeck, pp. 204-05).

[20] The phraseology of ls. 51f is compressed and difficult. Thomson's (note 1 above) translation of *hostiarum/ pignere functae*, "the sacrifices they gave in pledge before," is acceptable, but perhaps too vague. I take *hostiarum* as a genitive defining the content of *pignere*, and, thus, the virtual complement of *functae*, *i.e.*, 'a surety (or guarantee) consisting in sacrifices that they offered long ago.' For *fungi* = to perform a sacrifice, *v.* Hor., *Ars* 224, Vulg., Sir. 50.15, and *cf.* Tert., *Ieiun.* 13 and *Adv. Marc.* 1.23.9. The noun *pignus* here = *quidquid facit ad... fidem alicuius rei faciendam* (*V. sub voc., pignus*, sec. 8 in *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, ed. A. Forcellini, Ios. Furlanetto and V. De-Vit, Prato, 1858-75). The offering of the martyrs is not a pledge for some fuller payment on the part of their fellow townsmen (as Lavarenne's [note 1 above] "victimes, gages de leur foi" seems to suggest) but a guarantee that the cities will please (*placebunt*, 50) Christ and receive salvation at the Last Judgement. *Cf. Pe.* 2.457f, where the analogous phrase, *obsides/ fidissimos huius spei*, describes the martyr deaths of Peter and Paul as guarantees of the future conversion of Rome.

[21] *Cf.* also *Exhort. ad Mart.* ch. 30, where Origen imagines the martyrs offering at the heavenly altar of Apoc. 6.9 a service that effects remission of sins for those who pray. The service is possible only because the martyrs, blameless priests, have offered themselves as blameless sacrifices in a bloody death (πεπελεκισμένων) on earth. P. Hartmann (note 11 above) apparently understands (note 7, p. 808) that this spiritual offering at the heavenly altar is in some way independent of the earthly sacrifice of martyrdom, for he asserts that the effectiveness of the martyrs' heavenly intercession "se fonde sur un droit de rémunération qui leur reviendrait en tant que ministres du sacrifice céleste." In contrast J.J. O'Meara (*Origen, Prayer, Exhortation to Martyrdom*, Westminster, Md., 1954 [= ACW, 19], note 171, p. 235) rightly remarks, "The teaching here is that the blood baptism of martyrs obtains remission for the sins of others, in the same way as the death of the Saviour purified all." In a search of the commentaries and fragments of commentaries dating from Origen to the first half of the sixth century that are listed in the *Index Biblicus* (under *In Numeros*) of *CPG*, p. 118 and in the *Index Systematicus* (under *Heptateuchum* and *Numeri*) of *CPL*, p. 549 (*v.* note 10 above), I have found comments on Num. 18.1 only in Augustine's *Quaest. in Hept. Libri VIII* and in the *Cat. in Octateuch.* of Procopius of Gaza. Both understand the *sanctorum* as referring to the sanctuary, and Augustine deliberately rejects the exegesis of *peccata sanctorum* offered by Origen: "peccata sanctorum" *dictum est non quae sancti committant, V.* the ed. of J. Fraipont, Turnhout, 1958, pp. 253-54 (= CChr.SL, 33).

[22] *In Num. hom.* 10.2, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 7,2: *Homilien zum Hexateuch in Rufins Übersetzung* (= GCS, 30), ed. W.A. Baehrens, Leipzig, 1921, p. 71.

[23] This understanding of the martyr death as a sin offering for fellow Christians seems to have been little more widespread than that which attributed to it a role also in the redemption of pagans. Ignatius says nothing about cleansing fellow Christians with the offering of his blood. *V.* Baumeister's (note 13 above) discussion of ἀντίψυχον, *ib.*, pp. 285-87 and *Genèse et évolution de la théologie du martyre dans l'Eglise ancienne*, trans.

R. Tlock, Berlin, 1991, note 2, p. 55. This sacrificial concept does, however, seem implied in Clem. Alex., *Strom.* 4.75.1-2, Ioh. Chrys., *De S. Mart.* 2, Aug., *Ep.* 185.31, ps.-Cypr., *ad Vigil. Episc.* 10, and *Pass. S. Vincentii*, 12; *cf.* F. Scorza Barcellona, 'Il Tema del Sangue in Alcuni Testi del Passionario Ispanico,' *Atti della V Settimana di Studi, Sangue e Antropologia. Riti e Culto*, Rome 1984, pp. 1245-61, esp. p. 1255. This is an idea related to that of the martyrs' intercessory role in securing forgiveness of sin committed after baptism, testified in *e.g.*, *epp.* 21-23 of the Cyprianic *corpus*. But there, the act of intercession seems to be accomplished by the martyrs' prayers rather than by the shedding of blood; *v.* Cypr., *ep.* 21.2.2 and *ib.*, 3.2. In *ad Vigil. Episc.* 10, the martyr-to-be is asked to intercede by prayer after he has offered himself as an *immaculata hostia*.

[24] Few have suggested that Prudentius drew directly from any Greek source, whether classical, biblical, or theological, and the question of his ability to read Greek has not been settled. For a recent discussion of the issue and a survey of earlier scholarship, *v.* R. Henke, 'Der Romanushymnus des Prudentius und die griechische Prosapassio,' *JbAC* 29 (1986), notes 4-5, p. 59.

[25] *V.* C.P. Hammond, 'The Last Ten Years of Rufinus' Life and the Date of His Move South from Aquileia,' *JTS* n.s. 28 (1977), pp. 372-429, esp. 384-85 and 421.

[26] *V.* I. Lana, *Due Capitoli Prudenziani* (=VSen n.s., 2), Rome, 1962. Lana suggests (23) that Prudentius joined the imperial bureaucracy at the ascension of Theodosius to the rank of Augustus in 379 and retired after the twenty years needed for the *honorata quies*. The poet-administrator would, thus, have resided for years in Milan (*ib.*, note 20, p. 54). From *C.S.* 2.709-20, which mention Stilicho's victory over Alaric at Pollentia but not the second victory at Verona, Lana deduces (23-24) that Prudentius may have been in Rome from summer 401-spring 402.

[27] *V. Tyrannii Rufini Opera* (=CChr.SL, 20), ed. M. Simonetti, Turnhout, 1961, pp. 253-56 for the preface and dedication of this work to Apronianus. For the chronology, *v.* Hammond (note 25 above), p. 386, and for the common ground in the stories Gregory and Prudentius relate concerning Cyprian, *v.* J. Petruccione, 'Prudentius' Portrait of St. Cyprian: An Idealized Biography,' *REAug* 36 (1990), pp. 225-41, esp. 230.

[28] In the first chapter (pp. 11-42) of The Origenist Controversy: The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate (Princeton, New Jersey 1992) E. Clark presents a prosopographical and sociological study of the factions surrounding Jerome and Rufinus. For Rufinus' translations of Gregory's *Orations, v.* J. Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 3, *The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature*, Westminster, Maryland, 1960, p. 240 and A.C. Way, 'Gregorius Nazianzenus' in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Medieval and Renaissance Translations and Commentaries*, vol. 2, Washington, 1971, pp. 127-34 and *ib.*, vol. 3, p. 420.

[29] Rufinus translated the *Homilies on Numbers* while seeking refuge in Messina; *v.* Quasten (note 19 above), p. 237 and Hammond (note 25 above), pp. 393, 396, and 429. There is also an anonymous Latin translation of chh. 16.13-27.66 of the *Commentary on Mt.*, which, according to E. Klostermann, certainly postdates Jerome and Rufinus and may belong to the sixth century; *v. Origenes Werke*, vol. 12,2: *Origenes Matthäuserklärung* 3, *Fragmente und Indices* (=GCS 41,2), ed. E. Klostermann and L. Früchtel, Berlin, 1955, p. 14. It is not known whether only this section or the entirety of Origen's commentary was rendered into Latin.

[30] The research and writing of this paper were made possible by the generosity of the Mellon Foundation and of Mr. Arthur Ross, trustee of the American Academy in Rome.

The first granted me a Fellowship in Post-Classical Humanities at the American Academy for 1990-91, and the latter has sponsored the growth of both the excellent collections and the very structure of the Academy library. I am very grateful also to Katherine Cooper (FAAR 1990-91) and Prof. Thomas Finn of The College of William and Mary, whose criticisms of earlier drafts of this essay have helped me grasp more clearly the historical and theological implications of these issues.

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FINGERS UP NOSES AND PRICKING WITH NEEDLES: POSSIBLE REMINISCENCES OF REVELATION IN LATER MONTANISM

BY

CHRISTINE TREVETT

Many oddly-named sects and heresies feature in accounts by Christian writers of the fourth and fifth centuries. Commentators have paid little attention to them, excepting those having to compile editions of heresiological texts or an article for a dictionary. In fact little tends to be known of most of the groups, beyond the name and brief, sometimes bizarre, descriptions which an ancient author provides. Occasionally, however, snippets of information are suggestive. Momentarily it seems possible to breathe some life into a corpse of which we know little beyond a name. And in trying to do so we may gain glimpses of ways in which the New Testament and other biblical sources were once valued and used by those who were the "runners-up" (to borrow a phrase of W.H.C. Frend) in the history of Christianity. The shaft of light to be cast is a very narrow one, I think. It does not allow us to see very much (and there is the danger that what we think we see is distorted). But nevertheless I propose, tentatively, to try to dispel a little of the darkness surrounding those which catholic writers called "nose-peggers".

The Tascodrougitae, so-called nose-peggers or nose-gaggers, are mentioned by the fourth century Epiphanius of Salamis in *Pan.* xlviii.14. His source at this point is almost certainly later than that which ended at *Pan.* xlviii.13[1] and which had been about an early stage of the New Prophecy (late 2nd to early 3rd centuries C.E.). By contrast *Pan.* xlviii.14 *et seq.* relates to later manifestations within what by his own day had come to be known as *Montanism.*

The "nose-peggers" were associated, he wrote, with the Cataphrygians—a sect known to exist not just in Phrygia but in Cilicia, Cappadocia, Galatia and especially in Constantinople. *Cataphrygian* heretic was the most common name for Montanists and this derived from their origins in Phrygia. Nevertheless Epiphanius was not entirely sure of the association between "nose-peggers" and Montanist groups. For exam-

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ple he allowed that possibly it was Montanism's later manifestation among the Quintillians (named after the prophetess Quintilla) that harboured "nose-pegging".

In any case, this nickame which "some" gave them derived from the seemingly bizarre ritual practice of placing the forefinger (the τασκός or peg) to the nose or nostril (δροῦγγος) during prayer, as a gesture of piety or sorrow. Epiphanius, hostile to Montanism of any kind, labelled this "affected righteousness" and his own explanation of the name for such eccentrics used the more common words in compound, *viz.* πάσσαλος and ῥύγχος. This gives Passalorynchites (πασσαλορυγχῖται), a term we know from other sources.[2] He wrote as follows:

καὶ περὶ τοῦ Τασκοδρουγιτῶν ὀνόματος αὖθις ἐροῦμεν· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἢ ἐν αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἢ ἐν τῇ μετ' αὐτὴν τῶν κυϊντιλλιανῶν καλουμένῃ· ἀπ' αὐτῶν γὰρ τούτων ὁρμᾶται καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα. καλοῦνται δὲ διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν Τασκοδρουγῖται· τασκὸς παρ' αὐτοῖς πάσσαλος καλεῖται, δροῦγγος δὲ μυκτὴρ εἴτ' οὖν ῥύγχος καλεῖται, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τιθέναι ἑαυτῶν τὸν δάκτυλον τὸν λεγόμενον λιχανὸν ἐπὶ τὸν μυκτῆρα ἐν τῷ εὔχεσθαι, δῆθεν κατηφείας χάριν καὶ ἐθελοδικαιοσύνης, ἐκλήθησαν ὑπό τινων Τασκοδρουγῖται τουτέστιν πασσαλορυγχῖται.

Epiphanius's account is difficult both because he is uncertain of the relation of various groups one to another and because, confusingly, similar sounding names for errorists are to be found in writings by Filastrius of Brescia and others. We have for example *Ascodrugitae* alongside both *Artotyrites* and *Passalorynchitae* in Filastrius *Haer.* lxxv. Then too c. 387 C.E., in Jerome *Comm. in Gal.* ii. Praef., we read of Ascodrobi—along with Passalorynchites, Cataphrygians and Artotyrites. This last was the "bread and cheesers" (cf. too the anonymous writer "Praedestinatus" lxiii). Jerome and Filastrius suggest that Galatia was the centre for such activities.

The suspicion has arisen, then, that Epiphanius's linking of such groups with the Cataphrygians (Montanists) was simply guesswork on his part. It was the product of a need to fit them somewhere into his framework of multifarious heresies. He knew them to be found in the region of Phrygia—hence, perhaps, the tendency to associate them with the aberrant Cataphrygian Montanists. His attempt at an etymological association between two of the groups has perhaps unjustly been dismissed as of no value,[3] though the reader must certainly exercise caution when giving credance to some of the details in these late fourth century accounts of heterodoxy.

Filastrius's account of heretical groups was no less odd, of course, relating as it did that the worship of the *Ascodrugitae* centered round a covered wineskin and involved frenzied dancing (cf. *Ascitae* in Augustine *Haer.* lxii; *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 5, 65). Given the prevailing view (which I share wholeheartedly) that the second century New Prophecy, the precursor of Montanism was a *Christian* phenomenon, rather than one derived from Phrygian paganism,[4] it is hard to countenance (without there having been radical change) a Montanist wineskin-worshipping rite left over from paganism. Despite the similar-sounding name, then, we may leave such a group out of the equation, I think.

Epiphanius is not always the most reliable of sources. Nevertheless I am assuming that in one instance he has preserved an element of accuracy. Those nicknamed the *Tascodrougitae*, were they Quintillians specifically or Cataphrygians more generally, were real I think, though the reduction of their practices to peculiar rituals involving nostrils was surely a travesty of the truth. The fifth century *Codex Theodosianus* referred to them, its sixteenth book given over to the problems of Christianizing an empire (xvi. 5, 10). It said they were not to be expelled—though they were forbidden to gather to worship. Assuming their existence, then, it seems to me that "nose-pegging" may not have been quite as silly as at first it may seem. Some possible explanations follow and we must start with Epiphanius's description of what such people did.

His description of the "nose-peggers" *et al.* is followed immediately (*Pan.* xlviii.14) by reference to just such Tascodrougites who ritually pricked infants with needles. Confused as he was about the various names for, and sub-groups of, Montanists, Epiphanius did wonder whether in fact it was the Quintillians rather than Tascodrougites who were to blame for this practice. Yet in any case, he reported, the same thing was found among the Priscillians (named after the Prophetess Priscilla of the first generation) and Pepuzians (associated with Pepuza, the geographical hub of the movement). All these were names accorded to various groups within Montanism or perhaps just local variations of name for a single phenomenon. The rite, therefore, was associated with Montanism in a number of its forms and it took place at "a certain feast".

I am suggesting that what was here described was ritual scarring or tattooing (puncturing with needles). This is not a new suggestion.[5] Such a practice would have provided a distinguishing mark for the faithful,

such as was written of when describing the faithless in the Book of Revelation. The Revelation, it is generally acknowledged, had been an important source for the original New Prophets.[6] Indeed the phenomenon of the Prophecy most probably started in an area not too far distant from Philadelphia and the Seer's letter to the church there (Rev. 3: 7-13), with its emphasis on uncompromising holding fast, its promises about Jerusalem and (notably for us) its interest in *names*, was influential I think. The Revelation continued to figure in debates between Montanists and catholic Christians.[7] In the Revelation *marking* and right-naming were important. Possibly, then, the Name or a *symbol* for Christ, or perhaps a secret name, was involved in Montanist marking. This would have served as symbolic contrast to those who bore the Beast's mark such as is described in the Revelation as on the hand and forehead. (See for example Rev. 20:4, the passage on the millennial reign with Christ.)[8]

This claim that Montanists pricked babies with needles was not peculiar to Epiphanius. Augustine, who knew Epiphanius's work and that of Filastrius too, made mention of the pricking of an infant "throughout its whole body" (*De haer.* xxvi). He blamed this on Cataphrygians, Pepuzians and, for good measure and hedging his bets, Quintillians as well. Augustine's accusation of mixing blood with flour to make eucharistic bread was probably no more than calumny against Montanists (cf. too Filastrius of Brescia, *Div. haer. lib.* xlix, reliant on other sources, who associate the Cataphrygian practice with the period of Passover).[9] Yet here again what Augustine is describing in garbled fashion may well be a rite of initiation, though its exact details elude us.

There are clues which suggest I am looking in the right direction. Epiphanius has left us a strong clue that "naming" was indeed at issue in the needle-pricking practice. It comes in the order of the material he has preserved. For in the same section of the *Panarion* (xlviii.15) we have again the accusation of pricking and blood-letting the body of a child. There it is followed by the opinion that the blood would surely be consumed as part of the initiation *into the mysteries of the name of Christ.* It is probably not coincidental that Epiphanius places together these two items (i.e. "nose-pegging" and ritual marking by scarring or tattooing), for I think it possible that both the hand-at-the-face gesture (reported in hostile fashion as finger at the nose!) and the pricking with needles had their *Sitz im Leben* in a setting ("a certain feast") in which the final chapters of the Revelation and the requirements outlined in that source were called to mind.[10]

A further clue to this effect comes from Augustine again, when he is describing the alleged aberrant Cataphrygian eucharist of child's blood mixed with flour. Should the child die from the blood-letting, he reported, it would be considered a martyr; should it live, a great high priest:

> qui puer si mortuus fuerit, habetur apud eos pro martyre; si autem uixerit, pro maximo sacerdote.

The language is most reminiscent of Revelation chapter 20, relating to the millennial reign of Christ. In that source it is promised that Satan will be bound a thousand years and those who will live and reign with the Lord will be those (a) who have not worshipped the Beast and carried its mark on hand or forehead or (b) those who have suffered martyrdom. Moreover (c) those who reign with the Lord will do so as "priests of God" (Rev. 20:6).[11]

While Charles Hill has cast doubt on the New Prophecy/Montanism's interest in the millenium (an interest most writers on the subject have taken for granted),[12] it seems to me that we have echoed in these sources Montanist reminiscences of millenial promises. My tentative suggestion in this article will be that *such things were rehearsed on occasions in Montanist worship.* So what of fingers (or "peg" objects) too close to noses for propriety?

It would be neither unusual nor bizarre to place a hand over the face during public prayer. This might well be a gesture of piety or remorse, though Epiphanius was dismissive of the idea that anything so genuine was happening. He also seems to have had something more precise in mind. It has been mooted, on the one hand, that a finger over the mouth (and hence to the nose) is being described, so as to signify silence.[13] Alternatively there are documented instances in the ancient world of the holding of objects to the nose—branches and other items not identifiable from reliefs—during approaches to the deity. The hand was sometimes held to the face too. Ezekiel 8:17, for example, refers to the holding of a branch to the nose, a phenomenon examined by my former colleague in Cardiff, Professor Saggs.[14] The practice among the Tascodrougites, I suggest, also had a basis in the language of the Bible and other Jewish/Christian sources. But it was rooted firmly in monotheism and I think had nothing to do with Phrygian or other paganism. Indeed I suspect (and the evidence allows for little beyond suspicion) that the gesture may well have belonged in a setting in which

the promises of Revelation 20 and other similar apocalyptic sources were rehearsed, for Montanists were familiar with the sentiments of 4 Ezra and its Christian accretions, the Apocalypse of Peter and similar material. Perhaps this was at Easter when the triumph of the Lamb would have been uppermost in the mind and indeed when the rites of initiation may have figured too.

As I have studied Montanism and the *early* New Prophecy in particular, I have been increasingly aware not just of the influence of the Revelation upon it, but that also it may be possible to find within the sources hints of the kinds of use of Scripture and modes of prophetic exegesis which the Revelation (among other writings) had earlier employed. I have wondered, then, whether the explanation for "nose-pegging" might not also lie at some remove from the surface of the fourth and fifth century accounts, even in part in the rehearsal of traditions of the Revelation itself.

As I pondered this odd phenomenon of fingers at nostrils and tattooed individuals a number of possible explanations came to mind. All of them are conjectural. None of them is capable of proof and some may strike readers as lacking *gravitas*.

(1) In any ritual raised-hand gesture with the hand over the lower part of the face there would have been fingers-to-nose contact. The raising of the (right?) hand to the face, forefinger uppermost, hand cupped over chin (see 4 below) would have served the function of drawing attention to any distinguishing marks of the Montanist elect—particularly if these did figure (in direct contrast to loyalists of the Beast) on right hand and forehead. Indeed if such markings existed among later Montanists it would suggest an openness of Christian confession, an uncompromising stance, which accords well with the views of many. For the New Prophecy/Montanism has often been regarded as uncompromising and as having courted confrontation with "the world".[15] For such commentators the "Christians for Christians" and "spiritual Christians" inscriptions of the third century and later (if Montanist) provide clear evidence of openness,[16] though in my view Montanism's confrontationalism has been exaggerated.

(2) I wonder whether the ritual concerned, and the gesture in which it figured, may have been part of the ritual recalling of prophetic apocalyptic promises relating to the millennium and beyond. Traditions associated with Revelation 20 would have figured. It is in digging into this option that I turn first to my most speculative suggestion.

Rev. 20 included reference to such events. Part of the background of the chapter lay in Ezekiel chps. 38-39 with its description of how the followers of Gog would be destroyed (Rev. 20:7). Satan's forces, wrote Ezekiel, would encompass "the camp of the saints" who were synonymous with "the beloved city", Jerusalem (Rev. 20:9), and it was God's intention to destroy them by fire (Ezek. 38:22; 39:6). Gog's hordes would perish upon mountain and open field, a prey for wild beasts. For months the corpse-ridden ground of Israel would be uncleansed. Montanist groups which used and valued the Revelation would surely be familiar (via the LXX) with such biblical (and other) material which had helped to form the Seer's work. They would have been familiar, too, with the kind of interpretation of the Christian situation which was its *raison d'être*. So although the Hebrew and the LXX of Ezekiel 39:11, in particular, gave no clue, I do wonder whether there existed in Montanist circles (at "a certain feast") a ritual in which God's promises and the destruction of His enemies was rehearsed. This would have been done by those Montanists who regarded themselves as not just the elect but also as "Jerusalem". We should compare what is said of the New Prophets and of Christians of the Seer's circle (a) by Apollonius in Eusebius *HE* v.18,2 and (b) in the Seer's letter to Philadelphia.[17]

The promised destruction, as described by Ezekiel, would wreak havoc and stench in the land, yet God's people would triumph. Montanist believers, not least by a gesture to display the (tattooed?) sign of their election, were showing themselves certain of the truth of such promises. Not literally but in terms of an analogy from a different culture, they were in such a gathering thumbing the nose at Gog and at all who were not *for* the way of the Lord!

We should regard "nose-pegging" as a deliberate gesture, I think, not an ordinary hand-to-face or head-in-hand move during extemporised prayer (something still seen often in Christian settings). I am not convinced that it was a finger-over-the-lips symbol for a predominantly silent congregation. I cannot envisage that in Passalorynchitae secretarians we have "Montanist mystics, who made divine worship to consist chiefly in silent meditation, of which the gesture from which they took their name was a symbol."[18]

Despite the surmise of Filastrius (*Haer.* lxxvi) to this effect, there is otherwise no evidence whatoever for the existence of such emphases in Montanism. Nevertheless it is possible that a single, ritual gesture suggestive of silence *might* have figured in such a gathering. It would not

be at odds with the kind of setting I have posited. It would perhaps have come about either as precursor to a *period* of silence or as an enactment in relation to *reference* to silence in the liturgy.

(3) We should not look to Psalm 141:3 for the source of a "silence" gesture or emphasis on silence and that source would not account for the posited markings on the hand which, I suggest, gave another dimension to the gesture. (This Psalm was referred to both by Filastrius and by the writer above.) Instead, I suggest tentatively, it is possible that the silence figured (or was mentioned) as part of *the ritual enactment of end-time events* in the kind of gathering I have posited. This would have been based on a synthesis of sources—the Revelation included and perhaps something like 4 Ezra vii, 28ff.[19]

In the 4 Ezra passage mentioned above we have the revelation of the Messiah, "with those who are with him". Some rejoice with him for 400 years (or 3, or 1,000 years in versions of 4 Ezra), i.e. millenarian hope is expressed. Thereafter the Messiah dies "and the world shall be turned back to primeval silence for seven days, as it was at the first beginning..." Resurrection and judgement follow.[20]

The early New Prophecy/later Montanism preserve recurring hints of interest in the eschatological-millenarian promises of the Revelation and other such sources, including 4 Ezra.[21] It seems plausible, then, that such hope would have been recalled at points in the liturgy of some (at least) of the groups concerned. So was it in the solemn recollection of the promised death of the Messiah, or perhaps in relation to the suffering of the end-time (see 4 below on mourning), or also in recalling the silence which would follow, that the gesture under discussion was made? And if so, was it associated with the officiant or the whole congregation? We cannot know.

Finally (4) let us consider a further dimension to the gesture and a possible explanation for it which again is not divorced from what has been said already. Was this a gesture of remorse or mourning? Epiphanus, after all, had explained the gesture both as "affected righteousness" and as an expression of *sorrow*.

The Jewish Scriptures testify to the covering of the lower part of the face (Hebrew שׂפם) in time of calamity and death. Such things would indeed be in mind during the ritual I am suggesting, whether in relation to the Messiah, or to suffering and destruction (see Lev. 13:45; Micah 3:7; Ezk. 24:17, 22 and cf. 2 Sam. 19:5). in the Hebrew Bible the verb עטה+על of accusative is used in these texts. Interestingly, too,

the sense of LXX Ezk. 24:17 and 22 is "you shall not be comforted by their talking", in both verses using a derivative of παρακαλέω. In the context of Montanism, much concerned with teaching on the Paraclete, this is interesting.[22] But Ezekiel himself is instructed to avoid the usual mourning rituals—i.e. being barefoot (2 Sam. 15:30; Ezk. 24:17, 23; Micah 1:8),[23] *covering his chin* and eating "the bread of sorrow" (Jer. 16:7; Hosea 9:4). Here the prophet (Ezekiel) is himself a sign (Hebrew למופת, LXX εἰς τέρας 24:24 and 27) to those who must do as he does.

Perhaps, then, one factor which determined the gesture (an important factor) was that it indicated sorrow in recalling the mayhem of that time when God would intervene. If this was indeed part of the explanation of the gesture, then in fact the derisively-named "nose-peggers" would have been doing no more than their forebears among Jewish Christians (and mourning Jews before them) had always done—albeit so far as we know not as part of a liturgy such as this one.[24] Given the self-understanding of the Montanists, of course, it would have accrued to itself a number of layers of meaning. It is not impossible that similar hand-to-face gestures figured in rituals indicative of silence, sorrow and more.

Some Christian onlookers, including those whose writings informed Epiphanius and Augustine, had been bred in a conservative liturgical tradition of another kind. They were unfamiliar with, and unsympathetic to, the goings-on in sectarian groups of millenarian leanings and the spirit of the age was no longer tolerant of aberrations. To such writers it was all a matter of fingers up nostrils! It was to be ridiculed. The fact was, of course, that Montanists were much depleted in numbers and increasingly confined to a few areas by the time Epiphanius and Augustine gave us these accounts. Montanism (or the varieties of it) was no longer synonymous with the prophetic, mildly ascetic Asia Minor phenomenon of the 160s or 170s. Yet probably in this "nose-pegging" respect, as in some others, Montanists were simply continuing to display the marks of their loyalty to a Christianity which owed much to the heritage of Judaism and of apocalyptic hope.

Final remarks

Whether those concerned were, or were not, marked with the Name and unafraid to display their allegiance; whether they were or were not involved in ritual recall of promises to the elect, it seems to me impor-

tant to try to penetrate beneath the layer of calumny which marks a lot of later writing about Montanism. In even such testimonies there may be glimpses of its initial hope. I do not deny the likelihood that at times later accounts *do* reflect faithfully some of the change, decay and alien influence which had also come into Montanism over the centuries of its existence. It did not remain an unsullied Christian phenomenon. But each claim of aberrant and abhorrent practice must be examined on its merits. My suspicion in this case is that even after centuries there may still be discernible behind the "nose-peggers" what must once have been a not-uncommon Christian interest in the teachings of the Revelation and similar sources. With the passing of centuries such interest had been marginalised, misunderstood and misrepresented in Christianity of the mainstream.

NOTES

[1] *Pan.* xlviii.1-3 is usually taken to have used a source reflecting the first generations (late 2nd to early 3rd centuries) of the Prophecy, though already that source contained catholic editorialising and comment. It indicates that theologically the New Prophets were orthodox and that "spiritual gifts" were a bone of contention. On the demarcation of this source see: R.A. Lipsius, *Die Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, Vienna 1895 (*Pan.* xlviii.2-13); H.G. Voigt, *Eine verschollene Urkunde des antimontanistischen Kampfes. Die Bericht des Epiphanius über die Kataphryger und Quintillianer*, Leipzig 1891. See too D. Groh, 'Utterance and Exegesis: Biblical Interpretation in the Montanist Crisis', in Groh and E.W. Sanders (eds.), *The Living Text*, New York-London 1985, 80ff. For a different view of the source's provenance see R. Heine, 'The Role of the Gospel of John in the Montanist Controversy', *The Second Century* 6 (1987), 1-19.

[2] Cf. too Jerome, *Comm. in Gal.* ii.3 (Passalorynchitas et Ascadrobos et Artotyritas ...); Filaster on the 'Ascodrogitae in Galatia' and the Passalorinchitae "qui digitum imponentes in nares" (*Haer.* lxxv-lxxvi); *Cod. Just.* i.5,18 (τασκόδρουγοι); Augustine suggested 'Dactylorynchitae' as an alternative name (*Haer.* lxiii).

[3] See F.J.A. Hort, 'Ascodrugitiae' in Smith and Wace (eds.), *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, original London 1877.

[4] The appeal to Phrygian paganism as the root of the New Prophecy was already in decline before W. Schepelern's major study in *Der Montanismus und die phrygischen Kulte*, Tübingen 1929. That concluded that its roots lay in Asian Christian soil, with debt to the Fourth Gospel and the Revelation (Tascodrougites are considered on pp. 126f.). See too K. Aland, 'Der Montanismus und die kleinasiatische Theologie', *ZNW* 46 (1955), 109-116; 'Bemerkungen zum Montanismus und zur frühchristlichen Eschatologie', *Kirchgengeschichtliche Entwürfe*, Gütersloh 1960, 105-148. This is also my own view in my study of *Montanism*, forthcoming from Cambridge University Press.

[5] W. Tabbernee suggested the same thing in 'Revelation 21 and the Montanist "New Jerusalem" ', *Australian Biblical Review* 37 (1989), 52-60. Schepelern examined *Brand-*

markung in Phrygian pagan initiation (*Montanismus*, 122f), and the existence of local pagan parallels may well have encouraged Montanist counter-statement. The accounts in Augustine, Epiphanius and Filastrius, Schepelern then suggested, related to Montanist Easter practice and to happenings in Pepuza (named 'Jerusalem' by the Prophets/Montanists). The blood sacrifice story was rumour based on half-understood accounts of religious tattooing (p. 124), little removed from practices of 'sealing' or 'signing' known among other Christians. Nevertheless he found quite plausible the idea of Montanist use of the 'sacrificial' blood of the rite.

[6] Writers such as Irenaeus, Hippolytus in opposition to Gaius (as preserved in the work of Dionysius bar Salibi) and the tenor of debates between Montanists and catholics suggest that prophecy-the Paraclete, John's Gospel and the Apocalypse were matters at issue. It was perhaps in terms of extreme reaction against Prophetic appeal to these works that some chose to link them with the name of Cerinthus.

[7] See W.M. Calder, 'Philadelphia and Montanism', *BJRL* 7 (1923), 309-353; Trevett, 'Apocalypse, Ignatius, Montanism: seeking the seeds', *Vig. Christ.* 43 (1989), 313-338.

[8] Also Rev. 3:12; 13:1; 16f; 14:1, 9-11; 16:2; 19:12, 16; 19:20; 22:4 cf. Ezk. 9:4ff.

[9] "Mad, bad and dangerous to know" sums up later catholic opinion, which demonized Montanist women in particular, made of Montanus a castrated semi-pagan and suggested vile rites in their midst. Once stated, such accusations tended to be copied from writer to writer. It is difficult to pin down where and when a lot of later Montanism continued to exist. Once featuring in lists of heresies, its name continued to crop up and the impression could be gained, wrongly, that it continued to exist in places where it had long since ceased.

[10] See R. Heine, *The Montanist Oracles and Testimonia*, Macon GA., 1989, 138. For the English speaker this is the most accessible source of material on Montanism and it includes translations. Pierre de Labriolle in *Les Sources de l'Histoire du Montanisme* (Collectanea Friburgensia 24), Paris 1913, included more than ninety items which Heine did not.

[11] See especially on this topic Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Priester für Gott* (NT Ab. NF 7), Münster 1972.

[12] Charles Hill, *Regnum Coelorum: Patterns of Future Hope in Early Christianity*, Oxford 1992.

[13] 'Tascodrungitae' in *Dictionary of Sects, Heresies and Ecclesiastical Parties* ed. J.H. Blunt, London 1874.

[14] See H.W.F. Saggs, 'The branch to the nose", *JTS* 11 (1960), 318-329.

[15] Caution is needed, too, when discussing the Prophecy/Montanism's alleged lack of pragmatism and compromise and its zeal for martyrdom. F. Klawiter's Ph.D. study (*The New Prophecy in Early Christianity: the Origin, Nature and Development of Montanism A.D. 165-220*, University of Chicago Ill. Divinity School, 1975) laid much at the door of its promoting voluntary martyrdom (similarly in 'The Role of Martyrdom and Persecution in Developing the Priestly Authority of Women in Early Christianity: a Case Study of Montanism', *Church History* 49 (1980), 251-261). Such views were rightly questioned by W. Tabbernee, 'Early Montanism and Voluntary Martyrdom', *Colloquium (Australia-New Zealand Theological Review)* 17 (1985), 33-43. Those who equate Tertullian with all things Montanist have also tended to assume its zeal for death.

[16] There is a large body of (third century onwards) inscriptions of possible, and in some cases probably or certain, Montanist provenance. They make open profession of Chris-

tianity. There is also a large body of literature on the inscriptions. See for example E. Gibson, *The "Christians for Christians" Inscriptions of Phrygia* (Harvard Theological Studies 32), Missoula MT, 1978; W. Tabbernee, *Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia: Epigraphic Sources Illustrating the History of Montanism*, Macon GA (described as 'forthcoming').

[17] The fact that Jerusalem is as much people (community) as place is important for understanding Montanism, I think. Cf. too R.H. Gundrey, 'People as Place, Not place for People', *Nov. Test.* 29 (1987), 254-264 (on Rev. 3:12); P. Carrington. *The Early Christian Church* ii, London and Cambridge 1957, 143ff; C. Deutsch, 'Transformation of Symbols in the New Jerusalem in Rev. 21:4-22:5', *ZNW* 78 (1987), 106-126.

[18] J.H. Blunt (ed.), 'Tascodrungitae' in *Dictionary of Sects, Heresies and Ecclesiastical Parties*, described as repudiating all revelation, rejecting the creeds and ridiculing the sacraments. This makes them sound like seventeenth century Quakers as the most hostile polemicists described them. Blunt claimed much the same of the Ascodrugitae, who allegedly danced around an inflated wineskin, whereas the Ascitae (usually taken to be the same as the Ascodrugitae) "danced *on* skin or leather bottles ... and imagined themselves *to be fulfilling the words of Holy Scripture*" (Matt. 9-17 emphasis mine). This is all very imaginative. We must also contend with the Ascodrubi—probably the same as the Ascodrupitae which in turn looks like a corruption of Ascodrugitae, though Theodoret associated them with Marcosian Gnostics.

[19] The use of 4 Ezra is discussed at a number of points in my forthcoming study of *Montanism*.

[20] See M.E. Stone, *4 Ezra* (Hermeneia Commentary Series), Minneapolis 1990, 202ff, 214. Cf. 2 Baruch 31:5 and 7.

[21] Eusebius's Anonymous source (*HE* v.16,7) names the village of Ardabau (otherwise not known) as the site of Montanus's initial prophesying. The name was probably as much symbol as geographical designation (cf. the Prophets' 'Jerusalem' towns of Pepuza and Tymion in *HE* v.18,2). See too E. Preuschen 'Ardaf IV Esra 9,26 und der Montanismus', *ZNW* 1 (1990), 265.

[22] This is an odd and tantalizing rendering of the Hebrew. Still it is hard to see that much can be made of it where the Montanists are concerned, for despite being at odds with the catholics over the Paraclete and paraclèsis—and presumably such a group would have engaged in study and exegesis of biblical 'paraclete' passages—we have no supporting evidence that they appealed to these particular verses.

[23] The probably Montanist Prophetess described by the third century writer Firmilian (Cyprian *Ep.* lxxv) was ecstatic and looked towards Jerusalem. She also walked barefoot in a time of calamity.

[24] J. Massingberd Ford suggested that Montanism was "Jewish Christian" and that the variations of it (e.g. in Asia Minor and in Africa) were explicable because of the influence from different kinds of Judaism: 'Was Montanism a Jewish-Christian Heresy?' *JRH* 17 (1966), 326-48. We should not look to such *direct* Jewish influence I think.

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CHRYSOSTOM AND THE PREACHING OF HOMILIES IN SERIES: A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE FIFTEEN HOMILIES *IN EPISTULAM AD PHILIPPENSES* (CPG 4432)

BY

PAULINE ALLEN AND WENDY MAYER

Introduction

In the course of an examination of early Christian homilies as a source for social history, we have been confronted by the necessity of determining as far as possible where John Chrysostom preached what.[1] If we are to use Chrysostom as a source, we have to try to establish which of his homilies can be responsibly assigned to his patriarchate at Constantinople (398-404), in order to arrive at a sure touchstone of homiletic evidence for the social history of that city. Similarly, any investigation into the social history of Antioch will have to address the same issues with regard to the homilies delivered by John during his presbyterate (386-397).

At the outset we found a reasonable degree of consensus among scholars regarding where Chrysostom preached what.[2] This was perhaps especially the case with the exegetical series of homilies on the New Testament. Yet, as we proceeded with our reading of Chrysostom's text, this consensus began to appear more and more ill-founded. With very few exceptions,[3] scholars have assumed that where internal evidence in one or two homilies in an exegetical series points indubitably to an Antiochene or Constantinopolitan provenance, then all the other homilies in the series as it comes down to us were delivered in the same place as well. When perspicacious researchers have discovered internal evidence in one homily of a series which goes against the tide of received scholarly opinion *qua* provenance and have bravely dissented, they have still argued in favour of reversing the provenance of the *whole* series, instead of treating its component parts on a case by case basis.[4] While there are no doubt various reasons behind this excessive reverence for a particular series as a package, after the first quarter of the twentieth century a significant motivation was the work of Max von Bonsdorff, who arrived at a schematisation of Chrysostom's homiletic series on the New Testament books.[5] While von Bonsdorff's conclusions regarding

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provenance and chronology of the series are convenient, they are, in our opinion, altogether too neat.

In this light, we began to pay special attention to those exegetical series on the New Testament which opinion commonly considers Chrysostom to have delivered in Constantinople.[6] In a recent case-study of the twelve homilies *In epistulam ad Colossenses* (CPG 4433) we demonstrated that this "series" contains material of *both* Antiochene *and* Constantinopolitan derivation, and on the basis of that evidence we called for a reassessment of where, with regard to the exegetical series, Chrysostom preached what.[7] In the present article it is our intention to re-examine scholarly opinion regarding the provenance of the fifteen homilies *In epistulam ad Philippenses* (CPG 4432), a series which presents its own problematic, and to assess their homogeneity. Since this series is considered by von Bonsdorff to be the first which Chrysostom delivered in Constantinople, any reassessment of the received opinion regarding its provenance will in turn have a particular relevance for the chronology of his homiletic output in this city. As we shall demonstrate, neither the provenance of the individual homilies nor their cohesion as a series is as patent as has generally been accepted.

Status quaestionis

Scholarly opinion on the provenance of the series on Philippians is divided, although the majority vote goes to Constantinople. Tillemont argued cautiously in favour of a possible Constantinopolitan provenance for this somewhat unpolished series, referring to Photius' comment that the homilies which John delivered in the capital are less finished than those from Antioch. The βασιλεύς in homily 15 is taken non-committally by Tillemont to be the reigning emperor.[8] Montfaucon's conclusions regarding provenance were much less guarded, being based solely on a passage in homily 9, where he maintains the homilist is acting as judge between people and priests, and calls himself πατήρ.[9] The Bollandist Stilting tried to reverse the tide by arguing from a passage in homily 15 that the βασιλεύς in question was not Arcadius (395-408) but rather Theodosius I (379-395), and that consequently the series belongs to Chrysostom's Antiochene period.[10] Only one other scholar, Chrysostomus Baur, seems to have followed Stilting in assuming an Antiochene provenance. Baur argued further that all Chrysostom's great commentaries which contain no reference to Con-

stantinople are more likely to derive from Antioch, for the simple reason that during his diaconate and presbyterate the homilist had more time to preach and write.[11] For all that, Baur was inclined to assign homily 9 to Constantinople, although he did not explain how this was to be reconciled with the supposed Antiochene provenance of the series as a whole.[12]

Other twentieth century scholars have come down in favour of Constantinopolitan provenance. Lietzmann, like Montfaucon, attributed the series to Constantinople solely on the basis of the perceived "episcopal tone" in homily 9.[13] In his overly schematic study of Chrysostom's exegetical series on books of the New Testament, von Bonsdorff also echoed Montfaucon's arguments in favour of Constantinople on the basis of homily 9, while admitting that the evidence here is in itself not conclusive.[14] Of the passage in homily 15 concerning the woes of the imperial house von Bonsdorff wrote: "Ich sehe in dieser Stelle einen unzweifelhaften Beleg für K:pel."[15] In homily 6 he found another possible trace of Constantinople where the relationship between the βασιλεύς and the ὕπαρχος is touched on, and in the mention of Apollinaris of Laodicea in a list of heretics, a circumstance which, he claimed, did not occur in Antiochene series.[16] A passage in homily 12 depicting the emperor crowning successful athletes and charioteers was taken similarly as denoting possible Constantinopolitan provenance.[17] On the basis of these and other arguments von Bonsdorff dated the series on Philippians to spring or early summer 399.[18] As will become evident, it is unfortunate that his conclusions regarding both provenance and date have been taken over by more recent scholars and perpetuated uncritically.[19] Finally, Quasten, the most recent of scholars to broach the question of provenance, likewise assigned the series to Constantinople, on the basis of Chrysostom's "several references to his responsibilities as bishop, especially in Homily 9,5," and because he believed that in homily 15 Chrysostom is thinking of the "weak-minded Arcadius rather than of the victorious Theodosius who overcame all difficulties."[20]

As this brief summary of the *status quaestionis* on the provenance of the series on Philippians demonstrates, it has been impossible for scholars to resist the temptation of assigning all the homilies in this series to either Antioch or Constantinople. This conclusion has rested almost entirely on evidence contained in only one or two of the fifteen homilies—in particular, two key passages in homily 9 and homily 15.

Any evidence which challenges the assumed overall provenance, as in the case of Baur, has been left hanging and is overwritten by a firm belief in the homogeneity of the series as a whole.[21] As we shall demonstrate, not one of the passages adduced in evidence provides a reliable basis for the assigning of provenance to the series on Philippians. Further, as will become clear, some doubt arises as to the homogeneity of this particular series. This raises the question whether, should reliable evidence of provenance be found, this should *ipso facto* be applied to all of the fifteen homilies.

Internal Evidence for Provenance

It is our intention here to provide a close examination of the key passages which occur in homily 9 and homily 15. In addition to this, we shall consider the validity of the supplementary evidence adduced by von Bonsdorff in favour of Constantinople.

(a) *Homily 9*

In the course of homily 9 Chrysostom has cause to placate his congregation, who have apparently objected to giving tithes to the clergy. He asks rhetorically whether in fact the clergy live ostentatiously, for example by wearing silk clothes or riding a horse. "If one did this, I would both condemn him and have no mercy, but pronounce him unworthy of the priesthood."[22] According to von Bonsdorff, these words are more natural on the lips of a bishop than on those of a presbyter.[23] However, as we have cautioned elsewhere,[24] arguments for the provenance of Chrysostom's homilies based on "episcopal tone" are insubstantial unless we have further corroborating evidence that the homilist is, in fact, a bishop. Similarly flawed is Montfaucon's argument that Chrysostom here is acting as judge between clergy and people and is therefore speaking in the *persona* of a bishop.[25] As Stilting more sensibly contends, the point of the passage is not that Chrysostom is speaking as judge, but that he is defending the clergy from the objections raised by the people. Chrysostom, he continues, does not want to absolve the priests from charges if they have overstepped the mark, but maintains that the people do not have the right to sit in judgement on priests.[26]

"Episcopal tone" is also detected by Montfaucon and others in the

words: "But I am a father; fathers indulge children greatly and over and above what is necessary."[27] Yet, as Stilting remarks, here Chrysostom calls himself "father" in the presence of the congregation, not of the clergy, and this he does throughout the homily. The word πατήρ is in fact used in the homily to refer to any member of the clergy. "Is the priest supposed to go about begging?" Chrysostom asks.

> If your worldly father did that, you would think the affair a shame, but if your spiritual (father) were compelled to do that, wouldn't you hide your face?[28]

In any case the unreliability of passages in which Chrysostom describes himself as πατήρ for determining his episcopal status can be seen from a passage in *In Matth.* hom. 32/33,7 (CPG 4424), unanimously assigned to Antioch:[29] "I have a father's feelings. If I should ever rebuke you, I do this out of concern."[30]

In short, any argument in favour of the Constantinopolitan provenance of the series on Philippians which relies on the "episcopal tone" of homily 9 cannot be taken seriously.

(b) *Homily 15*

In homily 15 one and the same passage (PG 62,294 48-295 46) has been taken as proof of both Antiochene and Constantinopolitan provenance for the series. In the second half of this homily, as is his wont, Chrysostom moves away from a close commentary on the scriptural text to a more general theme of edification. Here it is the virtue of suffering to which he draws the congregation's attention. After listing biblical pericopes in which suffering is praised, he points out that if in worldly contests nothing is won without a struggle, so much more so does this hold true in the case of the Christian fight. To an imaginary objection that emperors have an easy time of it, he gives an exposé of the tribulations of everyday life in the imperial house. This exposé is presented in general, rhetorical terms. Such tribulations are found among emperors in a time of peace; how much worse they become in a time of war. Furthermore the royal house is full of the shedding of kindred blood. Chrysostom offers to give some ancient (παλαιά) examples of what he means, examples which are still remembered because they occurred in the lifetime of his hearers. In the catalogue of woes which have befallen the imperial house he mentions no names. The first case (PG 62,295 18-

29) seems to be Constantine, who is said to have handed over his wife to be exposed to wild beasts on the mountains, and to have killed his son as well as another son along with his children. While these tales are at variance with the historical evidence,[31] they appear to be only the beginning of an embellishment. As Migne dourly observes: *Sequentia nec cum historia vera, imo nec secum ipsa consistere possunt.*[32] Apart from Constantine, the list of emperors seems to include Constans (whose wife is said to have died as a result of treatment for sterility),[33] an emperor (PG 62,295 34-38) who was poisoned and whose son's eyes were put out, and Valens (PG 62,295 38-43), the sufferings of whose widow are alluded to. The list culminates in a supposed description of the tribulations endured by the present incumbent of the throne:

> Hasn't the present ruler—from the time he put on the crown—been involved in troubles, dangers, sorrows, despondent periods, calamities, intrigues?[34]

Just as the previous list of cases may be said to be impressionistic, the terms here are vague and general, and could pertain to any ruler. The entire passage supports the concluding argument that, if the holders of imperial office have such an unhappy life, how much more miserable is the lot of ordinary citizens.[35] Yet, as we have already mentioned, the passage has been taken by Stilting to show that the "present ruler" was Theodosius, while it has been adduced by von Bonsdorff, Quasten and others to argue for the Constantinopolitan provenance of the series during the reign of his successor, Arcadius. The arguments of this latter group, which seek to exclude Theodosius as a contender on the basis of his strong personal character, are supported neither by the context nor by the passage itself.[36] The language is, in fact, so general and the tribulations so common to the imperial experience that the description could easily be applied to either emperor.

Having demonstrated that neither homily 9 nor homily 15 can be definitively assigned to either Constantinople or Antioch, we turn now to homilies 6 and 12, where von Bonsdorff detected hints of Constantinopolitan provenance.[37]

(c) *Homily 6 and 12*

In the course of addressing the congregation on the subject of humility in homily 6, Chrysostom adduces an example involving the βασιλεύς and the ὕπαρχος.

> For example, if the emperor is subjected to the ὕπαρχος, he is humble, because he has descended from a lofty position; if, on the other hand, the ὕπαρχος does this, he is not demonstrating humility. How could he? He hasn't lowered himself from a lofty position.[38]

While acknowledging that the connection between the two people in the *exemplum* is "ganz allgemein", von Bonsdorff identifies the ὕπαρχος with the *Præfectus prætorio per Orientem*, consequently finding a possible hint of Constantinopolitan provenance. Yet the word ὕπαρχος, capable of several meanings,[39] is surely best rendered here by the more general term "subordinate". In any case the terms of the *exemplum* are too general for the reference to be narrowed down to a specific prefectorial office, unless perhaps, like von Bonsdorff, one is convinced *a priori* of a Constantinopolitan provenance.

In the same homily, where Chrysostom attacks Arius, Paul of Samosata, Marcellus of Ancyra, Sabellius, Marcion, Valentinus, Manes, Apollinaris of Laodicea, Photinus and Sophronius,[40] von Bonsdorff attaches importance to the fact that Apollinaris appears in the list of heresiarchs because, he claims, this name is not found in the homilies deriving from Antioch.[41] Recourse to a computer search of the Chrysostomic corpus via the *Thesaurus Linguae Græcae*[42] demonstrates, however, that homily 6 on Philippians is in fact the only place among the genuine works of Chrysostom where Apollinaris or his followers are explicitly mentioned. Even if it were discovered that Chrysostom alludes indirectly to Apollinaris and his christology elsewhere and it could be proven that this does not occur in homilies thought to have been delivered at Antioch, it is unclear why von Bonsdorff should consider this a convincing proof of the homily's delivery at Constantinople. As far as we can tell, the only direct link between Apollinaris and Constantinople lies in the fact that his teachings received their official condemnation there in the course of the General Synod of 381.[43] By virtue of his Syrian background, the link between Apollinaris and Antioch is, on the other hand, extremely strong.[44] Several of the major condemnations of Apollinaris' christological teachings come from near contemporaries of Chrysostom who have a firm connection with the Antiochene exegetical school—in particular, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret.[45] Certainly, it is known that Apollinaris was teaching at Antioch in 374.[46] It is also significant that the condemnation of 381 predates the beginning of Chrysostom's preaching activity by some five years, a period which pro-

vides ample time for Apollinaris to have been accorded the status of heresiarch at Antioch as well as Constantinople. In this light, and given that in homily 6 Apollinaris is but one in a long list of heresiarchs cited by Chrysostom, the claim that the mention of Apollinaris in this homily indicates that it was delivered at Constantinople has no basis.

Finally, the tableau in homily 12 with the emperor crowning the most successful athletes and charioteers not down in the stadium but up at the bema, is seen by von Bonsdorff as a possible hint of Constantinopolitan provenance. But here von Bonsdorff himself concedes that similar tableaux involving the emperor crowning successful contenders in the games can also be found in homilies delivered by Chrysostom in Antioch[47]—namely *In Genesim* hom.5 (PG 53,54 11-19) and *In 2 Cor.* hom.3 (PG 61,413 10-15).[48]

Each of these three pieces of supplementary evidence adduced by von Bonsdorff in favour of a Constantinopolitan provenance for the series is far from being convincing, and all are predicated on an *a priori* assumption. To sum up, upon close examination not one of the key passages formerly adduced as evidence of either Antiochene or Constantinopolitan status has been found to stand up to scrutiny. Further, such evidence from other homilies as has been adduced in support has been shown to be predicated on even shakier foundations. In short, at this point in our investigations there is no evidence in any of the fifteen homilies on Philippians which provides a clear indication of the provenance of any homily within this series. Certainly there is no basis for the claim of von Bonsdorff that this series dates to the spring or early summer of 399.

A more fundamental question, which we shall now address, is the extent to which this group of homilies is homogeneous: indeed, do these homilies form a cohesive series at all?

The Homogeneity of the Series

The fifteen homilies are preceded by a ὑπόθεσις or *argumentum* (PG 62,177-182). This, Stilting noted, is of such length that it might itself be considered a brief homily.[49] The *argumentum* exhibits two further characteristics which suggest that was indeed its original status. Of the six *argumenta* attached to various of the exegetical series on the Pauline epistles, that which precedes the fifteen homilies on Philippians is unique in its progression from comments of an introductory nature to

direct moral exhortation. In association with this, the latter half contains expressions found elsewhere in the homilies of Chrysostom, the presence of which indicates that it was delivered before an actual audience.[50] It is also unique in concluding with a doxology.[51] Both of these features are central to the homily, but rarely found in *argumenta*, which are commonly presumed to have been attached after the original homilies were collated into a coherent sequence.

Although in many cases we have good evidence for the circumstances in which the preacher delivered his homilies and for the stenographic activity involved initially in their preservation and publication,[52] unfortunately we are not as well informed as we would like to be about the redaction techniques that were used in the subsequent transmission of homiletic *corpora* or about the rationales behind gathering miscellaneous pieces into a series. However, concerning the motives behind such schematisation we can be more confident: they arose from the disappearance of the homily from the liturgy and its relocation in the divine office at the end of the seventh century, and from the standardisation of the Byzantine liturgical cycle between the seventh and eighth centuries.[53] That the *argumentum* to the fifteen homilies on Philippians was once itself a homily is a circumstance which at the outset gives one cause to speculate on the manner in which this homiletic series came into being. As a consequence of this, it is even more important that we now ask: do the homilies themselves form a clearly defined series?

(a) *Passages from Philippians exegeted in the homilies*

While the fifteen homilies do cover the entire epistle of Paul to the Philippians, the exegesis does not flow on uniformly from one homily to the next. Homilies 1 and 2 provide a sequential exegesis of Phil. 1.1-7 and 1.8-19 respectively, but homily 2, homily 3 (Phil. 1.18-24) and homily 4 (Phil. 1.22-30) between them contain some degree of overlap. The exegesis from homilies 4 to 6 is again sequential, moving on from Phil. 1.22-30 to 2.1-4 and 2.5-7, but there is an overlap between homilies 6 and 7 where Phil. 2.6-7 appears twice. As we shall demonstrate shortly, this instance results from what appears to be a genuine case of sequential delivery. Homilies 7 to 10 again provide a sequential exegesis down to Phil. 3.1-7, while homilies 10 and 11 overlap by a verse (Phil. 3.7). The last six homilies are once more sequential in their treatment of the New Testament text.

Of the three groups where the smooth succession of pericopes is interrupted—namely homilies 2-4, 6-7 and 10-11—the middle case is probably the only one where on internal grounds the homilies can be said genuinely to succeed one another. In the case of homilies 2-4, there is nothing, apart from the obvious exegesis of a passage from Paul's letter to the Philippians, to indicate that they necessarily hang together. Aside from the rare reference to heretics found in homilies 2 and 3, there is no similarity of theme between the three, nor any indication that they are delivered to one and the same audience. In the case of homilies 10 and 11, while there is an apparent sequence in that in homily 11 the preacher claims to take his beginning from the end of the preceding homily (a circumstance which would account for the overlap), it is not entirely certain that homily 10 is the one which is in fact referred to. The problematic nature of their relationship will be considered in the section that follows.

(b) *Internal reference to a preceding homily*

The first reference in the fifteen homilies to a homily which has preceded occurs in homily 6, where Chrysostom apostrophises his congregation: "Do you remember what I said before this, that it is not in great acquisitions that covetousness is revealed, but much rather in small ones?"[54] When one examines homily 5 in the present series, as also the earlier sections of homily 6 itself, this statement is, however, nowhere to be found. Indeed, a discussion of the nature of covetousness is not to be found in any of the first five homilies in the series. If "before this" is taken as referring to the homily which preceded, or even simply to a homily delivered within recent memory of the audience of homily 6, then that homily is not part of the "series" on Philippians in its present state.[55]

Homily 7 opens with what appears to be a clear reference to homily 6:

> You have been told about heretical matters. Now it is opportune to give our own comments as well. They say that the words "he didn't think it was robbery" equal "to rob". We have shown that this is altogether pointless and out of place because neither is someone exhorted to humility from this, nor does he worship God in this way—nor even a human being.[56]

This passage seems to recall the remarks of the preacher in homily 6:

> In the same place he says immediately: "He didn't think that it was robbery to be God's equal ... I want to add comments of our own, but I am

> afraid of disturbing your minds. For the moment remember what I have said to subvert them [*sc.* the heretics].[57]

The proof of the foolishness of heretical belief has already been given earlier in homily 6, and the question of humility has been dealt with as well. Hence it seems that the connection between homilies 6 and 7 is reasonably certain.[58]

In homilies 8, 9 and 10 there are no internal references to homilies which have preceded. Homily 10 does, however, contain reference to a theme Chrysostom has often introduced before the same congregation: "As I have often said, God does not pay attention to the amount of what is given but to the intention of the donors."[59] While this does recall the subject matter of the latter half of homily 2 on Philippians,[60] it cannot be considered conclusive proof of a link between these two homilies. Quite apart from his exegesis of the letter to the Philippians, this particular theme is one widely and commonly used by Chrysostom.[61]

At the beginning of homily 11 Chrysostom, taking pains to fortify and instruct his listeners against the arguments of the heretics, cites Phil. 3.7, a verse which, he maintains, the heretics pounce on.[62] While this does appear to pick up the last verse cited in homily 10, there is no certainty that homily 10 is indeed the homily which actually preceded. Unlike the case of homilies 6 and 7, there are no verbal links between homilies 10 and 11. The immediate emphasis placed on heretics at the opening of homily 11 raises an expectation, as is indeed the case in homily 7, that in this homily Chrysostom is proceeding to take up and continue the subject matter of the homily which immediately preceded. In sharp contrast to the robust reference to heretics which we find in homily 11, however, homily 10 is completely devoid of such a mention, nor, as Chrysostom concludes his exegesis at v.7 in this homily, is there any anticipation that the verse is of relevance to the orthodox-heterodox struggle. This circumstance, in light of the opening of homily 11, is somewhat surprising. It is, of course, not impossible that homily 10 did in fact precede homily 11. It is our contention, however, that since at present v.7 is the *only* factor which provides a link between the two homilies, any claim that homilies 10 and 11 share other factors—such as time, audience or location—should be advanced with some degree of caution.[63]

Within homilies 12-15 there are no internal references to the homilies which preceded. Chrysostom's mention in homily 15 of the theme of

almsgiving as one which is often introduced before the present congregation (PG 62,287 32-30ai) does not enable us to draw any conclusions. Not only does the general theme of almsgiving occur frequently within the homilies on Philippians (by virtue of the subject matter of the epistle itself), but it is, of course, common in the preaching of Chrysostom, to say nothing of that of other homilists in the early church. In short, if one leaves aside the case of homilies 6 and 7 and the obvious matter of the subject being exegeted, there is nothing that conclusively demonstrates that the homilies themselves were ever preached at one and the same time or in sequence.

Having demonstrated that the evidence for the provenance of the series on Philippians adduced by earlier scholars is unconvincing and that, in any case, the homogeneity of this series in its present state is by no means certain, it remains to consider whether any of the homilies do contain information which might reliably point to their place of origin. Should certain evidence be found this, it must be stressed, can only be considered to apply to the individual homily in question.

Homilies 1 and 9

Kaczynski, as we noted earlier, while embracing the conclusion of von Bonsdorff that the series originated in Constantinople, refers with some disquiet to "the inhabitants of the wilderness" found in homily 1 and suggests that the presence of these "läßt jedoch eher an Antiochien denken."[64] His comments, brief in the extreme and made only in passing, deserve further consideration. In homily 1 on Philippians Chrysostom mentions "those in the wilderness", who have "assumed the angelic way of life", while alerting his congregation to the possibility of sharing in the life of these people in a different way, "by supplying their wants, by looking after them".[65] That "those in the wilderness" are ἅγιοι (holy men) is made clear a little further on,[66] and the homilist makes constant reference throughout the homily to the fact that the congregation are able to have regular interaction with them. The ascetic practices of these ἅγιοι are named as fasting, chastity, sleeping on the ground and keeping vigils.[67] Such practices are, however, not exclusive to "those in the wilderness". Ἅγιοι may also be found within the *polis* among the senior members of the clergy.[68] The possibility of regular interaction between the urban lay community and these ascetics may provide an important clue to the provenance of this homily.

It has long been considered by Montfaucon,[69] Stilting,[70] von Bonsdorff[71] and others[72] that evidence of monks living in the vicinity on mountains is a sure indicator of the Antiochene provenance of a homily or series. Yet little, if anything, has been said of the significance of wilderness-inhabiting ascetics whose proximity is sufficent to allow of regular interaction. Peter Brown, in examining the basis for the influence of the holy man in Syria in the fifth and sixth centuries, points to the peculiar geography of this province as a determining factor. Here the proximity of ἔρημος and οἰκουμένη and the fact that the ἔρημος of Syria was never genuine desert meant that the holy man, although he had withdrawn from the world, was never entirely separated from it. Indeed Brown describes the world of these holy men as not so much "antithetical" to urban life as "marginal".[73] While we do not necessarily agree with the rest of Brown's findings because his arguments are in general based on later evidence and his basic premise leads him to focus overmuch on rural society (he has not taken account of the evidence supplied by Chrysostom), it does seem that the circumstances he describes neatly fit the situation here presented. This, coupled with the Syrian basis of the term "saint" or "holy man" (Syr. *qaddîshâ*) for one who is later more commonly known as a "solitary" (Syr. *îhîdâyâ*, Gr. μοναχός),[74] makes it difficult to believe that homily 1 on Philippians was delivered at a location other than Antioch. The way in which the term ἅγιος is employed throughout the homily assumes a deep familiarity with the technical use of this word.

In homily 9 we have another description of the interaction between the congregation and the ἁγίους, to a point where the services rendered by the former to the latter are considered obligatory.[75] This occurs in a passage which immediately precedes the discussion of giving tithes to the clergy which has been considered evidence of Constantinopolitan provenance, as discussed above. Are the ἅγιοι referred to in this homily the same as those evoked in homily 1? In homily 9, in part because of the different focus of the context, the only defining characteristic of the ascetics is that they are "soldiers serving in the army of the heavenly *basileus*".[76] While at first glance this does not seem very informative, two things should be mentioned here. First, the extremely clipped way in which Chrysostom refers to these ἅγιοι assumes an even deeper common knowledge of the restricted semantic range of this term than required in homily 1. Second, the metaphor by which ascetic holy men are equated with soldiers occurs in a much more developed form in

homily 69 (*alia* 70) on Matthew. In this latter instance Chrysostom makes it clear that these "soldiers of Christ" are encamped in the ἔρημος and are living *exempla*, visible to and able to be visited by the inhabitants of the *polis*.[77] Since in using the term ἅγιοι in homily 9 on Philippians Chrysostom is relying on nuances which must be readily and clearly understood by his audience if they are to be meaningful, it seems not unlikely that in referring to these ascetics as soldiers he is relying once again upon a well-known set of associations. Whether these are entirely the same as those evoked in homily 69 (*alia* 70) on Matthew is at present unknown. Before this question can be answered, a much more extensive study of the evidence presented by Chrysostom concerning the lifestyle and location of ἅγιοι must be undertaken. As regards the relationship between the ἅγιοι presented in homilies 1 and 9 on Philippians, however, it seems safe to say that on the basis of the evidence these do appear to be the same.

While this suggests that homilies 1 and 9 on Philippians were delivered before the same audience, or at least audiences attached to different churches at the same location, it does not provide any greater proof of the cohesion of these homilies as part of a series. References to ἅγιοι and exhortations to visit or assist them are to be found scattered throughout the homilies of Chrysostom.[78] Further, although it seems likely on the weight of the evidence, we have by no means conclusively proved that the city around which these wilderness-inhabiting ἅγιοι were situated was in fact Antioch. Chrysostom himself states elsewhere that such ἅγιοι are to be found lying like defending walls around cities.[79] For the nature of asceticism at Constantinople, on the other hand, we rely chiefly on Gilbert Dagron, who contends that it was an urban movement concerned primarily with social welfare and would see comments like these as out of place in the imperial capital.[80] As with the case of Peter Brown and the status of the holy man in Syria, however, it may be that in the time of Chrysostom the reality of ascetic life in and around Constantinople was in fact not quite so neat. In addition, if there is no mention of mountains in the milieu in which the ascetics lived (mountains making Antioch a more likely situation) this also lays the question of provenance open to doubt. Until such time as we become clearer on the import of Chrysostom's frequent references to the eremitical, ascetic and monastic ways of life, the agreements in content between homilies 1 and 9 on Philippians as regards ἅγιοι must unfortunately remain inconclusive.

Conclusion

As with most of Chrysostom's other exegetical series, scholars have almost unanimously assigned all of his fifteen homilies on Paul's letter to the Philippians either to Antioch or to Constantinople. We hope to have shown that there is insufficient evidence to point conclusively to either location as the place of delivery for any single homily in the series as it is presently constituted. In particular, the "evidence" of the two key passages in homilies 9 and 15, used ironically in the past in favour of both Antiochene and Constantinopolitan provenance, does not stand up to scrutiny.

The homogeneity of the series is called into question at the outset if one considers the so-called *argumentum*, which is almost certainly itself a homily. Again, in the exegesis of the Philippians text there are lacunae and overlaps between homilies and, apart from the subject matter, there is very little indeed within the homilies themselves to suggest that they are a homogeneous series. On the basis of internal evidence, homilies 6 and 7 are the only ones that can be said with any certainty to have been delivered before the same audience and on successive occasions.

While the connection between homilies 1 and 9 can be established with some confidence, in that they give an unmistakable impression of having been delivered to a congregation in the same location, if not in the same church, their provenance cannot be determined at the present time. Given the actual state of research into Chrysostom's references to ascetic, eremitic and monastic life, the most we can venture at this juncture is to suggest that these two homilies belong to the homilist's Antiochene period. We submit that such research in the future will play a critical role in helping to determine the provenance of many homilies from his other exegetical "series" as well.

NOTES

[1] See P. Allen, 'Homilies as a source for social history,' *Studia Patristica* XXIV (1993) 1-5 and P. Allen-W. Mayer, 'Computer and Homily: Accessing the Everyday Life of Early Christians,' *VC* 47 (1993) 260-280. The research for this project was financed by the Australian Research Council.

[2] For an overview of this see J. Quasten, *Patrology* III, Utrecht/Antwerp 1960, 433-459.

[3] For these see H. Savile, *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τῶν εὑρισκομένων τόμος (α'-η') Δι' ἐπιτελείας καὶ ἀναλωμάτων Ἔρρίκου τοῦ Σαβιλίου ἐκ παλαιῶν ἀντιγραφῶν ἐκδοθείς* VIII, Eton 1613, Notæ, coll. 145-146; L.S. Le Nain de Tillemont,

Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles, XI, Paris 1706, 371.

[4] E.g. I. Opelt, 'Das Ende von Olympia. Zur Entstehungszeit der Predigten zum Hebräerbrief des Johannes Chrysostomos', *ZKG* 81 (1970) 64-69; and M. Costanza, 'Waar predikte Sint Chrysostomus zijn vier en twintig homilieën als commentaar op Sint Paulus' brief aan de Ephesiërs?', *Studia Catholica* 27 (1952) 145-154.

[5] *Zur Predigttätigkeit des Johannes Chrysostomus, biographisch-chronologische Studien über seine Homilienserien zu neutestamentlichen Büchern*, Diss., Helsinki 1922.

[6] Notably, the series on Colossians (CPG 4433), Philippians (CPG 4432), I and II Thessalonians (CPG 4434-4435), Acts (CPG 4426), and Hebrews (CPG 4440). Scholarship is divided as regards the series on Philemon (CPG 4439).

[7] See P. Allen and W. Mayer, 'Chrysostom and the Preaching of Homilies in Series: A New Approach to the Twelve Homilies *In epistulam ad Colossenses* (CPG 4433)', forthcoming in *OCP*. For a recent example of work where the date and provenance of two of Chrysostom's treatises have been called into question see N. Adkin, 'The date of St. John Chrysostom's treatises on "subintroductae" ', *RBén* 102 (1992) 255-266. In the absence of texts of the exegetical series which have been established according to modern scientific principles, we need to be aware that many conclusions of a textual nature regarding these homilies (in particular those on the Pauline epistles) can only be tentative. On this problem see B. Goodall, *The Homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Letters of St. Paul to Titus and Philemon, Prolegomena to an Edition*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1979 (University of California Publications in Classical Studies 20) 1-5.

[8] Tillemont, *op. cit.*, 376.

[9] B. de Montfaucon, *S.P.N. Ioannis Chrysostomi opera omnia quae exstant uel eius nomine circumferuntur* XI, Paris 1718-1738, 188.

[10] J. Stilting, art. 'De S. Joanne Chrysostomo, episcopo Constantinopolitano et ecclesiae doctore, prope comana in Ponto, commentarius historicus', in *Acta Sanctorum Septembris* IV, Antwerp 1753, 495-496.

[11] C. Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time* I, Westminster, Maryland 1959, 299-300.

[12] *Ibid.*, 189 n. 29.

[13] H. Lietzmann, art. 'Johannes Chrysostomos', *Pauly-Wissowa* 9 (1916) 1818.

[14] Von Bonsdorff, *op. cit.*, 77-78.

[15] *Ibid.*, 79.

[16] *Ibid.*, 80.

[17] *Ibid.*, 80.

[18] *Ibid.*, 82.

[19] See for instance R. Kaczynski, *Das Wort Gottes in Liturgie und Alltag der Gemeinden des Johannes Chrysostomus*, Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1974 (Freiburger Theologische Studien 94) 129 n. 298; and J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops. Army, Church, and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom*. Oxford 1990, 172.

[20] *Patrology* III, 447-448.

[21] This is also the case with Kaczynski who at one point (see n. 19 above) concurs with von Bonsdorff, and at another, *ibid.*, 210 n. 688, states that the mention of "die Einsiedler in der Wüste" which occurs in homily 1 "läßt jedoch eher an Antiochien denken."

[22] PG 62,251 51-53: "Αν ταῦτα ποιῇ, καὶ ἐγὼ κατηγορῶ, καὶ οὐ φείδομαι, ἀλλ' ἀνάξιον αὐτὸν εἶναι τῆς ἱερωσύνης φημί.

[23] Von Bonsdorff, *op. cit.*, 77-78.

[24] Allen-Mayer, *op. cit.* (n. 7), in particular the section entitled 'Types of Evidence 1. Episcopal Tone'.

[25] Montfaucon, XI 188.

[26] Stilting, *op. cit.*, 496.

[27] PG 62,253 55-56: πατήρ εἰμι· πολλὰ καὶ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος οἱ πατέρες χαρίζονται τοῖς παισί, ... See Montfaucon, *loc. cit.*; Lietzmann, *loc. cit.*; von Bonsdorff, *op. cit.*, 78; and Quasten, *op. cit.*, 447.

[28] PG 62,251 56-252 2: ἀλλὰ περιέναι ἐχρῆν αὐτόν, καὶ προσαιτεῖν; ...'Αλλ' ὁ μὲν πατὴρ ὁ σαρκικὸς ἂν τοῦτο ποιῇ, αἰσχύνην τὸ πρᾶγμα ἡγῇ· ἂν δὲ ὁ πνευματικὸς ἀναγκάζηται τοῦτο ποιεῖν, οὐκ ἐγκαλύψῃ;

[29] The scholars who have assigned this series to Antioch are too numerous to list in full. For the major opinions see Tillemont, *op. cit.*, 628; Montfaucon, *op. cit.*, VII Praef.; Stilting, *op. cit.*, 487 ff.; Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, 1817; and von Bonsdorff, *op. cit.*, 14 ff.

[30] PG 57,385 25-26: σπλάγχνα γὰρ ἔχω πατρικά. Κἂν ἐπιπλήξω ποτέ, κηδόμενος τοῦτο ποιῶ.

[31] See T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*. Cambridge, Mass. and London 1981, 220-221 with literature.

[32] PG 62,295 note (a).

[33] PG 62,295 30-34.

[34] PG 62,295 44-46: Οὗτος δὲ ὁ νῦν κρατῶν οὐχὶ ἐξ οὗ τὸ διάδημα περιέθετο, ἐν πόνοις, ἐν κινδύνοις, ἐν λύπαις, ἐν ἀθυμίαις, ἐν συμφοραῖς, ἐν ἐπιβουλαῖς.

[35] PG 62,295 44-51.

[36] A comparable passage occurs in the treatise *Ad viduam iuniorem* (SC 138) 4.270-342, where the "present rulers" are to be identified as Gratian and Theodosius. In this passage the career of Theodosius to before 383 is described as follows: ἐξ οὗ τὸ διάδημα ἀνεδήσατο μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἐν πολέμοις διατρίβειν καὶ μάχαις καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν πλέον ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἀναλίσκεσθαι καὶ τοῖς παρὰ πάντων ὀνείδεσιν (294-297). This and the explicit mention of the war with the Goths which succeeds (297-309) make it clear that the reign of Theodosius had its own share of stress and misfortune. On the date of this work see B. Grillet and G.H. Ettlinger, *Jean Chrysostome: À une jeune veuve. Sur le mariage unique*. Paris 1968 (SC 138) 11-12.

[37] Von Bonsdorff, *op. cit.*, 80.

[38] PG 62,221 17-21: οἷον ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ ὑπάρχῳ ἂν ὑποτάττηται, ταπεινόφρων ἐστίν, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους κατέβη· ὁ μέντοι ὕπαρχος ἐὰν τοῦτο ποιῇ, οὐ ταπεινοφρονεῖ· πῶς γάρ; οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτόν.

[39] These range from "subordinate", "commander", "lieutenant", to the more specific "proconsul" or "prefect". LSJ s.v. ὕπαρχος.

[40] PG 62,217 7ai-219 51.

[41] Von Bonsdorff, *loc. cit.*

[42] On the value of this tool for Chrysostom studies see R. Taft, 'The authenticity of the Chrysostom anaphora revisited. Determining the authorship of liturgical texts by computer', *OCP* 56 (1990) 25-27.

[43] See H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule*. Tübingen 1904, 29-31 and 62-65. On the spread of Apollinarianism to Constantinople in general, see Lietzmann, *ibid.*, 31-32.

[44] See Lietzmann, *ibid.*, 1 ff.

[45] Theodore apparently wrote his *De incarnatione* refuting the Anomoeans, Eunomians and Apollinarists while still a presbyter of Antioch. See Quasten, *Patrology* III, 410-411

and literature. For a list of Theodoret's writings attacking Apollinaris and his teachings see Quasten, *ibid.*, 546-550.

[46] See Lietzmann, *ibid.*, 15 and 66.

[47] Von Bonsdorff, *loc. cit.*

[48] For a further reference to the presence of the basileus at the races in a homily of clear Antiochene provenance see *In illud: Vidi dominum* hom. 3 (PG 56,113 51-114 1).

[49] Stilting, *op. cit.*, 495. It extends for some four columns in the edition of Migne. For the length of *argumenta* to other series see PG 61,9-12 (*In ep. I ad Cor.*—2 coll.); PG 62,9-10 (*In ep. ad Eph.*—less than 1 col.); PG 62,501-504 (*In ep. I ad Tim.*—barely 1 col.); PG 62,701-704 (*In ep. ad Philemon*—a little more than 1 col.) and PG 64,9-14 (*In ep. ad Hebr.*—just over 3 coll.).

[50] For instance: Ὅπερ δὲ ἔφην καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ἐρῶ (PG 62,180 9-10); (ἴστε δέ, ὅτι πάσης τὸ πρᾶγμα κακίας μεστόν) (PG 62,180 12); Ἄκουε τῆς ἐπωφελοῦς παραινέσεως λεγούσης· (PG 62,180 47-48); Ἀλλὰ μὴ γένοιτο ταύτης ἀκοῦσαι ἡμᾶς ... (PG 62,182 36-37). See also PG 62,182 4-5. This is accompanied by a liberal use of the exhortatory 1st person pl. subjunctive (παρέχωμεν, μιμώμεθα etc.) and the usual comparisons with contemporary social practice (e.g. PG 62,181 3-5; 27-29).

[51] PG 62,182 40-43: ἧς γένοιτο πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτυχεῖν, χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, μεθ' οὗ τῷ Πατρί, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. On the association between doxology and homily see A. Olivar, *La predicación cristiana antigua*. Barcelona 1991 (Sección de teología y filosofía 189) 524-526.

[52] For the evidence see Olivar, *ibid.*, 902-939 with bibliography.

[53] On these developments see M. Cunningham, 'Preaching and the Community', in R. Morris (ed.), *Church and People in Byzantium*. Birmingham 1990, 29-47.

[54] PG 62,226 18-21: Ἆρα μέμνησθε, ὅτε ἔλεγον πρὸ τούτου, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῷ λαμβάνειν πολλὰ ἡ πλεονεξία δείκνυται, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ ὀλίγα.

[55] It is possible that Chrysostom is here referring to a homily delivered prior to the series on Philippians. Elsewhere he makes it clear that he will not excuse the audience's inability to recollect comments he has made four or five weeks before. See *In Heb.* hom. 4 (PG 63,37 7-52, in particular 45-47). Aside from Lent, at which time homilies were delivered with greater frequency, homilies were generally delivered twice a week (Saturday and Sunday). A homily delivered immediately prior to the series on Philippians would under these circumstances fall within a four to five week period. However, it is clear from the comment in homily 4 on Hebrews that, much as he wished it were otherwise, Chrysostom himself placed little reliance on the ability of audiences to remember. On the frequency of preaching at this period see Olivar, *op. cit.*, 641 ff.

[56] PG 62,227 5ai-228 17ai: Εἴρηται ἡμῖν τὰ περὶ τῶν αἱρετικῶν· εὔκαιρον δὴ λοιπὸν καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα εἰπεῖν. Ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τό, Οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο, ἁρπάσαι ἐστίν· ἡμεῖς ἐδείξαμεν, ὅτι πάντη ἔωλον καὶ ἄτοπον τοῦτο, ὅτι οὔτε εἰς ταπεινοφροσύνην τις ἐντεῦθεν παρακαλεῖ, οὔτε τὸν Θεὸν οὕτω θαυμάζει, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄνθρωπον.

[57] PG 62,223 22-28: ἐν γὰρ αὐτῷ εὐθέως τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ, Οὐχ ἁρπαγμόν, φησίν, ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ· ... Βούλομαι καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα προσθεῖναι, ἀλλὰ δέδοικα μὴ καταχώσωμεν ὑμῶν τὰς διανοίας. Τέως δὲ τὰ εἰρημένα μέμνησθε πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν ἐκείνων·

[58] A similar case of two homilies in which the passages exegeted overlap by a verse and in which the refutation of heretics is delayed to the following synaxis is that of homilies 2 and 3 on Colossians. Here also the beginning of the second homily contains strong verbal echoes of a passage in the first. In this instance the two homilies are clearly preached

on successive occasions and therefore before the same audience and at the same location. For further discussion see the section entitled 'The 12 homilies *In ep. ad Colossenses*: A case-study' in Allen-Mayer, *op. cit.* (n. 7).

[59] PG 62,261 13-15: "Οπερ γὰρ πολλάκις εἶπον οὐ τῷ μέτρῳ τῶν διδομένων ὁ Θεὸς προσέχει, ἀλλὰ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν παρεχόντων.

[60] See in particular the conclusions drawn at PG 62,198 21 ff.

[61] See for instance *In ep. II ad Tim.* hom.3 (PG 62,617-618, in particular 617 32-36).

[62] PG 62,263 32-17ai.

[63] It is interesting to observe that if one ignored the possible link with homily 10 on Philippians, homily 11 would in fact fit neatly into a succession of homilies against the Anomoeans.

[64] See n. 21.

[65] PG 62,184 53-58: "Ωστε εἰ θαυμάζετε τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις, τοὺς τὸν ἀγγελικὸν ἀνῃρημένους βίον, ... ἔνεστιν ὑμῖν ἑτέρως αὐτοῖς κοινωνῆσαι, τῷ διακονεῖν, τῷ θεραπεύειν.

[66] PG 62,185 20: "Αν μετὰ τοσαύτης προθυμίας διακονῶμεν τοῖς ἁγίοις, ...

[67] PG 62,185 11-12, also 1-2 where there life is summed up as: τὸν ἀπεσκληκότα βίον καὶ τραχὺν καὶ ἀκριβῆ.

[68] PG 62,188 29-33: εἴ τίς ἐστι τῶν προεστώτων Ἐκκλησίας ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ ζῶν, καὶ μηδενὸς δεόμενος, κἂν ἅγιος ᾖ, μὴ δῷς, ἀλλὰ προτίμησον ἐκείνου τὸν ἐν ἀδείᾳ ὄντα, κἂν μὴ οὕτως ᾖ θαυμαστός.

[69] Montfaucon, VII Praef. (of the series on Matthew); XI Praef. (of the series on Ephesians).

[70] Stilting, *op. cit.*, 490 (of the series on Matthew): "Hæc autem commendatio monachorum montes incolentium congruit Antiochiæ, in cujus vicinia multi monachi eo tempore montes incolebant, præsertim cum Sanctus auditores hortetur, ut monachos accedant, eorumque mores considerent. At nescimus, tot monachos prope Constantinopolim fuisse tempore Chrysostomi; nec monachos tantopere ibidem ab eo celebratos novimus."

[71] Von Bonsdorff, *op. cit.*, 15 (of the series on Matthew): "In der Nähe von A:chia wohnten wie bekannt zahlreiche Mönche, deren Leben Chrys. durch eigene Erfahrung genau kannte [Cf. Palladius, Vita Chrys. 5, XIII 17AB], während es in der Umgebung K:pels vor und in den Episkopatsjahren des Chrys. keine so bedeutende Mönchskolonien gegeben hat." For similar comments see also 37,65.

[72] E.g. Baur, *op. cit.*, I 303 n.50a (of the series on Romans): "Moreover, he speaks in Hom.25 (60,635) of monks who dwell in the mountains, which again could only refer to Antioch."; and Quasten, *op. cit.*, 449-450 (of the series on I and II Timothy).

[73] P. Brown, 'The rise and function of the Holy Man in late antiquity', *JRS* 61 (1971) 80-101, in particular 83-84.

[74] On this see A. Vööbus, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient* I. *The Origin of Asceticism. Early Monasticism in Persia*, Louvain 1958 (CSCO 184) 104-108; and A.J. van der Aalst, 'A l'origine du monachisme syrien. Les 'ihidaye' chez Aphraat', 315-324 in *Fructus Centesimus*, Mélanges offerts à Gerard J.M. Bartelink, Steenbrugge 1989 (Instrumenta Patristica XIX).

[75] PG 62,250 15-50.

[76] PG 62,250 46-47.

[77] PG 58,651 45-654 27.

[78] Apart from the homily on Matthew already mentioned, see for instance *In Matt.* hom.

72 (*al.* 73) (PG 58,671 9-672 56); *In ep. I ad Tim.* hom. 14 (PG 62,574 55-64); and *In ep. ad Heb.* hom. 10 (PG 63,87 53-88 14).

[79] *In Matt.* hom. 72 (*al.* 73) (PG 58,672 48-50): Λύχνοι πανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς εἰσιν οὗτοι λάμποντες· τείχη ταῖς πόλεσι περικάθηνται. This is contingent upon whether the text as presented by Montfaucon is reliable. See n. 7 above.

[80] G. Dagron, 'Les moines et la ville. Le monachisme à Constantinople jusqu'au concile de Chalcédoine (451)', *Travaux et Mémoires* 4 (1970) 229-276, especially 258 n. 148.

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REVIEWS

James H. Charlesworth with R.E. Whitaker, L.G. Hickerson, S.R.A. Starbuck, L.T. Stuckenbruck, *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls* (The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project), J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen-Westminster/John Knox Press, Louisville 1991. xxi and 529 pp., cloth DM 248.—.

This concordance is an unusual one. It does not parse the forms found in the Qumran manuscripts according to roots, but "all concorded forms remain unanalyzed, i.e. reflect what previous editors have transcribed from the manuscripts themselves". Consequently, even preformatives, afformatives, "inseparable" prepositions and suffixes are not separated from the root forms, e.g. *wbyt* ("and the house") is listed under *wbyt*, and *kbyt* ("as the house") under *kbyt*, not under *byt* ("house"). The entries are presented within their immediate context, but unfortunately no clear distinction is made between Hebrew and Aramaic manuscripts. Next to this concordance, the editor intends, however, to publish a companion volume as soon as the new critical editions and translations of non-biblical Qumran texts within the framework of the Princeton Project are completed, a concordance which will be analytical and based on these editions.

It must be regretted that the present concordance has a number of serious flaws. That the editor decided to base it on the best editions now available, goes without saying but the selections he made cannot always be labelled as lucky ones. One may doubt whether Sokoloff's edition of the Targum of Job constitutes a firm basis for concording the contents of this manuscript, although the *editio princeps* of the scroll can certainly be improved. But mentioning Allegro's edition of 4Q158-186 in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, volume V, as the best edition of these texts comes as an incomprehensible surprise in view of the major deficiencies of this publication, dealt with almost exhaustively by J. Strugnell in *Revue de Qumrân* 7/26 (1970), 163-276. J. Carmignac's edition of the War Scroll (1QM) should have been compared to B. Jongeling's critical treatment of the manuscript in his dissertation *Le rouleau de la guerre*, Assen 1962. The three PAM 43.366 fragments published by Yadin are in Wise's opinion not (as is suggested) fragments of the Temple Scroll but of one of its sources.

Charlesworth claims that the concordance covers all the sectarian

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texts published before 1990. He does not tell us what 'sectarian' in his opinion implies, but there is at least a good deal of inconsistency in the selection of the texts which are included in the concordance: 1QNoah (1Q19) is represented but 4Q534 (which belongs to the Book of Noah) is lacking. 2Q26, a fragment of the Book of Giants, as well as 6Q8 (equally belonging to this writing; for it the siglum 6QapGen ar should not be used anymore) is represented but one looks in vain for the Enoch texts (including the 4Q fragments of the Book of Giants) published by J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, Oxford 1976. Fragments of the Book of Jubilees (with the exception of 4Q482) are not included. The same goes for 4Q fragments of the Rule of the Community and the Damascus Document and a number of other texts.

Apart from these deficiencies, the usefulness of the concordance seems to be limited. It is true that it would be unfair to expect that it meets the requirements of a concordance in the usual sense of the word. The fact that the editor intends to publish such a concordance, makes clear that the present one pursues another aim, in Charlesworth's own words: "to provide data for Qumran scholars who need to make textual decisions and who intend to be consistent in translation". But even so its value is confined to moderate limits. One may admit that the concordance can sometimes be helpful in determining the exact wording in hitherto unpublished texts or in supplementing existing lacunae. It must, however, be doubted whether it furthers the consistency in translation to a great extent, since a graphic concordance due to its nature lists unanalyzed forms. If one wants to spot all the occurrences of a certain word in view of consistency of translation, one must in case of a graphic concordance realize which unanalyzed forms are possible (at the risk of forgetting some of them) and go through quite a number of pages to check where the word in question is found. In such a case the consultation of Kuhn's concordance (and its "Nachträge", *Revue de Qumrân* 14 (1963), 163-234), the appendices to the hitherto published volumes of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, to Yadin's edition of the Temple Scroll, to E.M. Schuller's edition of 4Q380-381 and to C. Newsom's edition of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice as well as the concordance to 11QMelchizedek (cf. H. Richter in *Revue de Qumrân* 12 (1985/1987), 515-518) in combination with the lists drawn up by U. Dahmen (*Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 4 (1991), 215-235) and C. Martone (*Henoch* 15 (1993), 160-206) has (although equally not particularly convenient) the advantage that one does not overlook

occurrences of a certain term. In addition, this procedure does not seem to be more time-devouring than to find one's way in a graphic concordance like the present one.

In conclusion, I regret to say that this work hardly can be valued as a major tool for the study of the Qumran texts.

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Ralph Hennings, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Augustinus und Hieronymus und ihr Streit um den Kanon des Alten Testaments und die Auslegung von Gal. 2,11-14* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 21). E.J. Brill, Leiden-New York-Köln, 1994. 396 S.

Da der Briefwechsel zwischen Augustinus und Hieronymus in der Forschung viel Beachtung gefunden hat, konnte Hennings' Untersuchung—die erste ihm gewidmete Monographie—auf zahlreichen Forschungsergebnissen aufbauen. Die in dieser Korrespondenz behandelten Themen, über die Augustinus und Hieronymus vorwiegend unterschiedliche Auffassungen hatten, hängen mit der Frage nach dem Kanon des Alten Testaments und der Auslegung von *Gal.* 2,11-14 zusammen. Um einen besseren Einblick in die Hintergründe der Diskussion zu gewinnen, hat Hennings die Kontroversen zwischen den beiden Kirchenvätern ausführlich traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht.

Es handelt sich bekanntlich um 18 Briefe. Ausserdem sind einige Briefe verlorengegangen. Die Korrespondenz erstreckt sich über den Zeitraum von 395 bis zum Tod des Hieronymus im Jahre 420, ist jedoch meistens zwischen 415 und 420 entstanden.

Hennings Studie fängt mit der Bearbeitung der historischen Probleme des Briefwechsels und der Klärung der Datierungsfragen an. Ein ganzer Abschnitt ist weiter der Überlieferungsgeschichte und der Frage, ob Augustinus und Hieronymus ihre Briefe selbst abgefasst und veröffentlicht haben, gewidmet worden. Zu den beiden Hauptthemen der klar gegliederten Untersuchung bietet der Verfasser eine ausführliche traditionsgeschichtliche Analyse, in der er darlegt, in welchen Punkten die griechische Auslegung von der lateinischen abweicht. Ein interessantes Ergebnis ist dies, dass der Einfluss der Porphyrius auf die griechische Auslegung der beiden Themen bedeutend war und dass Augustinus, in

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stärkerem Masse als bisher angenommen wurde, von seinen lateinischen Vorgängern abhängig ist.

Wir möchten auf die Interpretation einiger Texte etwas näher eingehen. Unrichtig ist die Formulierung auf S. 187: »... behauptet Ambrosius, dass trotz Übersetzungen der *sensus* des Bibeltextes gleichgeblieben sei«. Sie beruht auf *Expl. in Ps.* 37,49: *Sensus ergo nobis spectandus est semper, quem etiam ipsum frequens translatio ex Hebraeo in Graecum, ex Graeco in Latinum attenuare consuevit.* Ambrosius beabsichtigt hier jedoch zu sagen, dass der *sensus* durch wiederholte Übersetzungen geschwächt ist (*attenuare*: »verringern«, »beeinträchtigen«; von Cicero z.B. neben *inminuere* verwendet). Die unrichtige Interpretation wirkt in der Schlussfolgerung weiter (S. 189): »Die Behauptung des Ambrosius, dass der *sensus* des Textes trotz der zweifachen Übersetzung gleichgeblieben sei, zeigt deutlich«, usw.

Eine Fehlinterpretation findet sich auch S. 209, wo der Autor aus Aug., *De doctr. chr.* 2,16 (*Qui enim scripturas ex Hebraea lingua in Graecam verterunt, numerari possunt, Latini autem interpretes nullo modo*) folgert, Augustinus meine hier, »dass er niemanden kenne, der vom Hebräischen ins Lateinische übersetze«. In Hennings' Sicht ignoriert diese Äusserung die Arbeit des Hieronymus und steht sie in Widerspruch zu der früheren Aufforderung in *Ep.* 28,2, dieser möge nicht mehr aus dem Hebräischen übersetzen. Man soll diese Stelle jedoch etwa folgendermassen wiedergeben: »Denn diejenigen, die die Schriften aus der hebräischen Sprache ins Griechische übersetzt haben, kann man zählen (nl. die LXX, und die jüdischen Übersetzer Aquila, Symmachus und Theodotion), aber die lateinischen Übersetzer keineswegs« (kurz vorher hat Augustinus bereits von einer *Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas* gesprochen).

Auf S. 283 finden wir eine Aussage, die auf Hieronymus, *Comm. in Ep. ad Gal.* 3,24 fusst: *iam non sumus sub paedagogo, tutor a nobis curatorque et legitimum aetatis tempus inveniens, veri Dei filius nominatur* (von Hennings in Anm. 86 deformiert: *legitimum aetatis tempus inventes, veri Dei filii nominatur*), *cui nos generat non lex abolita sed mater fides, quae est in Christo Jesu.* Das heisst: Gegenüber dem unwirksam gewordenen Gesetz des Alten Testaments steht der Glaube (unsere Mutter) an Christus. Hennings hat diese Stelle nicht richtig erfasst: »Hieronymus versteht das Gesetz als vorbereitendes Instrument Gottes vor dem Kommen Christi. Er bezeichnet es als *paedagogus Christi* und kann es in dieser Funktion sogar als Mutter des Glaubens (!) an Jesus Christus bezeichnen«.

Dass Athanasius zum ersten Mal das Adjektiv »kanonisch« im Zusammenhang mit dem Schriftkanon verwende (S. 165), ist aus sprachlicher Sicht eine unrichtige Formulierung, da in den dafür angeführten Zitaten sich nur das Verb κανονίζειν findet, das Adverb κανονικῶς zwar vereinzelt bei ihm vorkommt, aber eben das Adjektiv in seinen Schriften völlig fehlt.

Sehr störend sind die vielen Ungenauigkeiten im Text, die namentlich die griechischen und lateinischen Zitate bis zur Unverständlichkeit entstellen. Einige Beispiele mögen hier genügen. S. 214, Anm. 367 *antiquus recepit ecclesiae*; man lese *antiquitus recepit ecclesia.* Auf derselben Seite sagt der Autor: »den Schriften des Neuen Testaments, von denen er (sc. Augustinus) als *propriae nostrae libri* spricht«. Richtiger wäre hier *proprie nostrae litterae*, da die Formulierung auf *De civ. Dei* 20,24 (*in litteris quidem sacris, quae proprie nostrae sunt*) zurückgeht.

Auf. S. 149, Anm. 78 (Iren., *Adv. haer.* 3,21,3) lese man προετύπωσεν statt προτύπωσεν und πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κύριον statt πρὸ τὸν κύριον; nach ἡμῖν fehlt καὶ γὰρ ἐτήρησεν ἡμῖν.

Im Zitat Tertull., *Adv. Marcionem* 1,202-3 (S. 239, Anm. 81) korrigiere man *trepidus* in *trepidans, reprehendum* in *reprehendendum* und *Iudaeus quasi Iudaeis* in *Iudaeis quasi Iudaeus.* Weiter: S. 287, Anm. 101 *reclamante voce = reclamante mundo libera voce*; S. 239, Anm. 83 *variae convictum = variare convictum.*

So ist die erste Monographie, in der die Diskussion zwischen Augustinus und Hieronymus—und zwar in verdienstvoller Weise—thematisch geordnet behandelt wird, leider durch eine Unzahl von Nachlässigkeiten verunstaltet.

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Susanna Elm, »*Virgins of God.*« *The Making of Ascetism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford Classical Monographs). Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994, 444 S. £ 45.—.

Die asketischen und monastischen Bewegungen in der Kirche der ersten Jahrhunderte dürfen sich zur Zeit eines ausgesprochenen Interesses erfreuen. Dass die Lebensweise der Asketinnen und *virgines* in ihrer historischen Entwicklung und in ihrem Verhältnis zu den männlichen Asketen eben bei den Frauen unter den Wissenschaftlern ein beliebtes Thema bilden würde, war von vornherein zu erwarten.

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In ihrer Studie *Virgins of God* will die Verfasserin die Mönchswelt aus einer neuen Perspektive untersuchen. Sie betrachtet es als unrichtig, dass die Historiographie des frühen Mönchtums sich vorwiegend mit den Hauptfiguren und den normativen Schriften beschäftigt. In ihrer reich dokumentierten Untersuchung, die sich auf die Gebiete von Ägypten und Kleinasien im vierten Jahrhundert beschränkt, fragt sie sich daher an erster Stelle, was die weniger beachteten oder gar von den kirchlichen Behörden ausgeschlossenen Schriften uns lehren und was sie zur Verdeutlichung der Entwicklung der monastischen Normen beitragen. Dass die Quellen über die Asketinnen verhältnismässig spärlich fliessen, hat dazu beigetragen, dass die historische Entwicklung des weiblichen Asketismus bislang im Schatten geblieben ist. Daher wurde mühsam versucht, aus zerstreuten Fragmenten ein Mosaik zusammenzusetzen.

Elms Untersuchung, gut formuliert und reich an feinsinnigen Bemerkungen, verarbeitet die Quellen in adäquater Weise. Die Verfasserin versucht Verbindungslinien zwischen den zerstreuten Testimonia zu ziehen. Dabei werden interessante Dokumente über die Asketinnen (wie Bemerkungen in den Briefen des Evagrius Ponticus und die wenigen *Apophthegmata*, die wir von 'Wüstenmüttern' besitzen) ins Licht gerückt.

In einigen Fällen scheinen mir die Quellen forciert zu sein, wie in der Behandlung der Wendung ἀνδρεῖαι γυναῖκες als Ausgangspunkt für eine Betrachtung über das 'Männliche' und das 'Weibliche' in der Askese. Eine derartige Wendung (die bereits bei Aristoteles vorkommt) scheint mir kaum über ein Wortspiel hinauszugehen, wobei die Bedeutung von ἀνδρεῖος abgeschwächt ist. Es fehlen weiter die Belege, um γυναικωνῖτις als *terminus technicus* für Frauenkloster zu bezeichnen (S. 97[76]: »From the beginning of the 5th century it takes on the technical meaning of 'convent' «). Die Stelle in der *Vita Macrinae* des Gregor von Nyssa kann ebensowenig als solche gelten wie jene bei Theodoretus von Cyrrhus, worauf die Verfasserin verweist (auch die einzige im Patristic Greek Lexicon). Sind derart spärliche Belege an sich schon unzureichend, um von einem *terminus technicus* reden zu können, dazu kommt, dass man auch die stilistischen Gewohnheiten des Theodoretus ins Auge zu fassen hat, der bekanntlich der spezifisch christlichen Terminologie gegenüber öfters eine eigenwillige Stellung einnimmt und aus stilistischen Gründen nicht selten alltägliche Wörter durch gewähltere ersetzt, um dadurch seinem Stil ein mehr klassizistisches Gepräge zu verleihen. Das ist offenbar

in der angeführten Stelle Theodoretus, *Hist. relig.* 9,12 (*Sources Chrét.* 234, S. 428) auch der Fall: Im Kontext gibt es mehrere solcher Manierismen; einige Zeilen weiter bezeichnet Theodoretus das Frauenkloster als τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν καταγώγιον und die Klostergemeinschaft gar als συμμορία.

Ist die Deutung von μιγάς als Bezeichnung von »ascetics living in common, as opposed to the solitary ascetic, ἄμικτος« richtig, so entbehrt doch die anschliessende Bemerkung jeder Begründung (S. 210: »Without stretching the meaning too far, what prevents us from interpreting *migas* as describing Homoiousian ascetic communities, where *men* and *women* lived 'mixed together'?«; vgl. S. 358 *migadoi* (man lese *migades*): »ascetics living within an urban setting«). Das gilt ebenfalls für die anschliessenden Bemerkungen über Basilius' Organisation des Mönchwesens. Auch die Interpretation von θορυβῶδες mit »prone to turbulences« (zum Verursachen von Verwirrung geneigt) ist weniger glücklich, zumal sie mit »vocal in doctrinal questions« verbunden wird (S. 209-210; vgl. S. 210: »likely to engage in doctrinal disputes or vociferous 'turbulences' with regard to clerical appointments«). Der Terminus bezieht sich vielmehr auf die von aussen kommenden θόρυβοι des βίος πρακτικός oder κοινωνικός, welche daran hindern, sich ganz der Kontemplation zu widmen und so die ἀταραξία zu erreichen.

Dass Athanasius' Haltung den ägyptischen Asketen gegenüber namentlich durch etwaige Effekte auf die Mönche, die in Alexandrien selbst lebten, bestimmt war (»Athanasius' true concern, Alexandria, clearly shaped his dealings with Coptic ascetism. He was not primarily interested in Egypt for its own sake nor motivated by a desire to regulate and structure Egyptian ascetism—until and unless the Egyptian ascetics had an effect upon his urban ascetic support group«, S. 370), scheint mir durch die angeführten Texte keineswegs erwiesen zu sein.

Die Transskriptionen griechischer Wörter weisen nicht selten ungenauigkeiten auf. So lesen wir S. 27 und 28 *bigamoi* statt *digamoi*; S. 47, 49, 50, 134, 441 und 443 *syneisaktes* statt *syneisaktoi*; S. 49 und 51 *syneisaktē* statt *syneisaktos*; S. 86 *oikētoi* statt *oiketai*; S. 157 und 441 *syzyge* statt *syzygos*; S. 186 *agapētes* statt *agapētai*; S. 208, 209, 210, 354 und 438 *migados bios* statt *migas bios*; S. 227 *pater eremitorum* statt *pater eremitarum*; S. 246 *pneumatika* statt *pneumatikē*; S. 247 *presbyteroi katēchētēs* statt *presbyteroi katēchētai*; S. 249 *gynaiakai* statt *gynaikeiai*; S. 330 und 436 *gynaikai* statt *gynaikes*; S. 340 und 341 *enkrates* statt plur. *enkrateis*; S. 358, 368, 370 und 438 *migadoi* statt *migades*.

So weist diese übersichtlich gegliederte und gedanklich gut durchgear-

beitete Studie, ein wertvoller Beitrag zur Geschichte der christlichen Askese, einige Ungenauigkeiten auf, die ihren Wert doch einigermassen beeinträchtigen.

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Markus Vinzent, *Asterius von Kappadokien. Die theologischen Fragmente.* Einleitung, kritischer Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, Volume XX) Leiden-New York-Köln, 1993, XVI. 375 S.

Die hier im Druck vorliegende theologische Dissertation, die am Institut für Alte Kirchengeschichte der Kath.-Theologischen Fakultät in München entstanden ist, will die dogmengeschichtliche Bedeutung des Asterius (= A.) Sophista, vom Autor wegen seiner Heimat »der Kappadokier« genannt, als Systematiker und »Vordenker für Arius« (S. 22) aufweisen. Dazu bietet sie eine Edition der bei Euseb von Kaisareia und Athanasius (= Ath.) von Alexandrien bewahrten »theologischen Fragmente« des A., wobei der Begriff eines Fragments weit gefaßt wird, sofern nicht nur unter dem Namen des A. überlieferte Zitate, sondern auch Referate und Aussagen, die in den Quellen den Anhängern des Euseb von Nikomedien, Arius oder allgemein den Arianern zugeschrieben werden, in die Edition von 77 meist recht kurzen Texten (S. 82-141) aufgenommen wurden. Dabei sieht der Autor hier zurecht von den Psalmhomilien (CPG 2815) und damit von der Frage nach deren Verfasser (S. 7-9) ab. Der bei weitem umfangreichste Teil (S. 145-326) besteht aus einem Kommentar zu den edierten Fragmenten, dessen systematische Absicht unverkennbar ist. Vorbereitet wird diese Darstellung durch eine Einführung in »das theologische System« des A. (S. 38-71). Für den Zusammenhang wichtig ist hier vor allem der Versuch eines Vergleichs mit Arius' Theologie (S. 63-71). Nun ist es nicht von ungefähr, daß der Autor »das theologische System« des A. der Edition und dem Kommentar vorausschickt und nicht als eine Schlußbetrachtung vorlegt. Denn er greift bei der Interpretation der Fragmente immer wieder auf diesen systematischen Teil zurück, um sie in ein Ganzes einzuordnen. Für den Leser heißt dies jedoch, daß er an diesen Stellen des Kommentars prüfen muß, ob keine zirkuläre Argumentation vorliegt. Kompliziert wird ein solches Unternehmen für den Leser durch die Anordnung der Texte

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nach 14 Einzelthemen, ohne daß jeweils von gewiß authentischen Aussagen ausgegangen wird, um dann erst »vermutlich authentische« Texte (d.h. *dubia*) und Referate einzuführen. Sieht man von den bei Euseb von Kaisareia in Zitaten des Markell von Ankyra überlieferten Aussagen des theologischen Gegners von Markell ab, die man im allgemeinen zurecht A. zuschreiben kann, auch wenn dieser nicht ausdrücklich genannt wird, so dürfte dies für die meisten der 47 aus Ath. angeführten Texte kontrovers sein und bleiben. Sicher von A. sind aus *Contra Arianos* (= *C.A.*) *I-III* nur die Fragmente 2, 19, 32-33 und 38, aus *De synodis* (*Syn.*) einzig die Texte 14-16 und 23 sowie aus beiden genannten Quellen die Zitate 64 und 66, die »beiden Kronzeugen für die Theologie des Asterius« (S. 307). Aus gutem Grund kann man hier Fragment 77 hinzufügen. Ansonsten hängt die Frage der Authentizität an der Tragkraft der Argumente des Autors. So wird z.B. bei Fragm. 20 der Hinweis auf die Frage des Ath. »Πῶς οὐ δείκνυται τούτων πολυκέφαλος πανουργία;« kaum überzeugen, auch wenn in *Syn.* 18,2, ed. Opitz (= O.) 245,21, A. als πολυκέφαλος σοφιστής eingeführt wird. Nebenbei deckt die zitierte Frage mehr ab als den Text von Fragm. 20. Wenn Ath. wie z.B. in Fragm. 26 festhält, daß diese Aussage auch schriftlich bei »Euseb (v. Nikom.) und Arius sowie A.« vorliegt, dann zeigt dies zwar, daß es sich hierbei um eine in der ersten Generation der Arianer geläufige Auffassung handelt, aber was A. präzis dazu gesagt hat, wird man aus ihr allein nicht belegen können, auch wenn eine ähnliche Aussage (Fragm. 27) in *De decretis Nicaenae synodi* mit dem Hinweis abgeschlossen wird: »Denn auch dies hat A., der Opferer, geschrieben, Arius aber hat es abgeschrieben und an seine Anhänger weitergegeben« (8,1, O. 7,20-21). Analoges gilt für Fragm. 34 und 46. Selbst wenn Is. 1,2 zitiert wird und diese Stelle nach dem Zeugnis des Akakius v. Kaisareia »zwischen A. und Markell verhandelt worden ist«, dann sollte man darin nicht ohne weiteres einen Hinweis sehen, daß ein solches Fragm. von A. stammt (Fragm. 31: S. 213-214). Hier hilft auch der Verweis auf Fragm. 45 und 74 (S. 214, Anm. 39) bzw. 72 (S. 215) nicht weiter. Denn erstgenanntes ist eigentlich kein Fragment, sondern eine Schöpfung des Autors: Der Brief Alexanders von Alexandrien an die Thessaloniker und Ath. (*C.A.* I 37) stimmen einzig in den Worten γέγραπται γάρ (Z. 2) und dem Zitat aus Ps. 44,8 (Z. 16-17) überein! Ansonsten zeigt der Text nur, daß die Arianer sich für die Deutung der Gottessohnschaft auf Is. 1,2 beriefen. Ferner liegt zwar in Fragm. 74 eine Zusammenstellung von Schriftzitaten vor, aber Is. 1,2 wird nicht erwähnt; und die Zuwei-

sung an A. ist willkürlich. Denn hinsichtlich der Texte 18, 30, 40-42, 51 und 74 wagt der Rez. zu bezweifeln, daß gegen L. Abramowski der Nachweis gelungen ist, *C.A. III* argumentiere nur gegen eine einzige arianische Schrift und diese stamme von A. Entscheidend für die künftige Diskussion (und für die Zuweisung der Fragm. 43, 63, 65, 67-68, 70 und 73) wird sein, ob sich Arius und A. tatsächlich dadurch unterscheiden lassen, daß (1) Arius »Vater« und »Sohn« korrelativ, A. aber nicht korrelativ denke und daß (2) A. »den gezeugten Logos (die gezeugte Weisheit und Kraft) Gottes« vom »ewigen Logos (der ewigen Weisheit und Kraft) 'des' Gottes« unterscheide, nicht aber Arius (S. 286-287 mit S. 66-67). Ersteres (1) hat schon Th. A. Kopecek vertreten. Die Entscheidung hängt an der Interpretation von Arius' Thalia (in *Syn.* 15, O. 243,2), wozu R.D. Williams bemerkt: 'Father' cannot provide an exhaustive account of what God is as such. To be Father is, *as it happens*, an identifying and thus inalienable characteristic of God, but it is not part of the 'essential' definition of God, since God as such, being self-subsistent, cannot be defined as to *what* he is by reference to anything else. So 'Father' and 'Son' are not, *in divinis*, mutually definitory: they name two individuals whose essential properties are different« (The Logic of Arianism, in: JthSt n.s. 34 [1983] 61; zu »essential properties« und damit zur Bedeutung von ἴδιος bei Arius vgl. ebd., 58-62). Ein eindeutig für A. gesicherter Text, der von Arius' Sicht abweicht, ist dem Rez. nicht aufgefallen. Der zweite genannte Unterschied (= 2) bezieht sich auf Fragm. 64 und 66, die »beiden Kronzeugen« (S. 307) für das theologische System des A. Hat Arius diese Unterscheidung tatsächlich nicht übernommen? Es geht bei dieser Frage um Details, die im Rahmen einer Rezension nicht untersucht werden können. Im Blick auf den Satz ἡ σοφία τῇ σοφίᾳ σοφοῦ ὑπῆρξε σοφοῦ θεοῦ θελήσει in Fragm. 65 möchte der Rez. nur fragen, wie sich inhaltlich die Aussage der Thalia ἡ σοφία σοφία ὑπῆρξε σοφοῦ θεοῦ θελήσει (*Syn.* 15, O. 243,5) vom Fragm. 65 unterscheidet. *Lectio facilior* ist der Text der Thalia: »Die Weisheit trat als Weisheit durch den Willen des weisen Gottes ins Dasein«, nämlich als gezeugte Weisheit und nicht als die ewige Weisheit Gottes. Folgt daraus, daß Arius im Unterschied zu A. keine ewige Weisheit Gottes gelehrt hat? Sollte man gute Gründe dafür geltend machen können, daß die *lectio difficilior* mit dem doppelten Dativ auch sachgemäß ist, dann wäre in der Thalia σοφίᾳ zu schreiben. Doch vorläufig sieht der Rez. keinen Grund, die *lectio difficilior* als *lectio originalis* und nicht als Mißverständnis anzusetzen. Wie dem aber auch sei, Arius scheint in der Thalia

die Lehre von einer doppelten — ewigen und gezeugten — Weisheit nicht auszuschließen. Nun wirkt sich die Unterscheidung zwischen den Theologien des Arius und A. bei den meisten Fragmenten kaum auf die Interpretation aus, so daß dieser weitgehend zugestimmt werden kann. Nur zur theologischen Bildlehre des A. scheinen zwei Bemerkungen angebracht. Im Ausgang von Fragm. 13 betont der Autor den Gedanken der Abwesenheit des Abgebildeten (ὁ θεός; Vater) im Bild (ὁ λόγος; Sohn) als einer inneren Konsequenz der Lehre von den beiden Hypostasen (S. 177-179; vgl. S. 45-46). Doch dürfte diese Deutung den Sinn der Aussage nicht treffen. Denn zum einen werden hier (wie auch z.B. in Fragm. 52) dem A. Worte des Markell, wenn auch nur »mit einer gewissen Plausibilität« (S. 180), in den Mund gelegt. Zum anderen wird übersehen, daß es sich hier wohl um einen Vergleich mit den Kaiserbildern, genauer mit den bei Regierungsantritt ins Reich gesandten *imagines laureatae,* handelt, wie Akakius von Kaisareia zum Zusammenhang bezeugt (Epiphanius, Panarion 72,7,2 [GCS] III 261,10-14). Zu Details vgl. man K. Seibt, Die Theologie des Markell von Ankyra (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, 59) Berlin-New York, 1994, 335; 337; 480-484. Die »Abbildhaftigkeit« des Sohnes (unter Voraussetzung der »Zwei-Logoi-Lehre«: des gezeugten Logos) wird vom Autor des öfteren gegen die Lehre der »Teilgabe vom Ungewordenen« bzw. der »Teilnahme an diesem« gestellt, wobei Teilgabe und Teilnahme/-habe im Kontext identische Begriffe zu sein scheinen und im Gegensatz zur Abbildung »Stufungen« zulassen. Beides, Abbildhaftigkeit und Teilgabe/-nahme/-habe, implizieren keine Wesensbeziehung, sondern gründen in des Vaters Gnade. Während Teilgabe in mit dem Namen des A. verbundenen Fragmenten erscheint, ist dem Rez. der Teilhabegedanke in diesen nicht aufgefallen. Hier gilt wie für Arius: »we do not have any hard evidence that Arius used the language of participation in grace« (R.D. Williams, a.a.O., 74) — trotz R.C. Gregg und D.E. Groh, die letztlich nur auf die Aussage der Thalia verweisen können (καὶ ἤνεγκεν εἰς υἱὸν ἑαυτῷ τόνδε τεκνοποιήσας [*Syn.* 15, O. 242,15]), indem sie mit »He promoted him to be a son« übersetzen, nicht aber mit »He bore him as a son«. Hiermit hängt eine weitere Frage zusammen: Inwiefern ist in der Soteriologie des A., im Gedanken der Vermittlung als Teilgabe an der Abbildhaftigkeit des Erstabgebildeten, der Mittler so gesehen, daß er als Mensch (!) für Menschen empfängt, d.h. weitergibt (S. 55; vgl. S. 52; 259), so daß dieser durch den begnadeten Wesensgleichen ein Begnadeter wird (S. 259). Sieht man einmal von der Frage der Authentizität der

Fragmente ab, so scheint dies in keinem, auch nicht in jenen, die mit dem Titel »Der Sohn ist Mensch - Zeugnisse der Schrift« eingeführt werden (Fragm. 46-51), ausgesagt zu sein. Impliziert ὅμοιος (Fragm. 46; 47) einen Vergleich mit menschlicher oder mit geschöpflicher Existenz? — Der Autor hat an mancher Stelle eine Konjektur vorgeschlagen, ohne den Rez. von deren Notwendigkeit überzeugen zu können, auch nicht, wenn er ἴδιον zu ἀίδιον verbessert. Bei dieser Konjektur geht es um das Gesamtverständnis der Theologie des A. (vgl. Fragm. 64, Z. 4; 65, Z. 1 [zu schreiben ist jedoch ἀίδιον, nicht ἀιδίαν]; 70, Z. 4 [zwei Mal]; 72, Z. 2). — Es liegt im Genus einer Rezension, daß Einwände im Vordergrund stehen. Dies sollte aber nicht den Blick darauf verstellen, daß mit dieser Untersuchung, insbes. mit ihrem Programm, das theologische Denken eines Vertreters der ersten Generation der Arianer im Unterschied zu Arius oder zu Standardauffassung des frühen Arianimus zu bestimmen, Neues für die künftige Diskussion erschlossen wurde. In Detailfragen bietet diese Dissertation sehr viel Anregendes; mit ihrem systematischen Anliegen — nebenbei bemerkt, ein Anliegen, das für die Publikationen des genannten Münchener Instituts bis in die 80er Jahre nicht kennzeichnend war — sucht sie zurecht die verschiedenen Details in einen inneren Zusammenhang zu setzen und stellt in dieser Hinsicht eine spekulative Leistung dar, die sich an die historisch überlieferten Einzelheiten gebunden weiß.

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Catherine Osborne, *Eros Unveiled: Plato and the God of Love.* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994.

This is a remarkable book. The main title sounds cryptic. The subtitle suggests that it deals with Plato and his idea of Eros, a literary study, one would expect. But the author's aim is to write a 'philosophical' book on love. She has a particular idea about what love is, and investigates a large number of texts in order to find out whether texts are in line with her idea. It is irrelevant for her whether those texts speak of *eros* or *agape*. On p. 6 she writes: "It will be clear by now why this study will not be concerned to explore the concept of love or different sorts of love, let alone to develop a contrast between love as presented in Greek thought and the love envisaged in Christianity. My questions

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focus instead on the role played by love in particular texts (no matter what terminology they use): who is the lover, who the beloved, why they love, and what that means about their relationship.'' Obviously the author starts from the supposition: love is love; it may be called *eros*, it may be called *agape*. That does not matter.

I must admit that, against the background of earlier studies on *eros* and *agape*, this starting-point made the present book for me somewhat difficult to understand. Its main thesis is that love has no motive. 'For love' is sufficient answer to the question 'why?', and the answer 'for love' in itself supplies a motive, so that seeking some further explanation or motive for love is inevitably a confusion (cf. p. 219).

The author deals with a large number of texts from Plato to Thomas Aquinas, among which we may mention the following: the Bible, Origen's treatise on *amor* in the prologue of the *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, relevant passages in Gregory of Nyssa's *In Canticum Canticorum*, and Dionyius' *On divine names* ch. 4. As for Plato, the author argues that it is not Diotima's speech in the *Symposium* that fully reflects Plato's vision on *eros*, but rather the dialogue the *Lysis*. It is clear that in Diotima's account *eros* is motivated by something else (the good in various guises). In the *Lysis* the author discovers more of her own idea about love, which is mostly indicated there by the term *philia*. She finds her idea as it were demonstrated in the image of Eros with his arrow, which is also found in Origen and Gregory of Nyssa. He or she who loves is struck with Eros' (God's) arrow. In the *Song of Songs* the bride says: 'I am wounded with love'. *Eros* is not an attitude motivated by desire, but is an unmotivated devotion to the beloved, like *agape* (cf. p. 79).

As I read the book, I often found myself asking: is this the right interpretation of the words of Plato, Origen, Gregory etc., or is the author imposing her own idea on these texts? I must confess to not being able to reach a definite answer to this question. I remain in doubt. And the main reason for this doubt is the feeling that the central thesis of this book is not true. Is love something that comes out of the blue (like that arrow), or is the starting-point of this inner attitude always a desire? Is the human being not a desiring being? Is this desire not a necessary condition for the experience of love, which indeed to the 'sufferer' may have the nature of an arrow that strikes the soul?

These reservations do not in the least, however, hinder me from

recommending this book to all those who are interested in its highly important and fascinating theme.

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La Bible d'Alexandrie. Les Nombres. Traduction du texte grec de la Septante. Introduction et notes par Gilles Dorival, avec la collaboration de Bernard Barc, Geneviève Favrelle, Madeleine Petit, Joëlle Tolila. Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 1994. 604 p. 240 F.

En 1986 Marguerite Harl publia le premier volume de la traduction des cinq livres de la Torah en grec (*La Genèse*). Après *Le Lévitique* (1988, Paul Harlé et Didier Pralon), *L'Exode* (1989, Alain Le Boulluec et Pierre Sandevoir) et *Le Deutéronome* (1992, Cécile Dogniez et Marguerite Harl) Gilles Dorival achêve cette entreprise impressionnante par une traduction commentée du quatrième livre du Pentateuque, *Les Nombres*.

Dans une longue Introduction (188 pages) il discute des questions préliminaires: la composition du livre des *Nombres*, le texte grec dont on fait usage, les principes qui ont conduit le(s) traducteur(s) du livre, p.ex. la fidélité aux choix des traducteurs des trois livres antérieurs de *La Genèse*, etc., le modèle hébreu de la traduction de la Septante.

La LXX du Pentateuque est antérieure à la mise au point du texte massorétique (TM), mais il va de soi que les relations entre la LXX et le TM jouent un rôle important dans le présent ouvrage. L'auteur montre comment «de très nombreux écarts de la LXX par rapport au TM semblent relever d'une exégèse originale de la Bible» (p. 78). Ce chapitre et le suivant, intitulé «Dire en grec les choses juives» (titre emprunté à E. Lévinas), sont d'une grande richesse d'information et d'une clarté exemplaire.

La traduction française est très précise et très claire. Dans les notes on trouve à la fois des comparaisons avec le TM et un grand nombre de références aux commentaires de Flavius Josèphe, de Philon et des Pères, spécialement d'Origène, qui ont pour but de mieux faire comprendre le caractère propre de la traduction de la LXX.

On ne peut qu'admirer les connaissances étendues de l'auteur (et de ses collaborateurs); elles ont fourni ici un ouvrage qui jette une lumière nouvelle sur le livre des *Nombres* en grec et sur la Septante en général.

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Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum. Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung mit der Antiken Welt. Herausgegeben von Ernst Dassmann, Carsten Colpe, Albrecht Dihle, Joseph Engemann, Wolfgang Speyer, Klaus Thraede. Band XVI (Hofzeremoniell-Ianus). Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1994.

Das Jahr 1994 sah wiederum die Vollendung eines Bandes dieses inzwischen renommiertes Lexikons. Es ist den Herausgebern gelungen, eine Anzahl Autoren heranzuziehen, die mit grosser Fähigkeit ihren Beitrag geliefert haben. Auch die Herausgeber selbst haben substantiell zu diesem Band beigetragen. Klaus Thraede behandelt 'Homonoia', 'Hymnus', 'Jakob und Esau' und 'Ianus', Carsten Colpe 'Hypsistos (Theos)' und 'Hystaspes', Wolfgang Speyer 'Holz'. Die Artikel zeugen von grosser Kenntnis und Einsicht.

Weiterhin enthält dieser Band die Behandlung von den schwierig zu beschreibenen Begriffen 'Homousios' (G. Christopher Stead) und 'Hypostasis (ὑπόστασις)' (Jürgen Hammerstaedt). 'Humanität' wird von Henri Chadwick erörtert, 'Humanitas (φιλανθρωπία)' von Otto Hiltbrunner, 'Homosexualität' von Karl Hoheisel und 'Humor' von Georg Luck. Die Artikel sind von bewunderungswerter Klarheit.

Dasselbe gilt von den übrigen Beiträgen: 'Hofzeremoniell' (Heinzgerd Brakmann), 'Hoherpriester' (Frank-Lothar Mossfeld, Georg Schöllgen), 'Hoheslied' (Karl Suso Frank), 'Homer' (Gerard J.M. Bartelink), 'Homilie' (Maurice Sachot), 'Honig' (Adelheid Sallinger, Otto Bücker), 'Honorar' (Adolf Lumpe), 'Horaz' (Peter L. Schmidt), 'Horn' (Johannes B. Bauer, Heinzgerd Brakmann, Dieter Korol, Gerda Schwarz), 'Horos' (William Brashear), 'Horoskop' (Hans-Georg Gundel, Alois Kehl), 'Hund' (Heinz-Jürgen Loth), 'Hungersnot' (Hans Peter Kohns), 'Hyäne' (Franz Witek, Heinzgerd Brakmann), 'Hydra' (Frans Witek, Franz Rickert), 'Hypapante' (Wolfgang Pax, Heinzgerd Brakmann), 'Hypatia' (Christian Lacombrade), Hyperboreer' (Heinz Martin Werhahn), 'Jahr (kultisches)' (Karl Hoheisel, Heinzgerd Brakmann), 'Jakob v. Sarug' (Gerard O'Daly).

Es ist nicht möglich, hier näher auf den Inhalt der vielen Artikel einzugehen. Ich möchte nur über einen kurzen Abschnitt des übrigens vorzüglichen Artikels von Frank über das Hoheslied eine Bemerkung machen. Es handelt sich dort um einen Text, in dem die Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt klar hervortritt. Ich glaube, dass der Autor diesen Text nicht richtig verstanden hat.

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Im 5. Kapitel bespricht er »Griechisch-römische Anregungen (Antike und Christentum)«. Der dritte Abschnitt lautet folgendermassen: »*Platos Symposium.* Origens verweist auf die griechischen Schriftsteller, die in der Form von Dialogen und bei Gastmählern die 'natura amoris' erforschen wollten. Doch davon will sich die christliche Hohesliedauslegung absetzen. 'Sed hae (lies: has) artes carnales homines ad vitiosa desideria et culpabilis amoris mysteria traxerunt' «. Diese Worte fassen den Anfangsabschnitt des 2. Kapitels des Prologs zu Origenes' Kommentar zu Cant. Cant. zusammen. Sie erwecken den Eindruck, dass die *carnales homines* die vorher erwähnten griechischen Schriftsteller sind und dass Origenes sich in der christlichen Auslegung des Hoheliedes gegen die Auffassung der griechischen Denker über die 'natura amoris' wendet. Origenes sagt aber Folgendes: Sehr viele griechische Gelehrte wollten in der Form von Dialogen die 'natura amoris' erforschen. Sie haben versucht zu zeigen, dass die Liebe eine Kraft ist, die die Seele von der Erde zu den höchsten Himmelsregionen emporführt. Sie haben auch Methoden (*artes*) beschrieben, um diese Liebe zu erwecken und zu entwickeln. Aber '*carnales homines*' haben diese Methode zur Befriedigung ihrer sinnlichen Lüste angewendet.

Für Origenes sind die Auffassungen der griechischen Gelehrten nicht abwegig. Wenn sie sagen, dass die Liebe eine Kraft ist, die die Seele zu den höchsten Himmelsregionen emporführt, dann stimmt er ihnen gerne zu. Er stellt jedoch fest, dass es Leute gegeben hat, die die Worte derjenigen, die eine Methode entwickeln wollten um diese Liebe zu erwecken und zu verstärken, 'fleischlich' verstanden haben, um ihre sinnliche Lüste zu befriedigen.

Und Origenes fährt fort: Was mit den Griechen, die ja doch als weise betrachtet werden, geschah, kann auch mit uns, einfachen Christen, geschehen. Man kann nämlich die Worte des Hoheliedes auf den inneren und den äusseren Menschen beziehen. Diejenigen, die Letzteres tun, sind wie die *carnales homines* bei den Griechen. Origenes setzt also die christliche Hohesliedauslegung nicht von den griechischen Erforschungen bezüglich der 'natura amoris' ab, er sieht eine Parallele zwischen den Worten der griechischen Autoren (besonders Platos *Symposium*) und denen des Hoheliedes; beide verkünden sie das Lob der Liebe, können jedoch von 'fleischlichen' Menschen falsch verstanden werden. Origenes ist der Meinung, dass *eros* und *agape* sowohl geistig als auch fleischlich verstanden werden kann. Deshalb kann er von *amor/cupido carnalis* und *amor/cupido caelestis* sprechen, wie der Autor erwähnt.

Aber wenn er hinter *amor/cupido caelestis* in Klammern '*Agape*' hinzufügt und damit den Eindruck erweckt, dass '*agape*' immer die himmlische Liebe bedeutet, ist das nicht richtig. In *Comm. in Cant. Prol.* 2,21 erwähnt Origenes, dass die Heilige Schrift bezüglich der Liebe von Amnon zu Thamar, einer inzestuösen Liebe also, auch von *agape (dilectio)* spricht.

Ich habe bei diesem kleinen Abschnitt etwas länger verweilt, da dieser Text, der eine wichtige Rolle spielt in der Diskussion über *eros* und *agape* und deshalb in der Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der Antiken Welt, oft nicht richtig verstanden wird. Diese Bemerkung beeinträchtigt nicht das äusserst positive Urteil über den ganzen Beitrag.

Der 16. Band verdient einen Glückwunsch an die Herausgeber und die Autoren.

2312 GD *Leiden*, Haarlemmerstraat 106 J.C.M. VAN WINDEN

Gerhard May, *Creatio Ex Nihilo. The Doctrine of "Creation out of Nothing" in Early Christian Thought*. Translated by A.S. Worral. T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1994.

The present book is an English translation of a German original, which appeared in 1978 with the title *Schöpfung aus dem Nichts. Die Entstehung der Lehre von der Creatio ex nihilo*. In a Preface the author discusses the literature which appeared in the years since the publication of his book. Because his position on the subject remained unchanged, he decided not to rework the text, which is thus substantially the same as the German original.

"The doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* proclaims in the most pointed manner the absolutely unconditioned nature of the creation and specifies God's omnipotence as its sole ground". Thus the author starts his fascinating investigation. The expression "unconditioned nature" opposes this doctrine to the Greek philosophical idea of a world-formation (= *Welt-bildung*, as opposed to creation) out of a preexistent matter.

The formula "to create out of non-being" is already found in 2 Maccabees 7:28. It also appears in Hellenistic-Jewish theology (Philo), in Rabbinic Judaism, and in early Christian thinkers like Aristides. But in the case of these authors the formula does not yet have the status of an

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ontological principle; for it is not yet meant as an intentional antithesis to the idea of world-formation out of a preexistent matter. Justin can still on the one hand stress God's creatorship of all things, and on the other hand say: "God in his goodness created everything from formless matter" (cf. p. 122; ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης = Wisdom of Solomon 11:17). Only after Justin, when we reach Tatian and Theophilus, does *creatio ex nihilo* become an ontological thesis in opposition to the Greek model of world-formation.

The author goes on to show how the idea of *creatio ex nihilo* played a rôle in Gnosticism and how this stream of thinking influenced the manner in which orthodox thinkers took their position on this issue. Particularly interesting is the case of Basilides, who seems to be the first who made a philosophical defense of the *creatio ex nihilo*. But because of the theological context in which he worked, his position remained isolated from the mainstream development.

The author's investigation in relation to the various gnostic systems is highly penetrating and clear. I do not hesitate to state that this book also can be used as an introduction to that complicated issue, called Gnosticism.

May's book is a marvellous achievement. It fully deserved to be made more accessible to those whose primary scholarly language is English.

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Miroslav Marcovich, *Patristic Textual Criticism*. Part I (Illinois Classical Studies. Supplement 6). Scholars Press, Atlanta Georgia, 1994. X, 171 p.

Few scholars have a knowledge of the early Patristic texts to match that of the present author. Few scholars have exercised textual criticism on a scale comparable with his achievement. In this volume he offers no less than 446 conjectures, which concern the two Apologies of Justin, with appendix, Tatian's *Oratio ad Graecos*, Athenagoras' *Legatio**, Hippolytus' *Refutatio**, the *Epistula ad Diognetum*, the Corpus Pseudo-Iustini* (*Cohortatio ad Graecos, De monarchia, Oratio ad Graecos*), Prosper of Aquitaine's *De providentia Dei** and *De ingratis*, and Pseudo-Justin's *De resurrectione*. The works marked by

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an asterix have been edited by the author. The present book contains a selection (typical problems) of the conjectures made in those editions.

It is of course quite impossible to discuss all this material in any depth. I shall confine myself to a number of examples where I hesitate to follow the author's conjectural proposals.

Theophilus, *Ad Autol* I 8 (no. 114, p. 45) wants to show how πίστις is the leading factor in human life. He argues: "What farmer can harvest unless he first entrusts the seed to the earth? Who can cross the sea unless he first entrusts himself to the ship and the pilot?" On the basis of parallel texts the author inserts the participle "sailing" here ("Η τίς <πλέων> δύναται διαπερᾶσαι τὴν θάλασσαν). This insertion seems to me quite superfluous.

In II 4 (no. 124, p. 47) Theophilus says: "Some of the Stoics absolutely deny the existence of God or assert that if God exists he takes thought for no one but himself. Such views certainly exhibit the folly of Epicurus and Chrysippus alike" (tr. Grant). The author states: "No Stoic did such a thing". He proposes to read ἀρνοῦνται καὶ τὸ ἐξ ὅλου θεὸν <ἄφθαρτον> εἶναι. In that case the Stoics deny that God is immortal (or incorruptible). But in my view one has no choice but to admit that Theophilus here ascribes to "some of the Stoics", and particularly to Chrysippus, the well-known doxa of Epicurus, even if "no Stoic did such a thing". Moreover, if one introduces the concept of "immortality", one has to assume that Theophilus continues: "Or assert that, if God is immortal, he takes thought for no-one but himself", which is rather strange. This is by no means the only place where an early Christian thinker ascribes to (the) Stoics an objectionable opinion concerning God. In his Dialogue 2,3 Justin states about the Stoic teacher he met and to whom he had attached himself: "he did not have any knowledge of God and said *this knowledge was unnecessary*". Was it not understandable that Christian thinkers with their belief in a transcendent personal God reached such conclusions on the Stoics (or on some of them) with their ideas on divine immanence?

The opening words of the Prooemium of Hippolytus' *Refutatio* run as follows: Οὐδένα μῦθον τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι ὠνομασμένων παραιτητέον· πιστὰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἀσύστατα αὐτῶν δόγματα ἡγητέον διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῶν αἱρετικῶν μανίαν. The author says that καί attests to a one-word lacuna. He proposes to read πιστὰ γὰρ καὶ <πιθανὰ> ... (no. 182, p. 66). But καί is not only copulative but also responsive (as it is called by Denniston), and means 'also', 'even'. In my view Hippolytus says that

'even' the most incoherent doctrines of the Greeks have to be considered as πιστά, because of the surpassing madness of the heretics.

In ch. 2,1 of the same prooemium Hippolytus explains why Pythagoras' philosophy is called 'Italian'. This is because of the fact that Pythagoras, fleeing from Polycrates, the tyran of Samos, settled in a city of Italy (οἰκῆσαι πόλιν τῆς Ἰταλίας). The author remarks: "Hippolytus knows the name of the city in Italy in which Pythagoras spent the rest of his life (no. 183, p. 66). Hence he proposes to read οἰκῆσαι <Κρότωνα> πόλιν τῆς Ἰταλίας ... In my view the text as it runs is quite satisfactory. Hippolytus says: "Pythagoras' philosophy is called 'Italian' because he settled in *a city of Italy*". There is no need to mention the actual name of the city in which he settled.

These few remarks should be taken as a sign of interest on the part of reviewer in this fascinating book. One looks forward to the second part announced in the Preface.

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Han J.W. Drijvers, *History and Religion in Late Antique Syria*. Variorum Collected Studies Series. XII + 305 p. £ 47,50.

Syriac Christianity. I Jews and Christians at Edessa; II Syrian Christianity and Judaism; III Apocryphal literature in the cultural milieu of Osrhoëne; IV Taufe und Licht. Tatian, Ebionäerevangelium und Thomasakten; V Early forms of Antiochene Christology after Chalcedon; VI The Peshitta of *Sapientia Salomonis*; VII Salomon as teacher. Early Syriac didactic poetry; VIII Athleten des Geistes. Zur politischen Rolle der syrischen Asketen und Gnostiker. IX The saint as symbol. Conceptions of the person in late antiquity and early Christianity; X Der getaufte Löwe und die Theologie der Acta Pauli.

Marcionism. XI Marcionism in Syria: principles, problems, polemics: XII Marcion's reading of Gal. 4,8: philosophical background and influence on Manichaeism. XIII Geist as warrior and merchant. Aspects of Marcion's Christology; XIV Adam and the True Prophet in the Pseudo-Clementines.

Manichaeism. XV Addai und Mani. Christentum und Manichäismus im dritten Jahrhundert in Syrien; XVI Conflict and alliance in Manichaeism.

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Syriac Christianity and Islam. XVII Antony of Tagrit's book on the good providence of God; XVIII *The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*: a Syriac apocalypse from the early Islamic period; XIX Christians, Jews and Muslims in northern Mesopotamia in early Islamic times. The *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* and related texts.

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A. Schoors et P. Van Deun (edd.), *Philohistôr. Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 60). Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Orientalistiek, Leuven, 1994.

Karl Laga. Quelques mots sur sa vie et ses œuvres (P. Van Deun).
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Ephrem, Célébrons la Pâque. Hymnes sur les Azymes, sur la Crucifixion, sur la Résurrection. Introduction et traduction du syriaque par Dominique Cerbelaud, o.p. Guide thématique par A.-G. Hamman. Association J.-P. Migne, 17 rue d'Alembert, Paris 14e, 1995. 200 p. 90 F.

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AMBROSE'S *DE OFFICIIS* AND THE INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE OF THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY

BY

IVOR J. DAVIDSON

Ambrose's *De Officiis* has proved to be the most influential of all his surviving works, and is among the most important texts of patristic literature. As a document which reflects the spiritual convictions and the moral and intellectual assumptions of a leading western churchman of the late fourth century, *De Officiis* has been studied, quoted, edited, and translated by a host of scholars over the centuries. It deserves study on a variety of levels: as a major example of Christian humanism; as evidence of the relationship between Stoicism and early Christianity; as a seminal work of moral theology and manual of clerical instruction; and as a reflection of the social and intellectual prejudices of the son of a high-ranking Roman official and a former provincial governor turned bishop. In all these areas, the importance of the text as a work of historical interest is not in doubt. Before we can properly assess *De Officiis*, however, we need to ask what Ambrose himself originally sought to achieve. What are the aims of *De Officiis*, so far as we can ascertain them from the text itself, and to what extent do they square with what we know of Ambrose and his life-setting more generally?[1]

I shall at the outset confess my hermeneutical position. I am assuming that, *pace* the range of modern and post-modern critiques of authorial intention, it is hermeneutically worthwhile to try to ascertain the aims of the author as a norm to ensure validity of interpretation. I take it that we ought to seek the primary communicative intention of the text, as logically implied by the text's grammatical and linguistic content; this task involves the identification of genre and historical context as clues to the author's intentions, and thus to the establishment of the *prima facie* meaning of the text. A second stage of interpretation, in which we try to discover the significance of the text for ourselves today, or to fuse our horizon with the horizon of the text, ought to follow, although in this study I shall restrict my concentration to the search for Ambrose's aims as implied by the text and supported by its historical context, in order to define the meaning of *De Officiis* in its original setting. My sub-

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mission is that Ambrose gives us clues as to his intentions, and that these clues are of vital relevance to the correct interpretation of his work.

Most if not all of the interpretations of *De Officiis* which have been offered historically have, not surprisingly, proceeded from just this assumption: patristic texts have usually been studied by people who (like me) were trained in the traditional methodologies of classical scholarship, against which the anti-authorial critics of secular and now biblical literature have protested. But the variety of analyses which have emerged, especially over the past century and a half, testifies to the difficulty in determining Ambrose's objectives. Ambrose patterns his work upon Cicero's *De Officiis*, the final product of Cicero's philosophical programme, written during the last months of 44 B.C., and based upon the writings of the middle Stoics, Panaetius and Posidonius (with some influence also from Hecaton of Rhodes).[2] Ambrose's treatise thus seems to belong to the same genre of moral philosophy. But if, as he clearly indicates,[3] his desire is to instruct his clergy, why does a Christian bishop, the resolute opponent of pagan religious symbolism in the Altar of Victory affair of 384, take a classical text as a model? I shall begin by summarizing some of the main proposals which have been offered in response to this question.[4]

(1) Ambrose is at heart still a traditional Roman, who so admires the ideals of gentlemanly conduct advocated by Cicero that he reiterates them with little substantive modification, presenting an ethical programme that is more classical than Christian.[5] The Stoic influence, mediated through Cicero, is so strong that a Christian moral spirit is obscured.[6] *De Officiis* marks the culmination of the conquest of the Christian church by the ethics of the Stoa.[7]

(2) Ambrose is an inept plagiarist, who constructs a mosaic of pagan sentiments and attempts to add a Christian veneer.[8] Pagan and Christian ideas coexist awkwardly in *De Officiis* because he is insensitive to the distinctions between them, or is at any rate incapable of synthesizing them more successfully. He aims to produce a blend of Stoic and Christian teaching, but the Stoic content remains very visible.[9]

(3) Ambrose judiciously selects from Cicero whatever is congenial to his Christian beliefs and his didactic requirements, and leaves what is not. He stands in the eclectic tradition of the apologists and the Alexandrians, who aspire to produce a blend of the old and the new in order to appeal to a philosophically sophisticated readership.[10]

(4) Ambrose Christianizes the Stoic-Ciceronian theme of duties. The

classical framework remains, but a new, Christian content is given.[11] A supernatural foundation is laid;[12] new senses are injected into classical terminology.[13] The overall spirit is Christian, as Ambrose elevates the old subject to a new dimension.[14]

(5) Ambrose deliberately contrasts the Christian ethical spirit with that of Cicero, in order to point up the superiority of scriptural wisdom. The two thought-worlds are carefully set in antithesis, and there is sustained polemic against paganism. Ambrose intends to show that pagan thought is at worst erroneous and at best derivative from Scripture; the Bible stands supreme as the source of truth.[15] He aims to replace Cicero's treatment of duties with a new, Christian exposition of the theme.[16]

In presenting the range of scholarly views in these five categories, I inevitably schematize them to some extent; I certainly do not mean to imply that they are all mutually exclusive (I shall be picking up points from several of them in my own proposal). It has been argued, rightly, that Ambrose's primary concern is to offer his clergy practical instruction for their daily ministry in the Milanese church, not to produce a systematic philosophical treatise,[17] and so any assessment must recognize that *De Officiis* is designed as a utilitarian guide rather than as an intellectual *tour de force.* There is thus a sixth, more careful line of thought: Ambrose selects from Cicero material which is suitable to his practical purpose, *and* at the same time changes the sense of much of the language, distinguishing *verba* and *res*,[18] and reinterpreting Ciceronian sentiment not only in Christian terms but also in the light of broader philosophical, ethical, and psychological predilections.[19]

Once we are aware of the various shades of opinion which are to be found within these categories, I suggest that we may in fact compress the categories, and that there are really only two basic positions with regard to Ambrose's intentions. Granted that his pragmatic goal is the education of his clergy, Ambrose either (a) wishes to produce a positive synthesis of Ciceronian Stoicism and Christian ethics, or (b) aims to replace Cicero's work by transforming its content.

On any reckoning, *De Officiis* constitutes a synthesis, whether successful or unsuccessful. First, Ambrose retains Cicero's title. The text itself teems with indications that his original designation of the work is *De Officiis*, not, as has long been erroneously assumed, *De Officiis Ministrorum: successit animo de officiis scribere* (1,23); *videamus utrum res ipsa conveniat scribere de officiis* (1,25); *de officiis adgrediamur dicere* (1,65); *accidit ut scripturi de officiis* (1,231);

superiore libro de officiis tractavimus (2,1); *sermo de officiis* (2,25); and especially 1,24: *De quibus [sc. officiis] etiamsi quidam philosophiae studentes scripserint..., non alienum duxi nostro munere ut etiam ipse scriberem*; to this material can be added the evidence of the title as found in the best manuscripts, the earliest editions, and the references to the work by other early Christian writers.[20] Cicero's theme, *officia*, is kept (1,23-24), though authentication of it is sought in the Scriptures (1,25), and Ambrose claims to have been inspired to write about it while meditating on Psalm 38 (1,23). Second, Ambrose retains the threefold structure which Cicero derives from Panaetius: the *honestum*, the *utile*, and the comparison of the two (1,27). He refers to the distinction between *officium medium* and *officium perfectum* (1,36-37; cf. 3,10), though he again appeals to Scripture for authority. His discussion of the *honestum* in the first book is organized in the categories of the cardinal virtues (1,115ff.). Third, Ambrose makes no secret of his classical predecessors, but actually underlines his continuity with them. Just as Panaetius and his 'son' (disciple) Posidonius wrote on duties, and Cicero wrote to his son Marcus, so he himself writes to his spiritual 'sons', begotten in the gospel, proffering fatherly advice on the same theme (1,24).[21] The only mentions of Cicero's name to be found anywhere in Ambrose's extant works are in *De Officiis* (1,24,43,82,180). Even a cursory comparison of Cicero's and Ambrose's texts reveals massive similarities of language and themes, and patently a substantial amount of Stoicism does remain in Ambrose's moral teaching.[22]

It is self-evident, then, that Ambrose's work *is* a synthesis of classical and Christian. The question is whether he wishes to present Christianity as the cultural and even the doctrinal heir of classical antiquity by adapting a pagan genre-work, or whether he aims to use the Ciceronian model merely as a framework within which to articulate a new, higher message, designed to supersede its prototype—a case of putting new wine in old skins so as to try once and for all to destroy our taste for the old wine.[23]

In favour of the deliberate, positive synthesis case, two basic observations are apposite:

(1) Stoicism, and especially the milder, more realistic Stoicism of the middle and late Stoa, was particularly congenial to early Christianity. Christian and Stoic psychology and ethics, their teaching on the logos, providence, and nature, found numerous areas of overlap, as witness

writers as diverse as Musonius Rufus, Epictetus, Justin Martyr, Tatian (despite his virulent anti-Hellenism), Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria, to name but a few. Tertullian's celebrated *Seneca saepe noster*,[24] the late fourth-century forged correspondence between Paul and Seneca (plus, of course, the real Paul's use of Stoicism),[25] and Jerome's *Stoici qui nostro dogmati in plerisque concordant*,[26] all testify to the acknowledged points of contact between the two traditions. Ambrose is not breaking new ground, therefore, if he sees scope for assimilation of Stoic thought on, say, the unimportance of wealth,[27] or nature as an ethical norm,[28] or the image of human society as a body.[29] He could simply be picking up such compatible doctrines as were noted and developed by other Christian teachers in the early centuries.

(2) If Ambrose approaches a pagan source in a spirit of philosophical eclecticism or catholicity, he is following a Christian tradition which stretches back through the Alexandrians to the apologists and Philo the Jew, and arguably even to the NT authors themselves.[30] In this milieu, as Clement of Alexandria strikingly demonstrates, repudiation of pagan errors is commonly found alongside positive overtures on the value of Greek philosophy as a preparation for the gospel of true knowledge and true wisdom. The effort to show that conversion to the Christian faith is reasonable and does not require automatic denigration of pagan learning is widespread in the missionary and apologetic enterprise of this stream of Christianity. The role that philosophy had played in one's personal intellectual pilgrimage was, of course, a crucial factor. Ambrose was obviously in no sense a professional philosopher, but neither was he by any means a philosophical ignoramus. North Italian Catholicism faced a serious intellectual challenge from the strength of pagan revivalism and especially from the attraction which neo-Platonism held for substantial elements of educated, influential society. Ambrose was a skilful missionary to such society, readily exploiting middle- and neo-Platonist material in his sermons and consolidating the prestige of the church among the senatorial nobility by an adroit cultivation of elegant social *mores* among the clergy.[31] Beyond his immediate clerical addressees, he might well envisage that a published version of *De Officiis* would be read by educated non-Christians, for whom the retention of an elegant classical philosophical framework would have obvious appeal.

Clearly, these are significant arguments, and they are based on important insights into the intellectual world of early Christianity. However,

I believe that the alternative suggestion, what I call the transformation theory, offers a better overall explanation not only of the evidence to be found within the text itself (Ambrose's implied aims) but also of the evidence which we have concerning the cultural situation of the western church at the end of the fourth century. I adduce three principal arguments for this conclusion:

Firstly, and most importantly, there is the way in which Ambrose handles Cicero. He almost always avoids explicitly attributing sentiments to Cicero or to classical thinkers, while closely echoing their language. This is typical of his practice elsewhere.[32] Only two of the five mentions of Cicero's name in *De Officiis* (1,82 and 1,180) allude to specific passages of Cicero's text. Elsewhere, Ambrose avoids naming his source, preferring to employ vague plurals. Examples include the following: *aestimaverunt*; *aiunt*; *haec illi* (1,27); *illi aestimaverunt*; *illa* (1,29); *oratores saeculi* (1,92); *ferunt gentiles* (1,94); *saeculares viri* (1,102); *illorum* (1,118); *tractant* (1,122); *ab huius saeculi...sapientibus* (1,126); *vocant* (1,130); *quod putant philosophi*; *dicunt...illi* (1,131); *putaverunt*; *aiunt* (1,132); *quod si hi qui ad capessendam rem publicam adhortantur aliquos, haec praecepta dant...* (1,186); *ferunt* (1,207);[33] *hi qui foris sunt* (1,252);[34] *sapientum definitione* (2,43); *nonnulli...putant* (3,8); *feruntur* (3,26); *quaerunt aliqui* (3,27); *ut philosophi disputant* (3,29); *illud quod memorabile habetur apud philosophos* (3,80); *in spectatis et eruditis viris* (3,81); *mirantur* (3,83); *memorabile ferunt rhetores* (3,91); *quaestiones philosophorum*; *illi...tractant* (3,97); *sunt enim pleraeque philosophorum quaestiones* (3,126). Ambrose sometimes assumes that a Ciceronian story will be known to his addressees: e.g., *quid mihi tractare de Syracusano* illo *amoeno secretoque secessu...?* (3,71); illud *Graecorum* (3,87); in 2,30, he refers obliquely to a Ciceronian passage simply with *legimus*.[35]

This widespread refusal to attribute matter to Cicero by name does not of itself betoken a hostile spirit. Indeed, it is habitual in the very Christian writers who endeavour to deal positively with secular insights. The use of vague plurals such as *alii* to refer to sources is also common in classical historiography, where the tone may well be neutral. Ambrose himself cites exegetical authorities with approval or without sharp dissent in precisely the same manner.[36] And after all, if every little reminiscence of Cicero (many of which are doubtless subconscious) were acknowledged, Cicero's name would have to appear all over the page in some sections, thus exaggerating the impression of lack of

originality. Nevertheless, what makes the references generally pejorative in tone is the way in which Ambrose again and again sets up antitheses between classical thought and exemplars and the teaching and characters of the Bible, or between classical ideals and the principles which are relevant or acceptable to Christians. Many of the oblique references are accompanied by sharp adversatives: e.g., *haec illi*; *nos autem* (1,27-28); *illi...*; *nos...* (1,29); *Tullius*; *nos certe* (1,82-83); *multa...dant praecepta saeculares viri, quae nobis praetereunda arbitror* (1,102); *sed hoc artis est*; *nos autem artem fugimus* (1,116); *dicunt...illi*; *apud nos* (1,131); *ut non hominum opinionibus aestimandum relinqueretur, sed divino iudicio committeretur* (2,3); *philosophi; Scriptura autem divina* (2,4-5); *quaerunt aliqui*; *mihi quidem* (3,27); *illi...tractant; noster* (3,97). Arguments from lesser to greater are used: if such-and-such is prescribed for pagans, how much more necessary is it for Christians to attain (and, by implication, preferably to exceed) that moral standard (e.g., 1,185,186; 2,124; 3,26; cf. 3,65)? Sometimes a classical notion is rejected in favour of a higher, Christian principle (e.g., 1,131; 3,27).

Ambrose stresses the anteriority and superiority of biblical truth and biblical exemplars to classical ones, and, after the fashion of the apologists, accuses the pagans of plagiarizing from the Scriptures (1,31,79-80,92,126,132-135,141,180; cf. 2,43). In numerous passages, while an explicit charge of plagiarism is not made, Ambrose emphasizes the anteriority of biblical material (1,31,43-44,94,118; 2,6,48; 3,2,80,92). The core assumption is that anteriority equals superiority: cf., e.g., 3,92: *Redeamus ad nostrum Moysen atque ad superiora revertamur, ut quanto praestantiora tanto antiquiora promamus* (cf. also 1,92). In the *exempla maiorum* (1,116) which Ambrose draws from the Scriptures, he finds vivid moral patterns for the emulation of his addressees (1,116; 3,139). He pictures ancient Israelites as the spiritual ancestors of fourth-century Milanese Christians, envisaging one great linear development of *Heilsgeschichte*.[37] In the vast majority of cases, these biblical *exempla* replace Cicero's stories of Graeco-Roman history and mythology. The only Ciceronian survivals are to be found in book 3 (3,2,29-36,71-73,80-81,83,87,91), and only two (Scipio Africanus in 3,2 and Gyges in 3,30,35) are mentioned by name, both of them compared unfavourably with biblical figures. The plain message is that scriptural heroes and heroines are morally superior (as are stories from Christian history: 1,204-207; 2,70-71,136-143,150-151; 3,45-52).

A specific contrast is drawn between Ambrose's conception of duties

and that of his pagan predecessors (1,27-29). This is followed by this telling statement: *Deinde qui illa non legunt, nostra legent si volent, qui non sermonum supellectilem neque artem dicendi sed simplicem rerum exquirunt gratiam* (1,29). This is surely more than modesty about style, conventional or otherwise; the obvious import is that Ambrose means his work to be read by those who do not read the pagan treatment of duties (and essentially he must mean Cicero), and hence he aspires to replace Cicero's work for the Christian reader. The retention of Cicero's title and thematic structure makes the contrast all the more poignant. He contrasts the *officia* of those who are called to the service of the church with the precepts given by teachers (i.e., Cicero) who provide instruction on the duties of statesmanship (1,186). A subject such as military fortitude, discussed by Cicero, *a nostro officio iam alienum videtur quia animi magis quam corporis officio intendimus* (1,175).[38]

As part of the appeal to *nostrae Scripturae* (1,133; cf. 1,221: *in nostris*), or *Scripturarum auctoritas* (1,36).[39] Ambrose repeatedly seeks to justify his adoption of classical terminology by demonstrating that it can be found in the Bible. In 1,25, he claims that the subject of *officia* is warranted by the use of the word *officium* in Luke 1:23, which refers to the liturgical period of service performed by the priest Zacharias—thus obviously conflating functional and philosophical usages in a desperate piece of sophistry. Similarly contrived claims are made for *officium medium* and *officium perfectum* in 1,36-37; for *decorum* in 1,30,221,223-224; for *honestas* in 1,221; and for *utilitas/utile* in 2,23-27. In 2,1-21, discussing the *vita beata*, Ambrose compares some classical definitions with the biblical portrayal of the *beatus vir* found in the Psalms, the Wisdom literature, and the Beatitudes.[40]

Such efforts to authenticate key Ciceronian vocabulary in the Scriptures might imply merely that Ambrose envisages surprise and/or criticism from Christians at his use of Cicero as a model, and hence he strives to defend the suitability of his theme for his addressees (1,24-25), and to point to biblical precedent (1,31). He might equally be attempting to prove the philosophical sophistication of Scripture to sceptical pagans. But the strong contrasts which he draws between the classical and biblical senses or estimations of the ideals reflect a deliberate attempt to set scriptural and Christian wisdom over the wisdom of philosophers like Cicero and his Stoic mentors. So, for instance, Ambrose follows his appeal to the use of the word *officium* in Luke 1:23 (1,25) and his reference to the classical approaches to the theme (1,27)

with the assertion that Christians measure *officium* by a wholly different standard from that applied by the pagans—the good of eternal life rather than the good of present gain (1,28-29). Ambrose certainly does not conceal the Ciceronian framework, but he consistently presents Scripture as the dominant authority. This can be seen in his claim that Psalm 38 inspired him to write (1,23),[41] the contrast between scriptural *simplicitas* and classical *ars* (cf. 1,29,116), the biblical colouring of the cardinal virtues (especially prudence and justice) (1,115ff.), and the fundamental importance of the biblical *exempla* (1,116; 3,139).

The second argument in favour of the transformation theory is Ambrose's treatment of philosophers and their ideas in general. There can be no doubt that Panaetius (1,27,31,180); Zeno (2,6) and the Stoics generally (1,132-133; 2,4); Aristotle (1,31,48,50,180; 2,4,6); the Peripatetics (2,4,6); Pythagoras (1,31); and the Epicureans (1,47,50; 2,4) are cast in an adverse light when contrasted with Scripture. The mention of Plato in 1,43 is neutral, but in 1,44 Ambrose goes on to argue that Plato was anticipated by Job; Plato's story of Gyges and the ring (3,30-31) is contrasted with the *vera exempla* (3,32) of the Bible. Most explicit of all is 2,8: *Et quoniam sola rerum scientia explosa est vel quasi inanis secundum philosophiae disputationes superfluas vel quasi semiperfecta sententia, consideremus quam enodem de eo Scriptura divina absolvat sententiam, de quo tam multiplices et implicatas atque confusas videmus quaestiones esse philosophiae.*[42] By no stretch of the imagination can this sentence be taken to imply a conciliatory attitude towards pagan philosophical debates.

Such a sustained antithesis of philosophical wisdom and the truth of Scripture is in keeping with Ambrose's approach throughout his extant works. Rovighi has argued that he seeks continually to depreciate philosophy, and to demonstrate that the *sapientia* presented in the Scriptures is the original and supreme revelation of truth, from which the pagans simply stole their best thoughts.[43] Madec has documented the ways in which, throughout his works, Ambrose sets the Bible and Christian belief over against pagan thought, and reveals a consistently hostile spirit towards philosophy.[44] Madec has overstated his case in certain respects; he tends to conflate 'philosophy' as an intellectual quest with individual philosophical standpoints, and his catalogue of illustrative excerpts from Ambrose is inclined to exaggerate the negative attitude while underestimating the subtle philosophical influences on Ambrose of intermediaries such as Philo and Origen; he is also probably too scep-

tical about Ambrose's knowledge of the Greek of such major authors as Plato and Aristotle.[45] Nevertheless, his central thesis is sound: it is incontrovertible that Ambrose engages in polemic against many doctrines of the classical philosophers. Such a perspective might well indicate a desire to replace Cicero's work rather than naively to integrate it into the ethical teaching of the church.

My final argument is that the transformation theory accords perfectly with the practices of other well-educated Latin writers of the fourth and fifth centuries. Too often, scholars have issued verdicts on *De Officiis* without paying sufficient attention to its historical context. The evidence about the enduring influences of classical literature in the minds of Christian spokesmen should, however, need no rehearsal here: the *topos* of the plundering of the Egyptians,[46] the evolution in Jerome's thinking from the dream of *Epistle* 22 to the liberalism of *Epistle* 70,[47] and the lasting effects on Augustine of his background as *grammaticus* and professor of rhetoric all testify to the intellectual situation. The old conflict of ideologies made famous in Tertullian's *Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis?*[48] was by this period being dealt with by Christian leaders who by social background and intellectual training were the natural leaders of Roman society. Such men were far too deeply imbued with the influence of the texts of their classical education ever to break with their cultural inheritance. Arguments about the dangers of classical literature were not only undermined by the very literary style in which they were expressed; they were increasingly qualified by demonstrations of how the best features of that literature could be taken up and made new by the injection of Christian content. Thus we find a cultivated Christian such as Paulinus of Nola adapting the genres of classical poetry to present the Christian message for his educated believing and non-believing friends.[49]

Ambrose is a typical example of just this environment. His family background, his education, and his career as lawyer and administrator place him, along with figures like Hilary of Poitiers, Jerome, and Paulinus of Nola, among the social and intellectual cream of the old order. His work continually displays the lingering influences of Vergil, Cicero, Terence, Sallust, and other crucial authors of his boyhood curriculum.[50] His rhetorical gifts, which so impressed the discerning Augustine,[51] can still be imagined in many passages,[52] and he is certainly capable of producing stylish prose (frequently adding stylistic embellishments such as prose rhythm as part of the process of revising

his sermons for publication).[53] His debt to Cicero in particular throughout his extant works (not least in *De excessu sui fratris Satyri*)[54] is a regular feature of his time; one distinguished scholar has dubbed the fourth century, the age which produced Lactantius, Hilary, Jerome, and Augustine, the *aetas Ciceroniana* of later Latin.[55] Cicero's *De Officiis* would for Ambrose be the most obvious paradigm for a discussion of duties, and its thoroughly Roman ideals of a gentleman's personal and civic obligations would retain their appeal to his temperament, just as he finds so much enduring attraction in the Ciceronian treatment of friendship in *De Amicitia* (3,125-138).[56]

But men like Ambrose do not strive to demonstrate continuity between their pervasive classical heritage and their Christian faith. Instead of highlighting the lasting values of secular wisdom, they begin with Roman ideas and argue that Christian conceptions go much further and much deeper. By their spiritual calling and re-education in the Scriptures, exegetical and theological writings, they are now steeped in the language and morals of the Bible. They aspire to reinvest the familiar classical genres with a new profundity, and thus to supersede them in their former state. Such deliberate transformation is not the work of unimaginative imitators[57] or unscrupulous plagiarists[58] with limited mental powers, but the vision of educated leaders who naturally turn to classical texts but now find that such texts greatly require an infusion of revealed truth. In this context, the idea that an Ambrose, in adapting a celebrated text of Cicero, is carefully labouring to bridge two thought-worlds in an apologetic or proselytizing exercise actually misses the point. Ambrose's *De Officiis* emerges from a matrix in which two cultural traditions are *already* inextricably intertwined. Ambrose inevitably retains many elements of the classical legacy in his Christian purview; he had, after all, been given his traditional education by Christian parents. The combination of influences can be seen in the blend of explicitly Stoic and explicitly Christian sentiments which exists in *De Officiis*: e.g., in 2,1 and 2,3, the *vita beata* is said to be eternal life, while in 2,18 it consists in virtue; or in 2,18, virtue is the *solum et summum bonum*, whereas in 1,191 the *honestum*, the *solum bonum*, is to see God. At the same time, he shows not the slightest hesitation in rejecting pagan errors, and argues determinedly for the superiority of scriptural truth, which is able to go far beyond the Ciceronian range.

The absence of evidence that *De Officiis* is intended as an apologetic bridge between classical and Christian worlds fits well with an originally

functional teaching purpose. It is tempting here to liken Ambrose to Cicero. Both were pragmatists, of similar educational backgrounds, interested less in abstract speculation than in useful and honourable ideals for the man of action, be he statesman or citizen, cleric or lay-believer. In a sense, both men produced their *De Officiis* in periods of pressure: in Cicero's case, the collapse of the Republic; in Ambrose's, the struggles with the Arians and the pagan revivalists. Both aim to supply practical teaching for challenging times. While Cicero writes not only for his son Marcus but also for the élite of young men who aspire to political office, Ambrose may very well also see his clerical addressees (who are probably mainly young)[59] as a comparable select group who require clear guidance in order to serve the church and society effectively. It is perfectly likely that Ambrose is drawn to Cicero's text partly because (like Cicero himself) he is a teacher in a hurry, who naturally resorts to a congenial textbook in his anxiety to discharge his practical obligations to his charges.[60] The Christian *De Officiis* almost certainly originated in a series of addresses delivered to a group of educated clergy who would be familiar with Cicero and who could recognize at least the broad sweep of the Ciceronian arguments (if not, presumably, all of the numerous verbal echoes), and thus appreciate the changes which Ambrose makes.[61]

Cicero claims to be using his discretion as he follows Panaetius,[62] and it is now generally acknowledged that his philosophical writings possess more originality than was once thought (and more than Cicero himself whimsically claims).[63] Of course, in the case of Cicero's *De Officiis*, unlike in the case of Ambrose's, we do not have the sources to hand. Nevertheless, though we may surmise that Cicero is rather more original than Ambrose, we ought to recognize the creativity which does mark Ambrose's effort. Perhaps the most subtle area of creativity is the semantic development which Christian Latin brings to the Ciceronian nomenclature. Mention has already been made of the instances where Ambrose contrives to justify philosophical terminology by far-fetched appeals to scriptural usage. Here, however, I am thinking of the ways in which the influence of the Bible colours Ambrose's expressions. One can detect a frequent ambivalence between the Ciceronian and the scriptural senses of words such as *fides* and *gloria*, and a biblical nuancing of a concept like *iustitia*.[64] In an important way, *De Officiis* can indeed be seen as 'an example of the process of the Christianization of the Latin language,'[65] as Ambrose imports new meanings into old

vocabulary, sometimes deliberately, and sometimes, one is inclined to believe, unconsciously.

Plainly, I do not wish to suggest that Ambrose's work is any sort of masterpiece. While Cicero's work contains many imperfections, it is still conceded to be superior to its Christian successor as a literary and philosophical product. It is clear that Ambrose's efforts to give new content to the classical model do not always yield scintillating results. Nor do I request, as do some of his devoted admirers, that we should automatically laud his aims: one might well argue that greater tensions remain between Stoic and Christian conceptions than such churchmen were able to appreciate, and that the attempt to fill the Ciceronian frame with new material was doomed to fail intellectually as well as artistically. But it remains the case that Ambrose works had to alter Cicero in the light of scriptural authority. He brings some new senses into classical terminology, introduces specifically Christian virtues such as *humilitas* and *castitas*, and continually contrasts the tenets and exemplars of secular philosophy with the *veritas Christiana* as based upon the Scriptures. Above all, he maintains a theocentricity and soteriological-eschatological reference-point which are foreign to Cicero.[66]

Beyond his immediate clerical addressees, Ambrose may anticipate for the published version a readership of educated Christians and genuinely inquisitive non-Christians, who are able to perceive the contrast between the old and the new. Both ecclesiastical audience and general readership are confronted with a synthesis which shows no signs of being designed to reconcile pagan and Christian views. The aim of Ambrose, it seems to me, is ultimately radical: to take over Cicero's title, structure, and themes, and to transform the classical treatise by offering what he intends to be a spiritually and morally superior exposition of the subject. Cicero's textbook is to be replaced by a new edition. It is perhaps ironic that the diffusion of Ambrose's work and its intensive study by medieval, renaissance, and modern scholars have, if anything, led to an even greater attention being paid to Cicero's text, as comparisons of the two and *Quellenforschungen* on the Christian treatise have inevitably proceeded apace. Was this really what Ambrose intended?

NOTES

[1] I use the Budé text edited by M. Testard, *Saint Ambroise, Les Devoirs* 1-2 (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1984, 1992). I date the work in its published form to the period late 388-390. The two most likely internal clues to chronology are 1,72, which is probably an allusion to the Arian crisis of 386, and 2,150-151, referring to an attempt by the secular powers to confiscate the property of a widow at Pavia, which, with J.-R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain: contribution à l'histoire des rapports de l'Eglise et de l'Etat à la fin du quatrième siècle* (Paris: de Boccard, 1933) 192-193, 526-527, I imagine may have happened during the invasion of Maximus in the spring of 388. The work definitely seems to have been known by Jerome when he writes his *Ep.* 52 in 393 (accepting the dating of P. Nautin, 'Etudes de chronologie hiéronymienne (393-397),' *Revues des études augustiniennes* 20 (1974) 251-253).

[2] Cicero, *Off.* 1-2 were finished by 5 November, 44 (*Att.* 16,11,4); book 3 was complete by 9 December, when Cicero returned to Rome. On Panaetius, cf. Cicero, *Off.* 1,6-10,90,152-161; 2,16,35,51,60,76,86; 3,7-16,33-34; *Att.* 16,11,4; Pliny, *N.H.* praef. 22-23; on Posidonius, cf. Cicero, *Off.* 1,159; 3,8,10; *Att.* 16,11,3; 16,14,3-4; on Hecaton, cf. Cicero, *Off.* 3,63,89. Cicero's sources are discussed by M. Testard, *Cicéron: Les Devoirs* 1 (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1965) 25-49. On the work generally, see P. MacKendrick, *The Philosophical Books of Cicero* (London: Duckworth, 1989) 232-257; and the recent translation and introduction by M. T. Griffin & E. M. Atkins, *Cicero: On Duties* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991).

[3] Cf. 1,86,175,184-186,217-218; 2,25,69; 3,58-59 for references to the *officia* of clerics; cf. also 1,1-4,24; 3,139. The pastoral setting is sketched by Th. Förster, *Von den Pflichten der Geistlichen (De Off. Min.). Ein Beitrag zur Pastoraltheologie von Ambrosius, Bischofs von Mailand* (Halle: Muhlmann, 1879); *id., Ambrosius, Bischof von Mailand. Eine Darstellung seines Lebens und Wirkens* (Halle: Strien, 1884) 176-182. In general, see B. Citterio, 'Spiritualità sacerdotale nel "De officiis" di s. Ambrogio,' *Ambrosius* 32 (1956) 157-165; *Ambrosius* 33 (1957) 71-80; R. Gryson, *Le prêtre selon saint Ambroise* (Louvain: Edition Orientaliste, 1968) esp. 235 ff., 295ff.; A. Bonato, 'L'idea del sacerdozio in s. Ambrogio,' *Augustinianum* 27 (1987) 423-464 on Ambrose's vision for the clergy (most of the earlier work on the theme is superseded by Gryson's book).

[4] Other brief surveys can be found in M. L. Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages* 2: *Stoicism in Christian Latin Thought through the Sixth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1985) 58-59; R. Sauer, *Studien zur Pflichtenlehre des Ambrosius von Mailand* (Diss., Würzburg, 1981) i-vi; R. E. Crouter, *Ambrose's 'On the Duties of the Clergy': A Study of its Setting, Content, and Significance in the Light of its Stoic and Ciceronian Sources* (Th.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1968) 375-404. Crouter makes some interesting comments on the significance of confessional perspectives in scholarly appraisal of Ambrose: Protestant scholars are often the most critical of his Stoic side, while Catholics, especially in the nineteenth century, have tended to eulogize Ambrose for his elevation of the pagan theme. I offer below, for illustrative purposes, only a selection from the main literature; space precludes a proper critique of strengths and weaknesses.

[5] M. B. Emeneau, 'Ambrose and Cicero,' *Classical Weekly* 24 (1930) 49-53: 'Ambrose may be considered the last of the Roman Christians, the last of those who, nurtured on pagan ideals, could not be possessed of true Christianity' (53).

[6] P. Ewald, *Der Einfluss der stoisch-ciceronianischen Moral auf die Darstellung der Ethik bei Ambrosius* (Leipzig: Bredt, 1881) *passim*, and especially 32-33,87-88; Th. Zielinski, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig: Teubner,[2] 1908) 131-140.

[7] E. Hatch, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1888) 168-170; A. Harnack, *History of Dogma* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1898) 49 n. 3; K. Lake, *Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity* (London: Macmillan, 1920) 9-10.

[8] H. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics: A Study on the Apologists, Jerome, and other Christian Writers* (Gothenburg: University Press, 1958) 347-372.

[9] Th. Schmidt, *Ambrosius, sein Werk de Officiis Libri III und die Stoa* (Augsburg: J. P. Himmer, 1897); J. Stelzenberger, *Die Beziehungen der frühchristlichen Sittenlehre zur Ethik der Stoa. Eine moralgeschichtliche Studie* (Munich: Max Hüber, (1933) 491-502 (cf. also 129-134,175-178,234-242,335-340); M. Badura, *Die leitenden Grundsätze der Morallehre des hl. Ambrosius* (Prague: Selbstverlag, 1921) 28ff.; M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa. Geschichte einer geistigen Bewegung* 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1948) 445-447; F. Flückiger, *Geschichte des Naturrechtes 1: Altertum und Frühmittelalter* (Zurich: Evangelisches Verlag, 1954) 360-377; H. von Campenhausen, *The Fathers of the Latin Church* (London: A. & C. Black, 1964) 123-124 (Badura, Pohlenz, and Flückiger are commenting on Ambrose more widely, not just on *De Officiis*).

[10] The clearest introduction to this tradition remains H. Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition: Studies in Justin, Clement, and Origen* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966). With reference to *De Officiis*, see K. Zelzer, 'Zur Beuerteilung der Cicero-Imitatio bei Ambrosius, de Officiis,' *Wiener Studien* 11 (1977) 168-191.

[11] With widely differing emphases and degrees of detail, F. Spach, *Etude sur le traité de saint Ambroise, 'De Officiis Ministrorum'* (diss., Strasbourg, 1859) 47-51; D. Leitmeir, *Apologie der christlichen Moral. Darstellung des Verhältnisses der heidnischen und christlichen Ethik, zunächst nach einer Vergleichung des ciceronianischen Buches 'De officiis' und dem gleichnamigen des heiligen Ambrosius* (Augsburg, 1866); R. Thamin, *Saint Ambroise et la morale chrétienne au IVe siècle. Etude comparée des traités 'Des Devoirs' de Cicéron et de saint Ambroise* (Paris: G. Masson, 1895) 1,201ff.; H. H. Scullard, *Early Christian Ethics in the West, from Clement to Ambrose* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1907) 101-103,183-187,233-238,270-278; L. Visconti, 'Il primo trattato di filosofia morale cristiana (il De Officiis di S. Ambrogio e di Cicerone)', *Atti della Reale Accademia d'Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arte di Napoli* 25,2 (1908) 44-61; P. Cannata, *De s. Ambrosii libris qui inscribuntur De Officiis Ministrorum quaestiones* (Modena: libr. ed. R. Cannata, 1909) esp. 38,52; E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1928) 79-83; F. Wagner, *Der Sittlichkeitsbegriff in der hl. Schrift und in der altchristlichen Ethik* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1931) 219-234; C.N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Clasical Culture: A Study of Thought and Action from Augustus to Augustine* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940) 373-374; F.H. Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose* 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935) 502ff., 551-554; A Paredi, *Saint Ambrose: His Life and Times* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964) 316-320; O. Hiltbrunner, 'Die Schrift "De Officiis Ministrorum" des hl. Ambrosius und ihr ciceronische Vorbild,' *Gymnasium* 71 (1964) 174-189; J. Gaffney, 'Comparative Religious Ethics in the Service of Historical Interpretation: Ambrose's Use of Cicero', *Journal of Religious Ethics* 9 (1981) 35-47; M. Zelzer, 'Ambrosius von Mailand und das Erbe der klassischen Tradition', *Wiener Studien* 100 (1987) 208-209.

[12] J.T. Muckle, 'The Influence of Cicero in the Formation of Christian Culture', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 42, ser. 3 (May 1948) 113-118.

[13] J.T. Muckle, 'The De Officiis Ministrorum of Saint Ambrose: An Example of the Process of the Christianization of the Latin Language', *Mediaeval Studies* 1 (1939) 63-80.

[14] F. Bittner, *De Ciceronianis et Ambrosianis Officiorum Libris Commentatio* (Braunsberg, 1849); F. Hasler, *Über das Verhältnis der heidnischen und christlichen Ethik auf Grund einer Vergleichung des ciceronianischen Buches 'De Officiis' mit dem gleichnamigen des heiligen Ambrosius* (Munich: G. Franz, 1866) 18-48; J. Draeseke, 'M. Tulli Ciceronis et Ambrosii episcopi Mediolanensis de officiis libri tres inter se comparantur', *Rivista di filologia e istruzione classica* 4 (1876) 121-164; J. Reeb, *Über die Grundlagen des Sittlichen nach Cicero und Ambrosius: Vergleichung ihrer Schriften de Officiis* (Zweibrücken: August Kranzbühler, 1876) 30ff.; G. Nosari, *Del preteso stoicismo ciceroniano nei libri 'De Officiis' di S. Ambrogio* (Parma: Tipografia Federale Parmense, 1911) 27-40; D. Löpfe, *Die Tugendlehre des heiligen Ambrosius* (Sarnen: Benediktiner Kollegium, 1951) 153ff., 171-173 (on Ambrose generally); A.F. Coyle, 'Cicero's *De Officiis* and the *De Officiis Ministrorum* of St. Ambrose', *Franciscan Studies* 15 (1955) 224-256.

[15] P. de Labriolle, 'Le "De officiis ministrorum" de saint Ambroise et le "De officiis" de Cicéron', *Revue des cours et conférences* 16,2 (1907-08) 177-186 (= *The Life and Times of St.Ambrose* (St. Louis & London: Herder, 1928) 186-204).

[16] R. Sauer, *op. cit.* (n. 4) 202-207; cf. O. Hiltbrunner, *art. cit.* (n. 11).

[17] But of course in the process he does produce what can justly be called the first manual of Christian ethics: so F.H. Dudden *op. cit.* (n. 11) 502; E. Dassmann, 'Ambrosius', *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 2, 374. Ambrose's work exercises a major influence in the development of medieval moral theology: see Th. Deman, 'Le "De officiis" de saint Ambroise dans l'histoire de la théologie morale', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 37 (1953) 409-424.

[18] G. Madec, *Saint Ambroise et la philosophie* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1974) 80-85, 161-166, 344-345.

[19] M.L. Colish, *op. cit.* (n. 4) 59ff.

[20] *Pace* the Maurist editors, J. du Frische and N. Le Nourry, who claim that the title *De Officiis Ministrorum* is based on evidence *ex manuscriptis fere omnibus ac notae melioris* (PL 16, 21-22; cf. 25-26 n. 1; cf. also J.-R. Palanque, *op. cit.* (n. 1) 453), M. Testard's survey (*op. cit.* (n. 1) 1, 49-52) of 58 MSS uncovered 101 cases of the shorter title and only 24 examples of the longer one; no example of the longer title was found in the two primary families of MSS. On the evidence of the oldest editions, see M. Testard, 'Etude sur la composition dans le "De officiis ministrorum" [!] de saint Ambroise', in Y.-M. Duval, ed., *Ambroise de Milan* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1974) 195 n. 93, 157-159. The shorter title is used by Augustine, *Ep.* 82,21; Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1,16,4; and the author of the Carolingian *vita Ambrosii*, 16 (see P. Courcelle, *Recherches sur saint Ambroise. "Vies" anciennes, culture, iconographie* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1973) 59. The sole basis for the derivation of the longer title is Ambrose's words in 1,86: *Unde prudenter facitis convenire ecclesiasticis, et maxime* ministrorum officiis *arbitror*.... The longer title has obviously proved convenient for distinguishing Ambrose's work from Cicero's, but every indication is that it is not original, and that it conflicts with Ambrose's treatment of Cicero: it should therefore be laid to rest.

[21] Cf. 1,1-2,23,72,184; 2,25,134,149,152-156; 3,132,139; on spiritual paternity, cf. 1

Cor. 4:14-15; 2 Cor. 6:13; 1 Thess. 2:11; Phil. 2:22; 1 Tim. 1:2; 2 Tim. 2:1; Tit. 1:4; Phlm. 10; 1 Pet. 5:13; 3 Jn. 4. On Ambrose, see further R. Gryson, *op. cit.* (n. 3) 145-147.

[22] E.g., he presents temperance as detachment from passions such as anger (1,90-97,231-245); he reapplies Panaetian ethical realism to an ecclesiastical context (1,213-216); and he transmutes the Stoic doctrine of *officium perfectum* into a higher level of Christian service, characterized by asceticism, and attainable only by a few (3,10). Numerous other Stoic features could of course be cited. I intend to demonstrate the linguistic evocation of Cicero in full in a forthcoming commentary.

[23] The biblical image is used by Th. Förster in his second work cited in n. 3, 184. Cf. also O. Hiltbrunner, *art. cit.* (n. 11) 178,182, who claims (with exaggeration) that the classical framework is like the facade of a building, behind which everything is new.

[24] Tertullian, *Anim.* 20,1; cf. Lactantius, *Inst.* 1,5; 6,24.

[25] Cf. Paul's quotation of Aratus in the much-discussed passage, Acts 17 (17:28), and his use of Stoic language in Romans (se, e.g., S.K. Stowers, *The Diatribe and Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981); G. Bornkamm, *Early Christian Experience* (London: SCM, 1969) 47-70, 105-111). For the forged correspondence with Seneca, see the text edited by A. Kurfess in E. Hennecke & W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* 2 (London: Lutterworth Press, 1965) 133-141; and J.N. Sevenster, *Paul and Seneca* (Leiden: Brill, 1961). On the history of Stoic-Christian relations, see M. Pohlenz, *op. cit.* (n. 9) 400ff.; M. Spanneut, *Le Stoïcisme des Pères de l'Eglise, de Clément de Rome à Clément d'Alexandrie* (Paris: Seuil, 1957); M.L. Colish, *op. cit.* (n. 4).

[26] Jerome, *in Isaiam* 4,11,6.

[27] For an analysis of how Ambrose synthesizes one OT text with Stoic thought on wealth and poverty, see V.R. Vasey, 'Proverbs 17:6b (LXX) and St. Ambrose's Man of Faith', *Augustiniam* 14 (1974) 259-276.

[28] Cf. 1,33,77-78,84,123-125,127,132,135,223; 3,15-28; and see B. Maes, *La loi naturelle selon Ambroise de Milan* (Rome: Presses de l'Université Grégorienne, 1967) 6-8,123-138,152-162.

[29] Cf. 2,135; 3,17-19, and see H. Pétré, *Caritas. Etude sur le vocabulaire Latin de la charité chrétienne* (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1948) 275-293 on the mélange of Stoic-Ciceronian and NT language.

[30] Of course, the strategies used by Paul in such passages as Acts 17; Rom. 1; and perhaps Acts 14:8-20; the intellectual substance of the prologue to the Fourth Gospel (Jn. 1:1-18); and the influence of Platonist idealism in Hebrews (however we assess it) must be measured alongside 1 Cor. 1:18ff. and Col. 2:8: NT writers exploit some philosophical insights while repudiating philosophy as a way of salvation.

[31] *Off.* has a good deal of teaching on the conduct of ecclesiastics in society: e.g., 1,65-89,99-104,142,247; 2,29ff., 122; and such duties as almsgiving e.g., 1,38,148,253; 2,69,126-127), hospitality (1,167; 2,103-108), maintaining deposits (2,144-151; cf. 1,254), adjudicating in civil disputes (2,124-125; cf. 3,59), *intercessio* (2,102; cf. 1,138), and refraining from legacy-hunting (3,57-58). On Ambrose's Platonism (which is not just an intellectual gambit, but a fundamental influence on his spirituality and on his views on sexual matters), see P. Courcelle, 'De Platon à saint Ambroise par Apulée. Parallèles textuels entre le "De excessu fratris" et le "De Platone et eius dogmate" ', *Revue de Philologie* 87 (1961) 15-28; *id.*, 'Plotin et saint Ambroise', *Revue de Philologie* 76 (1950) 29-56; *id.*, 'Nouveaux aspects du Platonisme chez saint Ambroise', *Revue des études latines* 34 (1956) 220-239; L. Taormina, 'Sant' Ambrogio e Plotino', *Miscellanea di studi*

di letteratura cristiana antica 4 (1953) 41-85; A. Solignac, 'Nouveaux parallèles entre saint Ambroise et Plotin: le "De Iacob et vita beata" et le *peri eudaimonias* (*Ennéade* I,4)', *Archives de philosophie* 20 (1956) 148-156; P. Hadot, 'Platon et Plotin dans trois sermons de saint Ambroise', *Revue des études latines* 34 (1956) 202-220; H. Dörrie, 'Das fünffach gestufte Mysterium. Der Aufstieg der Seele bei Porphyrios und Ambrosius', in *Mullus: Festschrift Theodor Klauser* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1964) 79-92. See also P. Courcelle, 'L'humanisme chrétien de saint Ambroise', *Orpheus* 9 (1962) 21-34; *id.*, 'Deux grands courants de pensée dans la littérature latine tardive: Stoïcisme et Néoplatonisme', *Revue des études latines* 42 (1964) 122-140; *id.* 'Anti-Christian Arguments and Christian Platonism: from Arnobius to Ambrose', in A. Momigliano, ed., *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963) 151-192. On Ambrose's missionary activity, see W. Wilbrand, 'Heidentum und Heidenmission bei Ambrosius von Mailand', *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 1 (1938) 193-202; J. Mesot, *Die Heidenbekehrung bei Ambrosius von Mailand* (*Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, suppl. 7, Schöneck-Beckenried, 1958) 126ff.

[32] Cf. the passages cited by G. Madec, *op. cit.* (n. 18) 349ff. Ambrose refers to Vergil as *quidam poeta* (*De Abraham* 1,82; cf. 2,4) and to Cicero as *quidam saecularium doctor* (*De virginibus* 3,25), just as Augustine speaks of *Aeneae nescio cuius errores* (*Conf.* 1,13,20) and *librum cuiusdam Ciceronis* (*ibid.* 3,4,7)—a feigned ignorance which expresses dissociation from pagan authors (though see M. Testard, *Saint Augustin et Cicéron* 2 (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1958) 11-19).

[33] *Ferunt* in 1,207 refers not to Cicero's *Off.* but to his *Amic.* 24 (on which cf. *Fin.* 5,63; 2,79).

[34] Here Cicero is hidden behind a NT phrase: Mk. 4:11; 1 Cor. 5:12-13; Col. 4:5; 1 Thess. 4:12; 1 Tim. 3:7.

[35] The allusion is to Cicero, *Off.* 2,48, where Cicero refers to a forged correspondence between Philip II of Macedon and his son Alexander the Great, plus lost letters between Antipater and his son Cassander, and between Alexander's general Antigonus and his son Philip (cf. also Cicero, *Off.* 2,53-54)—hence Ambrose's *in ipsis regibus* (2,30).

[36] Cf. 1,15, referring to variant textual authorities (Aquila/Theodotion) on Ps. 90:3, known to Ambrose from Origen's *Hexapla.* For some examples of passages where Philo is cited in a similar fashion, see E. Lucchesi, *L'usage de Philon dans l'œuvre exégètique de saint Ambroise. Une "Quellenforschung" relative aux commentaires d'Ambroise sur la Genèse* (Leiden: Brill, 1977) 25.

[37] Cf. the references to *populus patrum* or *patres* in 1,139,197,246; 2,10,63; 3,5,69,92,103,108; and to *nostri* or *maiores nostri* in 1,118,175; 3,53,92,98,111,117. On the unity of Scripture and its significance for fourth-century Christians, see V. Hahn, *Das wahre Gesetz. Eine Untersuchung der Auffassung des Ambrosius von Mailand vom Verhältnis der beiden Testamente* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1969) 196ff.,454ff.; L.F. Pizzolato, *La dottrina esegetica di sant' Ambrogio* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1978) 43-87. Ambrose's use of his *exempla*, which applies a Roman spirit to biblical subjects, is discussed by R. Thamin, *op. cit.* (n. 11) 244-249; G. Madec, *op. cit.* (n. 18) 177-186; R. Sauer, *op. cit.* (n. 4) 192-201; C. Dantu, *La place et le rôle de l'Ecriture dans le De officiis ministrorum d'Ambroise* (Memoires d'études supérieures, Dijon, 1970).

[38] This does not prevent Ambrose from exulting in the military achievements of OT saints (1,175,196-202), or from accepting the principle of a just war (1,176), on which see

L.J. Swift, 'St. Ambrose on Violence and War', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 101 (1970) 533-543.

[39] Cf. 1,36,106,131,151; 2,3,5,65,113; and see T.G. Ring, *Auctoritas bei Tertullian, Cyprian und Ambrosius* (Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1975) 183-196.

[40] Some of the salient features of this section are highlighted by P.J. Couvée, *Vita beata en vita aeterna. Een onderzoek naar de ontwikkeling van het begrip "vita beata" naast en tegenover "vita aeterna" bij Lactantius, Ambrosius en Augustinus, onder invloed van de romeinsche Stoa* (Baarn, 1947) 131-173. I. J. Davidson, 'The *Vita beata*: Ambrose, *De officiis* 2, 1-21 and the Synthesis of Classical and Christian Thought in the Late Fourth Century', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 1995.

[41] I think that in 1,23 Ambrose is attempting to justify the use of an earlier sermonic treatment of Ps. 38 (1,1-22 or 1,5-22) as an introductory section, and that he further exploits this sermon in 1,231-245. For a different view, see W. Steidle, 'Beobachtungen zu des Ambrosius Schrift, De officiis', *Vigiliae Christianae* 38 (1984) 18-66, esp. 22ff. C. Riggi, 'L' "Auxesis" del salmo XXXVIII nel "De officiis" di s. Ambrogio', *Salesianum* 29 (1967) 623-668, argues that Ambrose takes from Ps. 38 the scheme of the three theological virtues and makes this the basis of his exposition of duties—a fanciful suggestion which finds no warrant in the Ambrosian text.

[42] The verb *explosa est* is reminiscent of Ciceronian rejection of particular philosophical views in *Fin.* 5,23 and *Off.* 1,6. *Disputatio/disputare* are used pejoratively by Ambrose elsewhere, too: see G. Madec, *op. cit.* (n. 18) 92 n. 392.

[43] S.V. Rovighi, 'Le idee filosofiche di sant' Ambrogio', in *Sant' Ambrogio nel XVI centenario della nascita* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1940) 235-258. Other significant discussions of Ambrose's attitude to philosophy are surveyed by A. Pastorino, 'La filosofia antica in sant' Ambrogio (Rassegna bibliografica)', *Bollettino di Studi Latini* 7 (1977) 88-104.

[44] G. Madec, *op. cit.* (n. 18).

[45] Cf. the criticisms of H. Savon, 'Saint Ambroise et la philosophie à propos d'une étude récente', *Revue d'histoire des religions* 191 (1977) 173-196. Madec has essentially restated his case in ' "Verus philosophus est amator Dei." S. Ambroise, S. Augustin et la philosophie', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 61 (1977) 549-566.

[46] See R. Holte, *Béatitude et sagesse: saint Augustin et la fin de l'histoire de l'homme dans la philosophie ancienne* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1962) 111-124.

[47] A classic treatment is H. Hagendahl, *op. cit.* (n. 8) 318ff.; from the mass of later literature, see, e.g., the perceptive remarks of N. Adkin, 'Some Notes on the Dream of Saint Jerome', *Philologus* 128 (1984) 119-126.

[48] Tertullian, *praescr. haer.* 7,9. It should be stressed that Tertullian's question is in context part of a denunciation of philosophically-inspired heresy, not of classical literature as such. Nonetheless, it encapsulates the tensions at work in the mind of one who, despite his puritanical zeal, remains deeply indebted to the style and the philosophy of classical texts. By the time he writes *pall.* 6,4, Tertullian can visualize the elevation of the philosopher's *pallium* as donned by the Christian. See J.-C. Fredouille, *Tertullien et la conversion de la culture antique* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1972) 301-357.

[49] For some examples, see P.G. Walsh, 'Paulinus of Nola and the Conflict of Ideologies in the Fourth Century', in P. Granfield & J.A. Jungmann, eds., *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten* 2 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1970) 565-571.

[50] One helpful treatment is M.D. Diederich, *Vergil in the Works of St. Ambrose*

(Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1931). For a basic outline, see G.L. Ellspermann, *The Attitude of the Early Christian Latin Writers toward Pagan Literature and Learning* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1949) 113-125.

[51] Augustine, *Conf.* 5,13,23-14,24; cf. *c. Iul. Pelag.* 2,11.

[52] In *Off.*, cf., e.g., 1,17-20,59-63,119,205-207; 2,137-138; 3,38-40,41,45-52.

[53] See the evidence collected by S.M. Oberhelman, *Rhetoric and Homiletics in Fourth-Century Christian Literature: Prose Rhythm, Oratorical Style, and Preaching in the works of Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1991) 21-62.

[54] For some details, see G. Madec, *op. cit.* (n. 18) 141-166; M.L. Ricci, 'Fortuna di una formula ciceroniana presso sant' Ambrogio (a proposito di *iustitia*)', *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 43 (1971) 222-245; L. Alfonsi, 'Ambrogio "Ciceronianus" ', *Vigiliae Christianae* 20 (1966) 83-85; H. Savon, 'La première oraison funèbre de saint Ambroise (*De excessu fratris* I) et les deux sources de la consolation chrétienne', *Revue des études latines* 58 (1980) 370-402; J. Doignon, 'Lactance intermédiaire entre Ambroise de Milan et la *Consolation* de Cicéron?' *Revue des études latines* 51 (1973) 208-219; M. Zelzer, 'Ambrosius von Mailand und das Erbe der klassischen Tradition', *Wiener Studien* 100 (1987) 201-226.

[55] E.K. Rand, *op. cit.* (n. 11) 255.

[56] On the lasting influence of Cicero's *Off.*, see the interesting account of N.E. Nelson, 'Cicero's "De Officiis" in Christian Thought: 300-1300', in *Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1933) 59-160.

[57] The conventions of ancient literary *imitatio* are well explained by D.A. Russell, 'De Imitatione', in D. West & T. Woodman, eds., *Creative imitation and Latin Literature* (Cambridge: CUP, 1979) 1-16. On Ambrose as an imitator of Cicero, see F. Claus, 'De opvatting van Ambrosius over de navolging in de "De officiis" ', *Handelingen XXVI der Koninklijke Zuid-nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis* (1972) 63-72.

[58] *Pace* H. Hagendahl, *op. cit.* (n. 8) 372.

[59] Cf., e.g., 1,2,24,65-66,81,87,212,217-218; 2,97-101.

[60] In his early days as bishop, Ambrose was acutely aware of his lack of theological training (1,1-4; *De virginibus* 1,1-4; 2,1-5; cf. *De paenitentia* 2,67,72-73; *Ep.* 63,65; Paulinus, *vita Ambrosii* 7-9; Rufinus, *H.E.* 2,11 on his reluctance to be ordained). It is easy to imagine even the experienced Ambrose turning to a practical guide which he had known since his schooldays.

[61] I am not greatly persuaded by W. Steidle's brave efforts to argue that the text is a carefully written work: *art. cit.* (n. 41), and 'Beobachtungen zum Gedankengang im 2. Buch von Ambrosius, De officiis', *Vigiliae Christianae* 39 (1985) 280-298. Steidle is right to say that the text is not as disorganized as has sometimes been claimed, but I suspect we are still left with a collection of oral pieces which have been reworked with varying degrees of care. I hope to take up the issue of the composition of the text in a separate article. See further M. Testard, *art. cit.* in n. 20, and 'Recherches sur quelques méthodes de travail de saint Ambroise dans le *De officiis*', *Recherches Augustiniennes* 24 (1989) 65-122.

[62] Cicero, *Off.* 1,6-10,152-161; 2,60; 3,7ff.

[63] Cf. *Att.* 12,52,3, where Cicero famously describes them as mere *apographa.*

[64] On *fides*, cf. 1,140,142,145-146; on *gloria*, cf. 1,175,177,179,187,194-196,208;

2,2,14,81,90,153,156; 3,36,48,56,89-90; on *iustitia*, cf. 1,39,110,117,142,186,259; 2,35. On the dual influences at work in Ambrose's mind, see R. Sauer, *op. cit.* (n. 4) 113-118 (*fides*); 48-54 (*gloria*); 81-91 (*iustitia*).

[65] The words of J.T. Muckle's title, in his 1939 article cited in n. 13.

[66] Cf., e.g., 1,28-29,39,58,124,147,188,218; 2,15-21,96,126; 3,11,36.

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JUVENCUS ALS BIBELEXEGET UND ALS ZEUGE DER "AFRIKANISCHEN" VETUS-LATINA-TRADITION

UNTERSUCHUNGEN DER BERGPREDIGT (MT. 5,1-48) IN DER VETUS LATINA UND IN DER VERSIFIKATION DES JUVENCUS (I 452-572)

VON

A.P. ORBÁN

In der ersten Hälfte des vierten Jahrhunderts verfaßte Gaius Vettius Aquileius (oder Aquilinus) Juvencus, ein spanischer Priester, eine lateinische —hauptsächlich an das Matthäusevangelium[1] sich anlehnende — Evangelienharmonie in vier Büchern und in mehr als 3000 nach Vergil gebauten Hexametern: die *Euangeliorum libri quattuor.*[2] Schon früh empfand man ihn als den eigentlichen Begründer der christlichen lateinischen Poesie. So preist Venantius Fortunatus sein großes Vorbild im Eingang der *Vita S. Martini,*[3] und Hieronymus, ein jüngerer Zeitgenosse unseres Dichters und einer der größten Bibelkenner der altchristlichen Zeit, nennt Juvencus' epische Paraphrase »eine nahezu wörtliche Umsetzung der Bibel« und sein versifizierendes Unternehmen »kühn und geglückt«.[4] Die Nachwirkung des Juvencus war langdauernd. Bis zum 11. Jahrhundert bleibt Juvencus sogar Schulautor; er wird es wieder im Humanismus.[5] In den Versen 452-572 des ersten Buchs dieses biblischen Epos versifiziert der Dichter den ersten Teil der Bergpredigt nach Matthäus 5, 1-48. Juvencus bietet uns in den Versen I 452-572 aber nicht die Versifikation von Mt. 5, 1-48 nach der *Vulgata*-»Übersetzung« des Hieronymus, die zu der Abfassungszeit (um 330)[6] der *Euangeliorum libri quattuor* des Juvencus noch nicht vorhanden war.[7] sondern nach einer zu den Zeiten des Juvencus in Spanien gängigen Version der *Vetus Latina*. »*Vetus Latina*« ist ein Sammelname der vorhieronymianischen —in Italien, Nordafrika, Südspanien und Gallien verfaßten — Übersetzungen der (Fragmente der) griechischen Bibel, d. h. des Alten Testaments (Septuaginta) und des Neuen Testaments. Von etwa 150 n. Chr. an wurde die westliche Kirche immer mehr latinisiert, und das Bedürfnis nach einer lateinischen Übersetzung der griechischen Bibel wurde um so dringender. Auch zu der Entstehungszeit dieser *Vetus-Latina*-Übersetzungen, um die Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts und später,

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bestand ein bedeutender Teil der meisten christlichen Gemeinden im Westen noch aus griechisch-sprechenden Asiaten. Diese griechisch-sprechenden Christen, die — ebenso wie die ersten lateinischen Christen — zu den niedrigsten Schichten der römischen Bevölkerung gehörten, brauchten natürlich für ihren Umgang mit der lateinischen Bevölkerung auch gewisse Kenntnisse des Lateinischen. Dieses Latein war zweifellos, der niedrigen sozialen Lage der ersten Christen gemäß,[8] die lateinische Umgangssprache: das stark vulgärlateinisch geprägte altchristliche Latein. Das altchristliche Latein stellte jedoch keine uniforme (Sonder)Sprache dar; es war ja nicht nur phonetisch, sondern auch lexikosemasiologisch nach den verschiedenen Gebieten differenziert.[9] In unserem Aufsatz möchten wir nun die Bergpredigt Christi (Matthäus 5, 1-48) in der *Vetus Latina* mit der von Juvencus verfaßten Versifikation des betreffenden Passus vergleichen und die Frage beantworten, welche von den *Vetus-Latina*-Fassungen der Dichter als Vorlage benutzt hat, — eine Frage, welche seit der Untersuchung von K. Marold, vor mehr als einem Jahrhundert, von keinem einzigen Wissenschaftler zur Diskussion gestellt worden ist. Zweitens möchten wir uns die Frage vorlegen, ob Juvencus, wenn er bei seinem versifizierenden Verfahren das Matthäusevangelium manchmal sogar nicht unwesentlich ändert, nur periphrasiert, versifiziert, stilisiert und allegorisiert — wie etwa R. Herzog[10] voraussetzt — oder eher eine Art von Bibelexegese treibt. Und wie verhält sich die Exegese des Juvencus zu den zeitgenössischen und späteren Matthäuskommentaren des 4. Jahrhunderts?

1. *Juvencus als Zeuge der »afrikanischen« Vetus-Latina-Tradition*[11]

Wenn wir den betreffenden, von uns zu behandelnden Passus der Bergpredigt (Matthäus 5, 1-48) in der *Vetus Latina* und in der Versifikation des Juvencus miteinander vergleichen, zeigt sich, daß Juvencus von den verschiedenen Fassungen der *Vetus Latina* ohne Zweifel der sogenannten *Afra*-Tradition folgte. Zugleich läßt sich auch noch feststellen, daß die von Juvencus benutzte *Vetus-Latina*-Fassung (*Afra*) sehr viele Ähnlichkeiten mit der durch Handschrift *d*[12] vertretenen »italienischen« *Vetus-Latina*-Fassung aufweist. Wenn wir nämlich die Versifikation des Juvencus mit der *Vetus Latina* vergleichen,[13] stellt sich heraus, daß der Wortlaut des Juvencus, wenn die Wortwahl der verschiedenen *Vetus-Latina*-Fassungen nicht gleichlautend ist, jeweils offensichtlich mit demjenigen der *Afra*-Tradition und/oder der Handschrift *d* der »italie-

nischen« *Vetus Latina* (»*Itala*«) übereinstimmt. Diese Feststellung steht in schroffem Gegensatz zu demjenigen, was K. Marold behauptet. Auf Grund von etwa zehn dem gesamten(!) biblischen Epos des Juvencus entnommenen Belegstellen gelangt er zu der folgenden Feststellung: »So ist der Dichter ein werthvoller Zeuge für den vorhieronymianischen Bibeltext, wenn auch oft unter dem poetischen Gewande die Vorlage nicht ganz klar zu erkennen sein wird. Jede Forschung auf diesem Gebiete muss ihn berücksichtigen. Sein Vorlage aber, das ergab sich schon aus den behandelten Stellen, steht unter den Italatexten dem Vercellensis (a),[14] dem Corbeiensis (ff^1) und dem Claromontanus (h) am nächsten«.[15] Aus den folgenden Belegstellen ergibt sich jedoch klar, daß Juvencus nicht die »italienische«, sondern vielmehr die »afrikanische« lateinische vorhieronymianischen Bibeltradition befolgt hat:

Juvencus I 452 hos populos] *turbas* bzw. *turbam* sind die Lesarten aller *Vetus-Latina*-Fassungen mit Ausnahme der sogenannten *Afra*: *Vetus-Latina-Afra* Mt. 5, 1: populum.

I 456 His similes mites, quos *mansuetudo* coronat] ein teil der *Vetus-Latina*-Handschriften + *Vulgata* Mt. 5, 4: Beati *mites*; *Vetus Latina f g*^{1} *h q* + *Afra* Mt. 5, 4: Beati *mansueti*. Was hier auffällt, ist, daß Juvencus an dieser Stelle zur Wiedergabe des Begriffs »sanftmütig« zwei sinnverwandte Wörter verwendet: *mites* und *mansuetudo*. Diese Kombination bieten auch die nach Juvencus verfaßten Matthäuskommentare wie etwa Hilarius,[16] *In Mt.* 4, 3 (PL 10, c. 932):[17] *Mitibus* terrae haereditatem pollicetur ... Quia per *mansuetudinem* mentis nostrae habitauerit Christus in nobis, nos quoque gloria clarificati eius corporis uestiemur; Hieronymus,[18] *In Mt.* I 5, 4: Beati *mites* quoniam ... Nemo enim terram istam per *mansuetudinem* sed per superbiam possidet; Chromatius von Aquileja, *Tract. in Mt.*[19] 3, 4 (PL 20, 334C):[20] Beati *mites* ... Mites sunt homines *mansueti*, humiles et modesti, in fide simplices ... Aus diesem Material können wir zwei Folgerungen ziehen: 1) Der Gebrauch von *mansuetudo* an dieser Stelle bei Juvencus wird durch die *Afra*-Tradition der *Vetus Latina* vorausgesetzt; 2) Die hier angeführten, nach Juvencus geschriebenen Matthäuskommentare haben höchstwahrscheinlich das Bibelepos des Juvencus benutzt.

I 457 quorum debetur iuri] Der bei Juvencus vorliegende Begriff »diejenigen, die Recht haben auf ...« setzt zweifellos eher das Zeitwort *hereditare* der *Vetus Latina* als das Verb *possidere* der *Vulgata* voraus: *Vul-*

gata Mt. 5, 4: possidebunt; *Vetus Latina d f+Afra* Mt. 5, 4: hereditabunt. Vgl. auch Hilarius, *In Mt.* 4, 3 (PL 10, c. 932C): *Beati mites, quoniam ipsi haereditabunt terram.* Mitibus terrae haereditatem pollicetur.

I 462 Illum nam Domini *miseratio* larga manebit] Der Subjekt-Genitiv *Domini* fehlt in der *Vulgata*, wo »sie« d. h. die »Seligen« das Subjekt bilden, während in der *Vetus Latina* ausdrücklich »Gott« bzw. »er« als Subjekt genannt wird: *Vulgata* Mt. 5, 7: misericordiam consequuntur; *Vetus Latina b c g*^{1} *h* Mt. 5, 7: ipsis miserebitur Deus; *Vetus Latina Afra* Mt. 5, 7: misericordiam insequitur.

I 476 Ni longe *abiectum* cuncta ut uestigia calcent] In dem Ausdruck *abiectum* läßt sich nicht die auch noch in der *Vulgata* weiterlebende Lesart *mittatur* (Mt. 5, 13) vieler *Vetus-Latina*-Handschriften erkennen, sondern die Lesart der *Vetus Latina d h* Mt. 5, 13: proiciatur, und der *Vetus Latina Afra* Mt. 5, 13: proici.

I 477 Vos estis mundi clarum (ne abscondite) *lumen*] Anstelle von *lumen* liegt in dem Großteil der *Vetus-Latina*-Tradition und in der *Vulgata* der Ausdruck *lux* vor: *Vulgata* Mt. 5, 14: Vos estis *lux* mundi; *lumen* ist die Lesart der *Vetus Latina* d f ff^{1} *l+Afra* Mt. 5, 14: Vos estis *lumen* mundi. Dieselben Tatsachen stellen wir auch in I 479 fest, wo der Dichter Mt. 5, 16 versifiziert: I 479 Vestrum sic *lumen* ad omnes/Perueniat] ein Teil der *Vetus-Latina*-Tradition + *Vulgata* Mt. 5, 16: Sic luceat *lux* uestra coram hominibus, *Vetus Latina d q+Afra* Mt. 5, 16: Sic luceat *lumen* uestrum coram hominibus. Auch Hilarius folgt in seinem Matthäuskommentar der sogenannten *Afra*-Tradition (Vos estis lumen mundi, *In Mt.* 4, 11 [PL 10, c. 935A]), während Chromatius von Aquileja in seinem Matthäuskommentar — ebenso wie Hieronymus — die sogenannte *Itala*-Tradition bzw. die *Vulgata* vertritt: Vos estis lux mundi ... Sic luceat lux uestra coram hominibus (*Tract. in Mt.* 5, 1.5 [PL 20, c. 340B.-342D]).

I 483 Non ego nunc priscas leges *dissoluere* ueni] der Großteil der *Vetus-Latina*-Tradition + *Vulgata* Mt. 5, 17: Nolite putare quoniam ueni *soluere* legem ... Non ueni *soluere*; *Vetus Latina d+Afra* Mt. 5, 17: Nolite putare quoniam (quia) ueni *dissoluere* ... Non ueni *dissoluere*. Auch hier stellen wir übrigens denselben Unterschied zwischen Hilarius und Chromatius von Aquileja fest wie oben: Hilarius vertritt zusammen mit Juvencus die *Afra*-Tradition (Nolite putare quoniam ueni *dissoluere*

legem aut prophetas: non ueni *dissoluere*, *In Mt.* 4, 14 [PL 10, c. 936A]) und Chromatius von Aquileja die *Itala*-Tradition (Nolite putare, quia ueni *soluere* legem aut prophetas: non ueni *soluere*, Tract. in Mt. 6, 1 [PL 20, c. 343C]).

I 490 Si quis *enim* minimam mandati soluere partem] der Großteil der *Vetus-Latina*-Tradition + *Vulgata* Mt. 5, 19: qui ergo soluerit unum de mandatis istis minimis; *Vetus Latina d* Mt. 5, 19: quicumque *enim* soluerit unum de mandatis istis minimis.

I 497 Humano *si quis* macularit sanguine palmas] der Großteil der *Vetus-Latina*-Tradition + *Vulgata* Mt 5, 21: *qui* autem occiderit; *Vetus Latina d h* + *Afra* Mt. 5, 21: *quicumque* autem (enim *d*) occiderit. Der von Juvencus verwendete allgemeinere Ausdruck *si quis* stützt sich eher auf die Lesart *quicumque* der *Vetus Latina d h* + *Afra* als auf die Lesart *qui* der Mehrzahl der *Itala*-Fassungen der *Vetus Latina* und diejenige der *Vulgata*.

I 507 Munera cuncta *illic* ... relinque] der Großteil der *Vetus-Latina*-Tradition + *Vulgata* Mt. 5, 24: relinque *ibi* munus tuum; *Vetus Latina Afra* Mt. 5, 24: relinque illic (*d*: dimitte ibi) munus tuum.

I 533 Sola uiri recte discedet *adultera* tectis] der Großteil der *Vetus-Latina*-Tradition + *Vulgata* Mt. 5, 32: qui dimiserit uxorem suam excepta *fornicationis* causa; *Vetus Latina d h* Mt. 5, 32: Quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam excepta ratione (*h*: causa) *adulterii*.

I 533/35 Sola uiri recte discedet adultera tectis,/Ast aliae maneant, nam casti iura pudoris/Auctore amittet mulier deserta marito. Diese drei Verse bilden bei Juvencus die Versifikation von Mt. 5, 32: Ego autem dico uobis: Quia omnis, qui dimiserit uxorem suam, excepta fornicationis causa, facit eam moechari: *et qui dimissam duxerit adulterat*, »Es ist auch gesagt worden: Wer sein Weib von sich entläßt, außer um des Ehebruches willen, macht, daß sie die Ehe bricht; und wer die Entlassene zur Ehe nimmt, bricht die Ehe«. An dieser Stelle fällt auf (siehe auch unten), daß Juvencus den letzten Satz (*et qui dimissam duxerit, adulterat*, »und wer die Entlassene usw.«) nicht in sein biblisches Epos übernommen hat — und zwar, weil dieser Satz in der *Vetus Latina Afra*[21] fehlt. Auch in dem Matthäuskommentar des Hilarius fehlt der betreffende Satz (vgl. PL 10, c. 939BC-940A). Etwas Ähnliches liegt in Vers I 571 vor: Seruit amicitiae tantum gens dedita lucris, wo Juvencus

Mt. 5, 46 versifiziert: Nonne et publicani hoc[22] (= diligere eos, qui uos diligunt) faciunt? [»Tun dies nicht auch die Zöllner?«] Die hierauf folgenden Worte von Mt. 5, 47: Et si salutaueritis[23] fratres[24] uestros tantum, quid amplius facitis? Nonne et ethnici[25] hoc faciunt? [»Und wenn ihr nur eure Brüder grüßet, was tut ihr da mehr? Tun dies nicht auch die Heiden?«], fehlen jedoch bei Juvencus nach I 571; im Vers I 572: Sed uos perfecto similes estote parenti, versifiziert Juvencus bereits Mt. 5, 48: Estote[26] ergo[27] uos perfecti sicut[28] et Pater uester caelestis[29] perfectus est (»Ihr also sollet vollkommen sein, wie auch euer Vater im Himmel vollkommen ist«). Warum fehlt Mt. 5, 47 nun in dem biblischen Epos des Juvencus? Wiederum weil Juvencus offenbar der *Afra*-Fassung der *Vetus Latina* folgt und in dieser *Afra*-Fassung der *Vetus Latina* der ganze Vers Mt. 5, 47 fehlt.[30] Im Gegensatz zum Matthäuskommentar des Chromatius von Aquileja (PL 20, c. 356BC) fehlt auch wieder im Matthäuskommentar des Hilarius (PL 10, c. 942AB) dieser Matthäusvers (und dessen Exegese).

I. 539 Quod *sedes* Domini] der Großteil der *Vetus-Latina*-Tradition + *Vulgata* Mt. 5, 34: quia *thronus* Dei est; *Vetus Latina d h* Mt. 5, 34: quia *sedis*[31] Dei est/est Dei; vgl. Hilarius, *In Mt.* 4, 24 (PL 10, 940B): Neque per caelum iurabis, quia *sedes* dei est. Die von Hilarius und Chromatius von Aquileja belegten Lesarten dieser Bibelstelle vetreten wieder die zwei deutlich voneinander zu unterscheidenden *Vetus-Latina*-Traditionen: Neque per caelum iurabis, quia *sedes* dei est (Hilarius, *In Mt.* 4, 24 [PL 10, c. 940B]), und: Neque per caelum, quia *thronus* dei est (Chromatius, *Tract. in Mt.* 10, 2 [PL 20, c. 351D).

I 542 Nec caput *in* proprium cuiquam iurare licebit] der Großteil der *Vetus-Latina*-Tradition + *Vulgata* Mt. 5, 36: neque *per* caput tuum iuraueris; *Vetus Latina d* + *Afra* Mt. 5, 36: neque *in* caput (*Afra*: capite) tuum (*Afra*: tuo) iuraueris (iurabis).

I 551 Ac si quis partem *palma percusserit* oris] der Großteil der *Vetus-Latina*-Tradition + *Vulgata* Mt. 5, 39: Sed si quis te *percusserit* in dextera maxilla tua; *Vetus Latina d* Mt. 5, 39: Sed si qui te *percusserit alapam* in dexteram maxillam tuam; *Vetus Latina Afra* Mt. 5, 39: Set qui te *expalmauerit* in dexteram maxillam tuam.

I 553 *Auferet* aut tunicam si quis ui iudicis instans] der Großteil der *Vetus-Latina*-Tradition + *Vulgata* Mt. 5, 40: qui uult ... et tunicam

tuam *tollere*; *Vetus Latina Afra* Mt. 5, 40: qui uult ... et tunicam *auferre*.

I 558 Si quis egens *poscet* uel si simulabit egentem] der Großteil der *Vetus-Latina*-Tradition + *Vulgata* Mt. 5, 42: Qui *petit* a te; *Vetus Latina Afra* Mt. 5, 42: Omni *poscenti* te; vgl. Hilarius, *In Mt.*4, 26 (PL 10, c. 941C): Omnibus etiam dari quae *poposcerint* iubet.

I 567 *Nam* genitor noster communia lumina solis / dedit] der Großteil der *Vetus-Latina*-Tradition + *Vulgata* Mt. 5, 45: patris ... *qui* solem suum oriri facit; *Vetus Latina d* Mt. 5, 45: patris ... *quia* solem suum oriri facit; *Vetus Latina Afra* Mt. 5, 45: patris ... *quoniam* solem suum oriri facit. Die Wendung *nam* des Juvencus setzt zweifellos nicht die Lesart *qui* (der *Vulgata* und der Mehrzahl der *Vetus-Latina-»Itala«*-Handschriften), sondern die Lesart *quia* oder *quoniam* der *Vetus Latina d* bzw. *Afra* als Vorlage voraus.

2. *Juvencus als Bibelexeget*

In erster Linie will Juvencus eine versifizierte Evangelienharmonie verfassen. Bei seinem versifizierenden Verfahren folgt er zumal dem Matthäusevangelium nahezu Wort für Wort, in einer ausgeglichenen Mischung von christlichem und klassisch-lateinischem epischem Sprachgebrauch.[32] Auch Hieronymus nennt Juvencus' epische Paraphrase »eine nahezu wörtliche Umsetzung der Bibel«: *Quattuor euangelia hexametris uersibus paene ad uerbum transferens quattuor libros composuit* (Vir. ill. 84). Doch hat Juvencus den lateinischen Text der *Vetus Latina* nicht nur sklavisch in Verse gebracht, sondern auch — wie wir bereits in einem früheren Aufsatz[33] erkannt haben — manchmal nicht unwesentlich geändert. Juvencus ist also nicht jemand, der alles kritiklos und automatisch versifiziert. Aus dem folgenden wird sich noch ergeben, daß er bei seinem versifizierenden Unternehmen sogar eine Art von Bibelexegese treibt, welche auch in den Matthäuskommentaren des vierten Jahrhunderts Anklang findet. Es handelt sich zumal um drei Matthäuskommentare, die alle nach der Abfassungszeit (um 330) des Bibelepos des Juvencus entstanden sind: der Matthäuskommentar des Hilarius von Poitiers von ca. 353/55, derjenige des Chromatius von Aquileja (nicht vor 398 verfaßt) und der Matthäuskommentar des Hieronymus (geschrieben 398).[34] Der Matthäuskommentar des Hilarius von Poitiers ist der älteste, uns überlieferte altchristliche lateinische

Matthäuskommentar. Hieronymus kennt[35] zwar zwei altchristliche lateinische Schriftsteller, die vor Juvencus einen Matthäuskommentar verfaßt haben sollen, Victorinus von Pettau (gestorben 304) und Fortunatianus von Aquileja (gestorben 361): diese »Kommentare« sind jedoch tatsächlich nur Scholien oder *tituli*[36] und außerdem fragmentarisch überliefert.

I 455 Felices humiles, pauper quos spiritus ambit *** Mt. 5, 3: Beati pauperes spiritu, »Selig sind die Armen im Geiste«. In diesem Text ersetzt der Dichter Juvencus nicht nur den sprachlichen Christianismus *beati* durch den klassisch-lateinischen Ausdruck *felices*, sondern er legt den Bibelvers auch aus: die *pauperes spiritu* von Mt. 5, 3 sind nicht diejenigen, die im wörtlichen Sinn materielle Armut zu leiden haben, sondern die Demütigen, die *humiles*. Dies ist nun auch die Exegese von Hilarius, *In Mt.* 4, 2 (PL 10, c. 932A-B): in spiritus *humilitate* perfectae beatitudinis posuit exordium. Igitur *humilia* spirantes, id est, se homines recordantes ... Atque ita per hanc spiritus *humilitatem* qua de Deo nobis meminerimus et indulta omina, et deinceps potiora speranda, caelorum regnum erit nostrum; Chromatius von Aquileja, *Sermo de octo beatitudinibus* 2 (PL 20, c. 325AB): Beati ergo pauperes spiritu ... Non simpliciter, neque confuse beatos pauperes dixit, sed addidit *pauperes spiritu*. Nec enim omnis paupertas felix est: quia fit saepe ex necessitate, fit nonnumquam per pessimos mores, fit etiam ex indignatione diuina. Beata ergo paupertas, est spiritualis: eorum scilicet hominum, qui spiritu et uoluntate pauperes se faciunt propter Deum, renuntiando saeculi bonis; cf. Chromatius von Aquileja, *Tract. in Mt.* 3, 2 (PL 20, 332C-333A): Hos utique pauperes significat esse beatos, qui contemptis mundi diuitiis, spretaque saeculi facultate, ut deo fierent diuites, mundo esse pauperes uoluerunt. Hi tales, pauperes quidem saeculo uidentur, sed deo diuites sunt ... Vel certe beatos pauperes dicit, qui nulla superbia diaboli inflantur, nulla ambitione saeculi extolluntur, sed *humilitatem* spiritus cum fidei deuotione custodiunt; Hieronymus, *In Mt. I 5, 3: Beati pauperes spiritu* ... Ne quis autem putaret paupertatem, quae nonnumquam necessitate portatur, a Domino praedicari, adiunxit *spiritu*, ut *humilitatem* intellegeres, non penuriam. *Beati pauperes spiritu* qui propter spiritum sanctum uoluntate sunt pauperes.

I 456 His similes mites, quos mansuetudo coronat *** Mt. 5, 4: Beati mites, »Selig sind die Sanftmütigen«. Anstelle von *mitis* bietet die *Afra*-Tradition der *Vetus-Latina*-Überlieferung die Lesart *mansuetus* (vgl.

oben). Die beiden Worte liegen aber, kombiniert, zum erstenmal bei Juvencus vor und nachher in den oben angedeuteten altchristlichen lateinischen Matthäuskommentaren. Das Wort *mitis* wird nämlich auch von den altchristlichen lateinischen Bibelkommentatoren als *mansuetudo, mansuetus* ausgelegt: Hilarius, *In Mt.* 4, 3 (PL 10, c. 932 B-C): *Beati mites* ... Quia per *mansuetudinem* mentis nostrae habitauerit Christus in nobis...; Chromatius von Aquileja, *Tract. in Mt.* 3, 4 (PL 20, 334C): Mites sunt homines *mansueti*, humiles et modesti, in fide simplices ... qui Dominicae *mansuetudinis* imitantur exemplum.

I 457 Quorum debetur iuri pulcherrima tellus *** Mt. 5, 4 quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram, »denn sie werden das Erdreich besitzen«. Juvencus interpretiert *terram* als *pulcherrima tellus*. Was er damit genau meint, ist nicht ganz eindeutig: das Adjektiv *pulcherrima* kann entweder auf den verherrlichten Leib Christi hindeuten, wie diese Bibelstelle später etwa von Hilarius ausgelegt wird: Hilarius, *In Mt.* 4, 3 (PL 20, c. 932B-C); Mitibus terrae haereditatem pollicetur, id est, eius corporis, quod ipse Dominus assumpsit habitaculum. Quia per mansuetudinem mentis nostrae habitauerit Christus in nobis, nos quoque gloria clarificati eius corporis uestiemur; oder auf das himmlische Paradies, wie die Exegese von Hieronymus lautet: Hieronymus, *In Mt.* I 5, 4: Non terram Iudeae nec terram istius mundi, non terram maledictam spinas et tribulos adferentum, quam crudelissimus quisque et bellator magis possidet, sed terram quam psalmista (Ps. 26, 13) desiderat: *Credo uidere bona Domini in terra uiuentium.* ... Nemo enim terram istam per mansuetudinem sed per superbiam possidet. Chromatius von Aquileja trifft zwischen den beiden Möglichkeiten keine Wahl: *Tract. in Mt.* 3, 4 (PL 20, 334CD): Huiusmodi ergo mites beatos ostendit, quibus non in praesenti uita, sed in futura possessionem terrae illius felicis repromisit ... Hos ergo mites Dominus beatos ostendit, qui lenitatem mansuetudinis Dominicae sequentes, beatae illius terrae haereditate perpetua possessione fruentur. Maxime tamen de terra nostri corporis loquitur, in qua sancti transfigurati in gloriam, secundum apostolum, aeterna felicitate regnabunt.

I 458 Hoc modo lugentes *solacia* magna sequentur *** Mt. 5, 5 Beati qui lugent, quoniam ipsi consolabuntur, »Selig sind die Trauernden, denn sie werden getröstet werden«. Juvencus gebraucht an dieser Stelle, wenn er das Verb *consolari* paraphrasiert und versifiziert, einen Wortlaut, der später auch in den bereits öfters angeführten Matthäuskom-

mentatoren vorliegt, das Substantiv *solacium*: Hilarius, *In Mt.* 4, 4 (PL 10, c. 932C): Lugentibus aeternae consolationis *solatia* repromittit; vgl. Chromatius von Aquileja, *Tract. in Mt.* 3, 3 (PL 20, c. 333D): His ergo tam sanctae lugentibus non immerito a Domino *consolatio* exsultationis aeternae promittitur.

I 463/64 Felices, *puro* qui caelum corde *tuentur*, / Visibilis deus his per saecula cuncta *patebit* *** Mt. 5, 8 Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi deum uidebunt, »Selig sind, die ein reines Herz haben; denn sie werden Gott anschauen«. Wenn wir an dieser Stelle den Wortgebrauch des Matthäuskommentars des Hilarius und denjenigen des biblischen Epos des Juvencus nebeneinander stellen, zeigt sich deutlich, daß Hilarius bei der Verfassung seines Matthäuskommentars zweifellos Juvencus gekannt und benutzt hat: Hilarius, *In Mt.* 4, 7 (PL 10, c. 933A): eos scilicet et uisui et occursui Dei esse *patentes*,[37] quibus per animi nitorem ac uitae *puritatem* potestas sit *contuendi* ... hoc quod in Deo est immortale cernemus; vgl. auch Ps.-Hieronymus (PL 30, c. 544D): *Beati mundo corde*, id est, qui *puro* corde ... quia mundus deus mundos corde respicit; Chromatius von Aquileja, *Sermo de octo beatitudinibus* (PL 20, c. 526C): Munditia enim cordis et conscientiae *puritas* nullam nubem ad *intuendum* dominum patietur.

I 465 Pacificos Deus in numerum sibi prolis *adoptat* *** Mt. 5, 9: Beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei uocabuntur, »Selig sind die Friedsamen, denn sie werden Kinder Gottes genannt werden«. Auch hier setzt der Wortlaut (*adoptat*) des Juvencus eine sprachliche Verwandtschaft mit Hilarius von Poitiers voraus: Hilarius, *In Mt.* 4, 8 (PL 10, c. 933B): Pacificorum beatitudo *adoptionis* est merces. Der Ausdruck *adoptio* kommt in diesem Kontext weder in der *Vetus Latina* bzw. der *Vulgata* noch bei den anderen oben angeführten Matthäuskommentatoren, Chromatius von Aquileja und Hieronymus, vor.

I 468/70 Gaudete, operum quos iusta tenentes / Vrgebit praeceps stimulis iniuria saeuis; / Plurima nam merces uobis seruatur in aethra *** Mt. 5, 11-12: Beati estis cum maledixerint uobis, et persecuti uos fuerint, et dixerint omne malum aduersum uos mentientes, propter me. Gaudete et exultate, quoniam merces uestra copiosa (multa) est in caelo (caelis), »Selig seid ihr, wenn euch die Menschen schmähen und verfolgen, und alles Böse mit Unwahrheit wider euch reden um meinetwillen. Freuet euch, und frohlocket; denn euer Lohn ist groß im Himmel«.

Auch hier ist Hilarius wiederum der einzige Bibelkommentator, der bei der Exegese von Mt. 5, 11-12 zur Wiedergabe des Zeitwortes *esse* des Matthäusevangeliums den Ausdruck *(re)seruare* des Juvencus aufweist: Hilarius, *Mt.* 4, 9 (PL 10, c. 934A): His igitur et regnum *reseruatur* et merces in caelo copiosa promittitur.

I 472/74 Discite uos hac in terra salis esse *saporem.* / Hic *sapor amissa* si iam *uirtute* senescit, / Quae salis absumptos acuet substantia gustus? *** Mt. 5, 13: Vos estis sal terrae. Quod si sal euanuerit, in quo salietur?, »Ihr seid das Salz der Erde; wenn nun das Salz seine Kraft verliert, womit soll man denn salzen?« Drei Ausdrücke, die im lateinischen Text (*Vetus Latina* und *Vulgata*) von Mt. 5, 13 fehlen, welche aber Juvencus bei seiner poetischen Paraphrase von Mt. 5, 13 verwendet (*sapor, amissus, uirtus*), begegnen wieder bei Hilarius von Poitiers: *In Mt.* 4, 10 (PL 10, c. 934B.935A): Sal ... ad omnem sensum conditi *saporis* aptissimus est (c. 934B) ... Merito igitur sal terrae nuncupati sunt, per *uirtutem* doctrinae salliendi modo aeternitati corpora reseruantes ... ideo eos, sal terrae nuncupatos, monet in traditae sibi potestatis *uirtute* persistere, ne infatuati nihil salliant et ipsi sensu accepti *saporis amisso* uiuificare corrupta non possint (c. 935A); vgl. Chromatius von Aquileja, *Tract. in Mt.* 4, 2 (PL 20, c. 338C: Et sicuti sales a foris quidem apponuntur, intrinsecus uero operantur per *uirtutem* naturae suae, ita et caelestis gratia exteriora hominis atque interiora penetrat.

I 496 ueteris iussum moderamine *legis*] Mt. 5, 21: quia dictum est antiquis, »daß zu den Alten gesagt ist«. Vgl. Hilarius, *In Mt.* 4, 17 (PL 10, c. 937C): *Lex* uetuit occidere.

I 497 Humano si quis macularit sanguine palmas *** Mt. 5, 21: qui autem occiderit, »wer aber tötet«. Der Ausdruck *occiderit* von Mt. 5, 21 (*Vetus Latina* + *Vulgata*), den unser Dichter mit *macularit sanguine palmas* umschreibt, ist eigentlich nicht eindeutig genug. Der Dekalog und der Evangelist gebrauchen dieses Zeitwort natürlich im engeren Sinn und meinen damit nur das Töten von Menschen (und nicht das Töten von Tieren); doch will der Dichter in seiner versifizierenden Exegese jede Zweideutigkeit vermeiden und fügt daher dem Substantiv *sanguine* das Adjektiv *humano* zu. Ein vergleichbares Verfahren stellen wir auch bei Hilarius fest, wenn er in seinem Kommentar *In Mt.* 4, 17 (PL 10, c. 937C) das Verb *occidere* sofort mit dem Ausdruck *homicidium* verdeutlicht: Lex uetuit occidere, reatum homicidii seueritate iudicii expiatura.

I 502/503 Nec minor illorum conuicia flamma sequetur, / Qui fatui miseriue cient sub nomine fratrem *** Mt. 5, 22: Ego autem dico uobis quia omnis qui irascitur fratri suo reus erit iudicio, qui autem dixerit fratri suo racha reus erit concilio, qui autem dixerit fatue reus erit gehennae ignis, »Ich aber sage euch, daß jeder, der über seinen Bruder zürnt, des Gerichtes schuldig sein wird. Wer aber zu seinem Bruder sagt: Raka! wird des Rates schuldig sein; und wer sagt: Du Narr! wird des höllischen Feuers schuldig sein«. Anläßlich dieses Verses von Juvencus können wir uns die Frage vorlegen, ob das Wort *fatui* (I 503) an dieser Stelle nicht eher als eine handschriftliche Fehltradition für *uacui* betrachtet werden soll. Vgl. Hilarius, *In Mt.* 4, 17 (PL 10, c. 937C): *Racha uacuitatis* opprobrium est, et qui sancto Spiritu plenum conuicio *uacuitatis* insimulat, fit reus concilio sanctorum; Chromatius von Aquileja, *Tract. in Mt.* 7, 2 (PL 20, c. 345C): Vetat namque dici fratri *raca* idest *uacue* et inanis: Hieronymus, *In Mt.* I 522: *Racha.* Hoc uerbum proprie Hebraeorum est. *Racha* enim dicitur kenos, id est inanis aut *uacuus*, quem nos possumus uulgata iniuria 'absque cerebro' nuncupare; Ps.-Hieronymus (PL 30, c. 546A): *Racha* id est *uacuus* uel inanis. *Fatue* id est sine cerebro: *reus erit gehennae ignis* id est gehenna duplex poena, eo quod animam et corpus punit.

I 506 Quod tibi sit cum fratre domi suscepta *simultas* *** Mt. 5, 23: quia frater tuus habet aliquid aduersum te, »daß dein Bruder etwas wider dich habe«. Der nichts weniger als alltägliche Ausdruck *simultas*, womit Juvencus die gewöhnliche Wendung »etwas wider einen haben« (*habere aliquid aduersum*) versifiziert, erscheint in den Matthäuskommentatoren des vierten Jahrhunderts wieder nur bei Hilarius: *In Mt.* 4, 18 (PL 10, c. 938A): si recordentur habere se cum fratribus aliquid *simultatum*.

I 508/09 ad *pacem* properans transcurre petendam. / Fraterno demum iam conciliatus *amori* *** Mt. 5, 24: et uade prius reconciliare fratri tuo, »und geh zuvor hin, und versöhne dich mit deinem Bruder«. Auch hier liegen bei Juvencus zwei Ausdrücke vor, *pax* und *amor*, die bei Matthäus (*Vetus Latina* + *Vulgata*) an der betreffenden Stelle fehlen; von den Matthäuskommentatoren des vierten Jahrhunderts ist Hilarius wieder der einzige, der beide Ausdrücke in seinen Kommentar aufgenommen hat; nur hat er das neutrale, klassisch-lateinische, von Juvencus verwendete Wort *amor* durch den sprachlichen Christianismus *caritas*[38] ersetzt: Hilarius, *In Mt.* 4, 18 (PL 10, c. 938A): reconciliatos

humana *pace* reuerti in diuinam *pacem* iubet, in Dei *caritatem* de *caritate* hominum transituros.

I 511/515 Est tibi praeterea semper contraria uirtus / Corporis; hoc casti celeri curetur amore, / Dum rapidae tecum graditur per compita uitae. / Accusabit enim polluti corporis usus / Et te sublimi statuet sub iudice uinctum *** Mt. 5, 25: Esto consentiens aduersario tuo cito dum es in uia cum eo, ne forte tradat te aduersarius iudici, »Vereinige dich mit deinem Widersacher ohne Zögern, so lange du mit ihm auf dem Wege bist, damit dich nicht der Widersacher dem Richter übergebe«. Der Ausdruck *aduersarius* »Gegner«, »Widersacher« kommt in Mt. 5, 25 zweimal vor und deutet in diesem Kontext höchstwahrscheinlich einen »juridischen« Gegner an, mit dem man eine Auseinandersetzung hat. Juvencus aber interpretiert diesen »Gegner« als den Körper, *corpus*. Anläßlich dieser Stelle des Evangelienbuchs von Juvencus stellt K. Marold folgendes fest: »Eine besonders merkwürdige Auslegung ist die von Mt. V, 25 und 26 (I, 511-518). Die Bibelstelle handelt von der Versöhnlichkeit: esto consentiens adversario tuo cito, dum es in uia cum eo etc. Wie diese Stelle zu jener Zeit verstanden wurde, ersehen wir aus Hilarius in Mt. IV, 19: Quid autem a pluribus in hoc capite sensum sit non putaui esse tractandum. Nach der Ansicht dieser plures soll die Versöhnlichkeit symbolisch die Einigkeit zwischen corpus und spiritus, d. h. Sinnlichkeit und Tugend, darstellen. Noch gegen Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts kämpft Hieronymus in seinem Commentar zum Evang. Mt. I, 5, 25 gegen diese Auffassung an ... Diese symbolische Deutung giebt uns nun aber auch der in dieser Hinsicht sonst so sparsame Juvencus«.[39] Diese Exegese ist den Matthäuskommentatoren des vierten Jahrhunderts wohlbekannt: Hilarius, *In Mt.* 4, 19 (PL 10, c. 938C): Quid autem a pluribus[40] in hoc capite sensum sit, non putaui esse tractandum. Hoc enim, quod aduersario reconciliari beneuolentia iubemur, ad corporis et spiritus aduersantium sibi concordiam retulerunt; Chromatius von Aquileja, *Tract. in Mt.* 8, 3 (PL 20, c. 348A): Alii uero, quorum assertio planior mihi uidetur, aduersarium hic Spiritum sanctum existimant intelligendum, qui aduersatur uitiis et desideriis carnis, secundum quod Apostolus manifestat dicendo: *Caro*, inquit, *concupiscit aduersus spiritum et spiritus aduersus carnem* ... (Gal. 5, 17). Spiritus enim caelestia desiderat, caro terrena concupiscit; Spiritus donis spiritalibus gaudet, caro uitiis corporalibus oblectatur; Hieronymus, *In Mt.* I 5, 25: Cum haec manifesta sit et consequens intelligentia, plerique arbitrantur de

carne dictum et anima, uel de anima et spiritu quod penitus non stat.

I 525/27 Nam membrum perdere refert / Exiguum, flammis quam totum dedere *corpus* / Perpetuisque *animam* pariter conuoluere poenis *** Mt. 5, 29: Expedit enim tibi ut pereat unum membrorum tuorum quam totum *corpus* tuum mittatur in gehennam, »denn es ist dir besser, daß eines deiner Glieder verloren gehe, als daß dein ganzer Leib in die Hölle geworfen werde«. In Mt. 5, 29 handelt es sich also nur um »den ganzen Leib«, der in die Hölle geworfen würde, bei der Exegese von Juvencus jedoch um den ganzen Leib zusammen mit der Seele. Diese Interpretation ist von Hilarius nicht, von Chromatius und Pseudo-Hieronymus wohl übernommen worden: Chromatius von Aquileja, *Tract. in Mt.* 9, 2 (PL 20, c. 350AB): ... *quam totum corpus tuum eat in gehennam* ... Unde haec magis membra uitiorum, malae mentis, et prauae cogitationis exscindere nos Dominus praecipit, propter regnum caelorum: ne dominantibus uitiis, et *corpus et anima*, id est totus homo reus efficiatur ignis aeterni; Ps.-Hieronymus (PL 30, c. 546A): *reus erit gehennae ignis*, id est gehenna duplex poena, eo quod *animam et corpus* punit.

I 532 *discidium*, iuris feralia uerba *** Mt. 5, 31: det illi libellum *repudii*, »der soll ihr einen Scheidebrief geben«. Den biblischen terminus technicus *repudium* ('Scheidebrief') von Mt. 5, 31 ersetzt unser Dichter durch *discidium*, das später in dem Matthäuskommentar des Hieronymus auftaucht: Hieronymus, *In Mt.* I 5, 31: Moyses libellum repudii dari iusserit ... non *discidium* concedens sed auferens homicidium.

I 550 Sed tranquilla malum melius *patientia* uincet *** Mt. 1, 39: ego autem dico uobis non resistere malo, »Ich aber sage euch: Ihr sollt dem Übel nicht widerstehen«, das heißt, daß man nicht eigenmächtig und willkürlich Böses mit Bösem vergelten darf. In dieser Aussage Christi erblickt Juvencus eine Aufforderung, dem Bösen gegenüber geduldig zu sein: »Die ruhige Geduld aber wird den Bösen besser überwinden«. Sowohl Hilarius wie Chromatius von Aquileja interpretieren diese Bibelstelle auf Juvencus' Weise: Hilarius, *In Mt.* 4, 25 (PL 10, c. 941B): Fides autem nullius tam grauem dolorem esse *patitur* iniuriae, ut ultionem expetat; Chromatius von Aquileja, *Tactatus in Mt.* 11, 1 (PL 20, c. 353B): Ad omne nos exemplum *patientiae* et humilitatis dominus per euangelica praecepta conformat.

I 555/556 Si te forte aliquis passus per mille *iubebit* / Ire uiam grauidique oneris *perferre laborem* *** Mt. 5, 41: Et quicumque te angariauerit mille passus, »Und wenn dich jemand eine Meile zu gehen nötigt, so ...« Die versifizierende Umschreibung des sprachlichen Christianismus *angariare* von Mt. 5, 41 (*Vetus Latina* + *Vulgata*) geschieht bei Juvencus durch die Worte: *iubebit ire uiam ... oneris perferre laborem.* Wenn Hilarius die betreffende Matthäusstelle paraphrasiert, verwertet er die drei Kernworte des Iuvencus: *iubere, onus* und *perferre* (= *uehentes* bei Hilarius): Hilarius, *In Mt.* 4, 25 (PL 10, c. 941B): iubemur ... mille passus onus uehentes progredi.

I 558 Si quis egens poscet uel si simulabit egentem *** Mt. 5, 42: Qui petit a te, [da ei], »Wer dicht bittet, [dem gib]«. Die Worte *si quis egens poscet* »wer arm ist und dich bittet« ist die eigentliche Versifikation von Mt. 5, 42 *qui petit a te* »wer dich bittet«, und der zweite Satzteil *uel si simulabit egentem*, »und/oder wer vortäuscht, arm zu sein« ist eine exegetische Hinzufügung von Juvencus, welche von keinem der Matthäuskommentatoren des vierten Jahrhunderts übernommen worden ist.

567/68 communia lumina solis / Communesque *dedit pluuias* iustisque malisque *** Mt. 5, 45: qui solem suum oriri facit (iubet) super bonos et malos et pluit super iustos et iniustos, «der seine Sonne über die Guten und Bösen aufgehen, und über die Gerechten und Ungerechten regnen läßt«; vgl. Hilarius, *In Mt.* 4, 27 (PL 10, c. 942B): bonis et iniustis ... solem *tribuentis* et *pluuiam*.

Das Voranstehende bestätigt die vor einem Jahrhundert von K. Marold ausgesprochene, nachher jedoch von niemandem geprüfte Vermutung, daß Hilarius in seiner Erklärung des Matthäusevangeliums mehrfach Kenntnis des Evangelienbuches des Juvencus verrät: »Bei dieser Gelegenheit möchte ich noch eine Vermutung aussprechen, die sich mir wiederholt aufgedrängt hat, der nachzugehen mir jedoch jetzt die Zeit fehlt. Hilarius scheint in seiner Erklärung des Matthäusevangeliums mehrfach Kenntniss des Evangeliumbuches des Juvencus zu verrathen«.[41]

3. *Zusammenfassung*

Aufgrund unserer Untersuchung hat sich herausgestellt, daß Juvencus — im Gegensatz zu der Auffassung von etwa K. Marold und H.

Nestler — von den verschiedenen Fassungen der *Vetus Latina* ohne Zweifel die sogenannte *Afra*-Tradition befolgt hat, welche sehr viele Ähnlichkeiten mit der durch Handschrift *d*[42] vertretenen »italienischen« *Vetus-Latina*-Fassung aufweist. Auch Hilarius von Poitiers scheint — ebenso wie Juvencus — in seinem Matthäuskommentar die sogenannte *Afra*-Fassung der *Vetus Latina* benutzt zu haben. Wir teilen also nicht die Ansicht von J. Doignon, Hilarius von Poitiers habe »eine gallische Fassung der *Vetus Latina*« verwendet.[43] Weiter hat Juvencus die Bibel nicht kritiklos und automatisch versifiziert, obwohl er meistens »eine nahezu wörtliche versifizierte Umsetzung« der Bibel bietet; er treibt dabei nämlich auch noch eine Art von Bibelexegese, welche auch in den Matthäuskommentaren des vierten Jahrhunderts Anklang findet. Zumal in dem Matthäuskommentar des Hilarius von Poitiers (etwa 353/55) lassen sich deutliche Spuren der Bibelexegese des Juvencus ermitteln.

NOTES

[1] Für den möglichen Grund, warum Juvencus das Matthäusevangelium benutzt hat, siehe etwa J. Fontaine, *Naissance de la poésie dans l'occident chrétien. Esquisse d'une histoire de la poésie latine chrétienne du III^e^ au VI^e^ siècle.* Paris 1981, S. 77: »... L'opération s'imposait d'autant plus précisément que, le plus souvent, Juvencus a pris appui sur le texte de Matthieu. Et l'on comprend pourquoi: ce synoptique n'est pas seulement le plus courant dans l'Antiquité chrétienne, il est aussi celui qui s'adresse le plus aux juifs, et polémique avec eux«.

[2] Die von uns benutzte Ausgabe: I. Huemer, CSEL, Wien 1891.

[3] *Primus enim docili distinguens ordine carmen/Maiestatis opus metri canit arte Iuuencus* (V. 15-16). Die letzte Verszeile dieses Zitats verrät deutlich den Einfluß von Hieronymus, Ep. 70, 5, 3 (s. Anm. 4).

[4] Hieronymus, Vir. ill. 84: *Quattuor euangelia hexametris uersibus paene ad uerbum transferens quattuor libros composuit*; Hieronymus, Ep. 70, 5, 3: *nec pertimuit euangelii maiestatem sub metri leges mittere.*

[5] Vgl. D. Kartschoke, *Bibeldichtung. Studien zur Geschichte der epischen Bibelparaphrase von Juvencus bis Otfrid von Weißenburg.* München 1975, S. 33-34; R. Herzog, *Die Bibelepik der lateinischen Spätantike. Formgeschichte einer erbaulichen Gattung.* I, München 1975, S. 52.

[6] Vgl. H.J. Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller. Verzeichnis und Sigel.* 3., neubearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage des »Verzeichnis der Sigel für Kirchenschriftsteller« von Bonifatius Fischer. Verlag Herder, Freiburg 1981, S. 420; R. Herzog. *Die Bibelepik der lateinischen Spätantike. Formgeschichte einer erbaulichen Gattung.* Bd 1. (Theorie und Geschichte der Literatur und der schönen Künste, 27). München 1975: »Die *Euangeliorum libri quattuor* des C. Vettius Aquilinus Juvencus durch 4, 806ff. in die letzte Regierungszeit Konstantins ... also nach 325 datiert ...«; W. Kirsch, *Die lateinische Versepik des 4. Jahrhunderts.* (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur der Antike, 28). Berlin 1989, S. 84: »Mit Gaius Vet-

tius Aquilinus Juvencus (um 330) tritt erstmals ein Spanier in die Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Literatur ein«.

[7] Juvencus nennt IV 807 den Kaiser Konstantin *terrae regnator apertae:*

Haec mihi pax Christi tribuit, pax haec mihi saecli,
Quam fouet indulgens terrae regnator apertae
Constantinus, adest cui gratia digna merenti.

Das war er eigentlich erst 332 nach Abwendung der von den Gothen dem Reiche drohenden Gefahr. In seinem Chronicon setzt Hieronymus jedoch die Abfassungszeit des Evangelienbuchs des Juvencus von 329 an. Er mag aber hier nicht genau chronologisch verfahren sein, da er augenscheinlich auf diese Jahre mehrere Ereignisse des geistigen Lebens jener Zeit verteilt. Die Revision der *Vetus-Latina*-Version der Evangelien durch Hieronymus hat jedenfalls nicht vor 383/84 stattgefunden, siehe J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome. His Life, Writings, and Controversies.* London 1975, S. 86ff. Wie dem aber auch sei, sicher hat Juvencus eine vorhieronymianische Bibelübersetzung benutzt und sein Werk hat daher auch einigen Wert für die Kenntnisse derselben. Vgl. K. Marold, Über das Evangelienbuch des Juvencus in seinem Verhältniss zum Bibeltext, in: *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie 33*, 1890, S. 329-341, insbes. S. 329.

[8] Vgl. Christine Mohrmann, *Études sur le latin des chrétiens.* Bd. I: *Le latin des chrétiens.* 2. Ausgabe. Roma 1961.

[9] Vgl. A.P. Orbán, Recherches sur les différences locales dans la langue des inscriptions latines de l'Antiquité chrétienne, in: *Mélanges Christine Mohrmann. Nouveau recueil offert par ses anciens élèves.* Utrecht-Anvers 1973, S. 108-139.

[10] R. Herzog, Exegese — Erbauung — Delectatio. Beiträge zu einer christlichen Poetik der Spätantike, in: *Formen und Funktionen der Allegorese. Symposion Wolfenbüttel 1978.* Herausgegeben von Walther Haug. Stuttgart 1979, S. 52-69. Vgl. auch J. Schicho, *C. Vettius Aquilinus Juvencus. Untersuchungen zur poetischen Kunst des ersten christlichen Epikers.* Diss. Graz 1987.

[11] Die von uns benutzte Ausgabe der *Vetus Latina*: A. Jülicher, *Itala. Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung.* I. Band: *Matthäus-Evangelium.* Zweite verbesserte Auflage, Berlin-New York 1972.

[12] Hs. *d* = Bezae Cantabrigiensis, s. V, University Library Cambridge, Nn. II. 41; cf. F.H. Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis.* Cambridge 1864.

[13] Damit der Leser die 'Lesarten-Wahl' unseres Dichters konkreter und deutlicher erfassen kann, erwähnen wir in diesem Kontext auch die abweichenden, nicht von Juvencus verwendeten Lesarten der (Mehrzahl der) übrigen *Vetus-Latina*-Handschriften, die fast ausnahmslos mit denjenigen der *Vulgata* übereinstimmen.

[14] Auch H. Nestler (*Studien über die Messiade des Juvencus.* Progr. Passau 1909/10, Passau 1910, S. 7, 20-27) war in groben Umrissen dieser Meinung; daher vergleicht auch A. Hilhorst das Johannesevangelium (2, 13-25) nach dem *Vetus-Latina*-Text des Codex Vercellensis mit Juvencus (II 153-176): A. Hilhorst, The Cleansing of the Temple (John 2, 13-25) in Juvencus and Nonnus, in: J. den Boeft and A. Hilhorst (ed.), *Early Christian Poetry. A Collection of Essays.* Leiden-New York-Köln (E.J. Brill) 1993, S. 61-68.

[15] K. Marold, Über das Evangelienbuch des Juvencus in seinem Verhältniss zum Bibeltext, in: *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 33, 1890, S. 341. Die drei Handschriften a, ff[1] und h vertreten nicht die sogenannte afrikanische vorhieronymianische Tradition des lateinischen Bibeltextes, sondern die »italienische«, vgl. A. Jülicher, *Itala. Das Neue*

Testament in altlateinischer Übersetzung. III. Band: *Lucas-Evangelium*. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Berlin-New York 1976, S. VI.

[16] Hilarius' *In Matthaeum commentarius* ist um 353/355 geschrieben; vgl. H.J. Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller. Verzeichnis und Sigel*, S. 378.

[17] Vgl. auch die Ausgabe, mit französischer Übersetzung und Kommentar, von: J. Doignon, Sources Chrétiennes 254, Paris 1978.

[18] Ausgabe: D. Hurst-M. Adriaen, Corpus Christianorum 77, Brepols, Turnhout 1969. Die *Commentariorum in Matheum libri quattuor* sind von Hieronymus um 398 verfaßt worden; vgl. H.J. Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller. Verzeichnis und Sigel*, S. 365.

[19] Geschrieben nicht vor 398, vgl. H.J. Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller. Verzeichnis und Sigel*, S. 242.

[20] Vgl. auch G. Banterle, *San Cromazio di Aquileia, Commento a Matteo*, Milano-Roma 1990.

[21] A. Jülicher, *Itala. Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung.* I. Band: *Matthäus-Evangelium*, S. 5.

[22] hoc] *Vetus Latina*: hoc, haec, ita, sic.

[23] salutaueritis] *Vetus Latina*: salutatis, salutaueritis.

[24] fratres] *Vetus Latina*: amicos, fratres.

[25] ethnici] *Vetus Latina*: ethnici, gentes, gentiles, publicani.

[26] estote] *Vetus Latina*: estote, eritis.

[27] ergo] *Vetus Latina*: ergo, ergo et, itaque.

[28] sicut] *Vetus Latina*: sicut, sicut et, quomodo.

[29] caelestis] *Vetus Latina*: in caelis, qui in caelis est, qui est in caelis, caelestis.

[30] Vgl. A. Jülicher, *Itala. Das neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung.* I. Band: *Matthäus-Evangelium*, S. 28.

[31] Die Lesart *sedis* liegt sogar in verschiedenen Juvencus-Handschriften vor: Hs. M^1 K, T.

[32] Vgl. M. Testard, Juvencus et le sacré dans un épisode des Evangeliorum libri IV, in: *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 1990, S. 3-31.

[33] A.P. Orbán, Die Versifikation von Lk 1, 5-80 in den Euangeliorum libri quattuor des Juvencus. Eine Analyse von Juvenc. I 1-132, in: *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 83, 1992, 3/4, S. 224-244.

[34] Vgl. H.J. Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller. Verzeichnis und Sigel*, S. 365.

[35] Hier., In Matth. Praef (CC 77, S. 4-5): *Legisse me fateor ante annos plurimos in Matthaeum ... Latinorum Hilarii, Victorini, Fortunatiani opuscula.*

[36] Vgl. J. Doignon, *Hilaire de Poitiers. Sur Matthieu.* Tome I. Sources Chrétiennes 254. Paris 1978, S. 19; A. Wilmart-B. Bischoff, Corpus Christianorum 9, Turnhout (Brepols) 1957, S. 365-70.

[37] Anstelle von *patentes* ist *patientes* die Lesart des textus receptus der Ausgabe von J. Doignon (Sources Chrétiennes 254, S. 126).

[38] Vgl. Christine Mohrmann, *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*, I, S. 331.

[39] K. Marold, Über das Evangelienbuch des Juvencus in seinem Verhältniss zum Bibeltext, in: *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 33, 1890, S. 336.

[40] Diese 'plures' sind u.a. Cyprianus (*Domin. orat.* 16) und Tertullianus (*Anim.* 40, 2); vgl. J. Doignon, Sources Chrétiennes 254, S. 139.

[41] K. Marold, Über das Evangelienbuch des Juvencus in seinem Verhältniss zum Bibeltext, in: *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 33, 1890, S. 340.

[42] Hs. *d* = Bezae Cantabrigiensis, s. V, University Library Cambridge, Nn. II. 41; cf. F.H. Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis.* Cambridge 1864.

[43] Auch J. Doignon anerkennt jedoch, Hilarius sei nicht der zuverlässigste Zeuge der »*version gauloise de la Vetus Latina*«, vgl. J. Doignon, Citations singulières et leçons rares du texte latin de l'Évangile de Matthieu dans l'In Matthaeum d'Hilaire de Poitiers, in: *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 76, 1975, S. 187-196.

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AUGUSTINS EKKLESIOLOGISCHE CHRISTOLOGIE IM SPIEGEL SEINER HERMENEUTIK. DIE BILDSTRUKTUR DER *ENARRATIO IN PS 44*

VON

ELISABETH GRÜNBECK

Der 44. (45.) Psalm spielte in den theologischen Auseinandersetzungen der Alten Kirche eine nicht unerhebliche Rolle. Die dogmatische Inanspruchnahme vor allem der Verse 2a (*Eructauit cor meum uerbum bonum*) für die Trinitätstheologie und 7-8 (*Sedis tua Deus in saeculum saeculi / uirga directionis uirga regni tui / dilexisti iustitiam et odisti iniquitatem /propterea unxit te Deus Deus tuus oleo laetitiae prae consortibus tuis*) für die Christologie prägte auch die Kommentare und spirituellen Auslegungen des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts.[1] Weil dem so ist, heben sich in der so anders gelagerten Auslegung Augustins, einer offensichtlich sorgfältig komponierten Predigt,[2] sein eigener christologischer Ansatz[3] sowie seine charakteristische Hermeneutik[4] um so deutlicher gegen die griechischen Ansätze ab. Stärker theozentrisch ausgerichtet, streift er die durch die Kontroversen um den Arianismus aufgeworfenen Fragen nur am Rande. Er entwickelt statt dessen eine ekklesiologische Christologie, die in der Annahme des Fleisches durch den Sohn Gottes vor allem die Annahme der Kirche herausarbeitet, ausgehend von der Paulinischen *Corpus-Christi*-Vorstellung und eingebettet in die Augustinische Idee vom *Christus totus*.[5] Dieser theologische Ansatz spiegelt sich in der Hermeneutik: Die Bilder des Psalms werden in sorgfältiger Abgrenzung und Abstufung auf Christus, die Kirche und die angesprochenen, an Christus teilhabenden[6] Gläubigen bezogen.

1. Transzendierende Hermeneutik

Augustinus gibt keinen gelehrten Kommentar, der bestimmtes Wissen vermittelt. Er gestaltet die Predigt als eine Art Gespräch oder Drama zwischen »Text« und Hörern, indem er Zusammenhänge zwischen dem, was der Psalm sagen will, und dem, was die Hörer tun sollen, herzustellen sucht. Die »Gesprächsführung« liegt einseitig beim »Wort Gottes«; allerdings äußert dieses sich nicht so eindeutig und »eigentlich«, daß der

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Literalsinn zum Verständnis genügte.[7] Seine Adressaten sind die Glieder des Leibes insgesamt, die Hörer der Predigt im besonderen, wobei der Prediger eine Zwischenstellung einnimmt: In dem einleitenden, in sich parallel strukturierten Satz baut Augustinus durch den Wechsel zwischen erster und zweiter Person eine Spannung auf zwischen dem vorausgehenden gemeinsamen jubelnden Singen und dem jetzt geforderten aufmerksamen Zuhören;[8] diese führt er weiter über die Ankündigung des Themas der »heiligen Hochzeit«[9] zur Einladung aller zu dieser Hochzeit: Gefordert ist nicht Zuschauen oder Zuhören wie beim Schauspiel, sondern mittun, denn »wir« seien die in der Überschrift (*In finem pro his qui commutabuntur filiis Core ad intellectum canticum pro dilecto*) genannten »Söhne Corahs«[10] oder »Söhne des Glatzkopfs« (*filii Calve*).[11] Die Knaben, die Elischa als Glatzkopf verspotteten (vgl. *2 Kg* 2,23f.), seien »Kinder im Verstand« (*1 Kor* 14,20), Typen derer, die dem Gekreuzigten auf dem Kalvarienberg höhnten (*Mt* 27,33.39f.). Von den Kindern, die der Herr den Jüngern als Vorbild zur Nachahmung hinstellt (*Mt* 18,2f.), den eigentlichen Söhnen Corahs, seien sie zu unterscheiden.[12]

Die Dynamik der Bildstrukturen greift so auf das Textgefüge als solches über: Gefragt ist nicht die Rezeption der wörtlichen Bedeutung, sondern ein sie überschreitendes »Erkennen« dessen, was das Wort Gottes eigentlich zu den Menschen spricht.[13] Der Text ist Mittel, Instrument, das es zu übersteigen gilt.[14] Zwar ist jedes Wort ernst zu nehmen und auf seine Bedeutung hin sorgfältig zu untersuchen, aber das Ziel, die »eigentliche« Aussage liegt jenseits des Wortlauts und erschließt sich nur den »Erkennenden«, die mit den Augen des Verstandes schauen.[15] Als Grundlagen seiner allegorischen Deutung bezeichnet Augustinus zum einen Parallelen aus der Bibel als Ganzer, an die man sich erinnern, die man lesen oder der man glauben kann,[16] zum anderen die Erfahrung der Zuhörenden, die als ihrerseits Verwandelte keine Schwierigkeiten haben sollten, zu verstehen, wer »die, die verwandelt sein werden«, sind: Die vom Tempel und vom Götzendienst Bekehrten, die vom alten zum neuen Menschen Gewordenen, »jeder von uns«.[17] Dabei wird die einleitend aufgebaute Spannung zwischen Zuhören und Mittun, zwischen dem Publikum und dem Prediger, der von den Zuhörern Aufmerksamkeit verlangt und gleichzeitig vor derselben Aufgabe steht wie sie, niemals ganz aufgelöst:[18] Zwischen dem Wort der Schrift, das von außen spricht, und dem inneren Wort Christi bzw. Gottes, das im Herzen lehrt, straft, liebt und so die Seele zur vollkommenen Braut umge-

staltet, steht der Prediger, der einerseits selbst Hörender ist, andererseits als Repräsentant der einen Kirche Vermittler dieses Wortes.[19]

Augustinus interpretiert die Metaphorik des Psalms als Spiegel dieses komplexen Gefüges. Die handwerklichen Mittel der rhetorischen und grammatischen Analyse werden dem unter- und zugeordnet. Er hat keinen Ehrgeiz, seine Argumentation grammatisch-exegetisch bis ins Detail zu begründen oder eine bestimmte Methode konsequent durchzuziehen,[20] sondern verweist nur gelegentlich auf Besonderheiten.[21] Es dominieren bildliche Auslegungen, die er als Allegorese konsequent auf die Ebene Christus-Kirche überträgt: *figurare, spiritaliter accipere* sind die maßgeblichen Termini.[22] Um die eigentliche Ebene zu erschließen, das Sichtbare auf das Unsichtbare hin zu übersteigen,[23] benutzt er Parallelen aus der Schrift sowie Vergleiche und Beispiele, auf die im einzelnen noch verwiesen wird.[24] Wichtig für das geschichtliche Verständnis, das seiner Hermeneutik zugrunde liegt, ist dabei das Schema von Verheißung und Erfüllung, interpretiert als Verhältnis von Gesetz und Gnade.[25] Richtung und Ziel der christologischen Argumentation lassen sich aus den allegorischen Deutungen, die eine geschlossene Bildstruktur präsupponieren,[26] erheben. Zu diesem Zweck sollen zunächst die Bildfelder von der Hochzeit, der Schönheit und der Königsherrschaft näher beleuchtet werden, bevor die einschlägigen christologischen Passagen zu Wort kommen.

2. Die Struktur der Bild- und Begriffskorrespondenzen

a) Die Bildfelder von der Hochzeit und der Schönheit

Zentraler Ort der Begegnung zwischen dem Wort und den Hörern ist die Hochzeit, zu der die Zuhörer geladen sind und bei der sie nicht nur Gäste, sondern als Glieder der Kirche zugleich Braut sind.[27] Augustinus schiebt Bild in Bild, um Einheit und Distanz in einem zum Ausdruck zu bringen:[28] Braut und Bräutigam zu Ehren wird das Hochzeitslied (*epithalamium*) gesungen;[29] ihr Brautgemach (*thalamus*), aus dem der Bräutigam hervortritt (vgl. *Ps* 18,6b: *et ipse tamquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo*), ist der Ort der Einigung von Wort und Fleisch, der Leib der Jungfrau,[30] christologisch und ekklesiologisch zugleich interpretiert (vgl. *Mt* 19,5; *Eph* 5,31f.): Im Fleisch nehme das Wort die Kirche aus dem Menschengeschlecht an, deren Haupt das mit dem Wort vereinigte Fleisch selbst sei und dessen Glieder die Gläubigen seien.[31]

Im nächsten Schritt, immer noch zur Überschrift und im Vorgriff auf Zusammenhänge um und zu Vers 3a (*speciosus forma prae filiis hominum*), gestaltet er das Bild der Braut weiter aus. Sie ist *sponsa amata*, von Gott schon geliebt, als sie noch häßlich, weil in der Sünde befangen war. Schön gemacht wurde sie, als Christus für die Gottlosen starb, im Akt dieser Liebe selbst, weil nichts wahrhaft Häßliches geliebt werden könne.[32] Zu uns Häßlichen sei der Bräutigam im Fleisch hervorgetreten — Augustinus nimmt das *procedens* aus *Ps* 18,6 wieder auf —, nachdem er als Wort schon in den Prophetien gekommen war; wie sollten wir ihn da nicht lieben, zumal wir nichts Häßliches an ihm fänden. Die anders lautende Stelle *Jes* 53,2 (*Vidimus eum et non habebat speciem neque decorem*) sei aus der »Person der Juden« zu verstehen, die seine Schönheit nicht erkannt hätten.[33] Für die Erkennenden nämlich, für die Freunde des Bräutigams, sei das Wort Fleisch geworden und ihnen sei, weil er die Gottheit in der Menschheit nicht verliere, auch in der Kreuzigung, in der Niedrigkeit des Fleisches, seine Schönheit zugänglich,[34] wie Augustinus mit Paulinischen Paradoxa und in anaphorisch und z. T. antithetisch überfließender Rhetorik ausmalt.[35] Im Unterschied zu Johannes Chrysostomus, der an dieser Stelle ebenfalls die Schönheit Christi überschwenglich preist,[36] definiert Augustinus sie soteriologisch: Quelle der Schönheit sei Christi Heilswillen, der die häßliche Menschheit schön machen wolle; deshalb sei er immer, auch im Leiden, schön. Im letzten Schritt führt Augustinus diese Schönheit auf die Gerechtigkeit als Gipfelpunkt zu:[37] Gerecht ist schön, lautet die Gleichung, die die Ästhetik mit der Ethik und damit zugleich mit einem der zentralen christologischen Anliegen Augustins verknüpft.[38] Als verbindend stellt Augustinus vorläufig heraus, daß beides nur mit den Augen des Verstandes zu schauen sei, ermöglicht durch das Kommen des Gerechten und Schönen schlechthin.[39] Die ethische Interpretation der Ästhetik dominiert auf weite Strecken in der Predigt: Augustinus deutet die in der Überschrift genannte Wandlung auf die *mutatio* zum neuen Menschen hin, zum Gläubigen, und charakterisiert diesen durch ausschließlich moralische Beispiele: Er ist freigebig, keusch, wohltätig.[40] Die gnadentheologischen Einschübe, insbesondere zu Vers 3, thematisieren nur die Gerechtigkeit, nicht die Schönheit.[41] Freund Gottes zu sein, heiße, zu lieben, was er liebt, und zu hassen, was er haßt;[42] schön werden heiße, die Gerechtigkeit anzunehmen, oder, noch schärfer: Die innere Schönheit sei die des Gewissens.[43]

Das Thema der Schönheit wird an verschiedenen Stellen der Predigt

wieder aufgenommen. Ähnlich wie die griechischen Kommentatoren, die voraussetzen, daß ein Vergleich zwischen Gott und Mensch nicht möglich sei,[44] interpretiert auch Augustinus *Ps* 44,3a als Beleg für die Menschwerdung des Wortes: Die Aussage »vor den Söhnen der Menschen« sei nur sinnvoll, wenn sie sich auf den Inkarnierten beziehe. Die Gegenüberstellung von *Ps* 44,3a und *Jes* 53,2 fehlt an dieser Stelle,[45] begegnet aber in den Einzelauslegungen häufiger.[46] Während die älteren Traditionen *Ps* 44,3b (*diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis*) als Entfaltung der Schönheit Christi auf seine Worte und Taten interpretierten, geht es Augustinus um die das Gesetz des Mose überbietende Gnade, die im vor allen anderen schönen Menschensohn Jesus Christus offenbar werde.[47] Dementsprechend ist im folgenden auch nicht mehr von »Christus« die Rede, sondern von »Gott«. Obwohl strenger Richter, vergebe er die Sünde, die alle Menschen beherrsche (vgl. *Röm* 7,22-25), aus befreiender Gnade (mit *Ps* 31,1), umsonst, ohne menschliche Vorleistung; die einzig mögliche Antwort darauf sei die Anrufung des Namens des Herrn (*Ps* 115,12f.). Aber auch der Dank, den der Mensch abstatte, sei Gnade; alles, was der Mensch habe, habe er von Gott. Damit verknüpft Augustinus die Warnung, nicht mit der Sünde als dem einzigen, das Gott nicht gegeben habe, zu antworten.[48]

Gegen alle erhaltenen Traditionen sieht Augustinus bis einschließlich Vers 3b den Propheten als Sprecher *ex persona Dei Patris.*[49] Gott als Richter und Spender der Gnade ist das Thema, nicht die Schönheit des menschgewordenen Sohnes, seiner Worte und seiner Wundertaten. Erst mit Vers 3c (*propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum*) wechsle die sprechende Person: Jetzt sei es der Prophet, der, erfüllt von unaussprechlicher Freude, die Offenbarung Gottes über seinen menschgewordenen Sohn preise — wegen der Gnade und der Verheißung des Himmelreichs.[50] Vor diesem Hintergrund stellt sich für Augustin das christologische Problem nicht, das die Griechen im Zusammenhang mit dem »deshalb« umtrieb, da es eine kausale Beziehung und damit ein Verdienst nahelegen könnte.[51] Exegetisch-theologisch reduziert er den Text: Indem er sich auf den Begriff *gratia* konzentriert, verliert er den Kontext aus den Augen, in dem von der »auf die Lippen ausgegossenen Gnade« die Rede ist. Die Lösung für *Ps* 44,3c hinkt nach: Das »deshalb« hängt in der Luft; der Personwechsel wird nicht begründet. Augustinus macht aus dem Hymnus auf die Schönheit Christi, die im Menschen Jesus Christus transparent wird, einen Lobpreis der göttlichen Gnade, die sich im Akt der Menschwerdung als solchem manifestiert. Damit ist der

Schwerpunkt der christologischen Argumentation im Vergleich zur Tradition[52] erheblich verschoben.

Zu *Ps* 44,10-18, dem traditionell auf die Kirche gedeuteten zweiten Teil des Psalms, greift Augustinus das Thema *pulchritudo* im Blick auf die Kirche wieder auf. Der Bräutigam verlange nach der Schönheit der Braut und schenke sie ihr schon mit dem Verlangen selbst. Wenn die Braut sich Vers 11-12 zufolge (*audi filia et uide et inclina aurem tuam et obliuiscere populum tuum et domum patris tui, et concupiscet rex decorem tuum, quoniam ipse est dominus tuus et adorabunt eum*) vom Teufel und den Sünden abwende, werde ihre Schönheit wiederhergestellt.[53] Die Formulierung *regenerare* ist die einzige Anspielung auf eine ursprünglich einmal vorhandene Schönheit. Der Verweis auf den Teufel als Vater, der »dich« häßlich erzeugte,[54] verstärkt die Tendenz, die ursprüngliche Schönheit der Schöpfung zu ignorieren, um die Häßlichkeit der Sünde um so düsterer zu zeichnen und den Kontrast zur Reinigung durch Christus zu verschärfen.[55] Die zu Vers 3 erörterte Thematik von Sünde und Rechtfertigung verknüpft er mit dem einleitend entfalteten Brautbild: »Dein« König und Gott (Vers 12) begehre »dich«: Du heiratest ihn, von ihm beschenkt, geschmückt, erlöst, geheilt.[56] Augustinus läßt offen, wer die in der zweiten Person Singular angesprochene Person ist: Der Duktus des Texts und die Femininformen verweisen auf die Kirche; *anima* kommt im Kontext nicht vor. Insofern als der Prediger eine klare Aussage umgeht, schließt er aber zumindest nicht aus, daß der einzelne sich angesprochen fühlt.[57] Augustinus relativiert freilich auch hier dadurch, daß er die Bilder einander ablösen läßt. Für die einzelnen Menschen bevorzugt er neben den »Gliedern des Leibes« das Bild von den »Königstöchtern« aus Vers 10 und 14, das er auch für die Teilkirchen verwendet.[58] Eine letzte wichtige Notiz zur Schönheit stellt die Auslegung zu Vers 14 (*omnis gloria eius filiae regis intrinsecus in fimbriis aureis circumamicta uarietate*) dar: Die innere Herrlichkeit der Königstochter sei die des Gewissens, die notwendig zur äußeren, zur Vielfalt der Sprachen und zum Schmuck der Lehre hinzukommen müsse, denn im Innern ereigne sich die eigentliche Christus-»Begegnung«, vielmehr das ausschließliche Handeln Christi, der dort sehe, spreche, liebe, strafe und kröne.[59] Dem einzelnen bleibe nichts, als Gott die Ehre zu geben und einzig und allein nach seiner Herrlichkeit zu streben.[60]

Während die griechischen Kommentatoren einen direkten Zusammenhang zwischen den christologisch interpretierten Versen 2-9 und

dem ekklesiologischen Teil des Psalms höchstens implizit voraussetzen, ihn aber eher selten mittels Begriffskorrespondenzen und übergreifender Themen, die sich z. T. aus dem Psalmtext selbst anbieten, durchführen, liefert Augustinus auf der Grundlage einander zugeordneter Bilder und Begriffe eine geschlossene Interpretation: Der eigentlich von sich aus und für ewig Schöne und Gerechte und einziges Prinzip der Schönheit sei Christus[61] bzw. Gott, der in seiner Liebe zu den Menschen aus Gnade auch sie schön mache und so Anteil an sich gewähre.[62] Diese Schönheit strahle im äußeren Glanz der Kirche wider, die sich über die ganze Erde ausgebreitet hat. Jeder einzelne der Hörer ist aufgefordert, sie zu verinnerlichen, d. h. zur Schönheit seines Gewissens zu machen.[63] Mittel dazu ist die Liebe, die von sich selbst und dem eigenen Willen absehen soll, um zu tun, was dem Geliebten gefällt: Gerechtigkeit lieben und entsprechend handeln.[64] Das sei nur möglich, so Augustinus, innerhalb der Einheit der Kirche, die, gegründet durch die Liebe Gottes in Christus, zugleich Frucht und Bedingung der Möglichkeit der Liebe ist.[65]

Ähnlich geschlossen interpretiert er das eingangs erwähnte hochzeitliche Gewand.[66] Das Wort ziehe das Fleisch an, die Kirche, und schmücke sie durch seine Gnade.[67] Das Wort fordere die einzelnen dazu auf, das hochzeitliche Gewand anzulegen, um vom alten zu einem neuen Menschen verwandelt zu werden, damit dieser seinerseits die *glòria sponsi* suche.[68]

Indem er immer wieder betont, daß Christus der Handelnde ist, läßt Augustinus keinen Zweifel daran, daß der Kirche die genannten Bilder und Titel nur von Christus abgeleitet zukommen. Darüber hinaus spiegelt sich in der Verwendung des Brautbildes und in der Kombination mit anderen Bildern, v. a. dem des Leibes, die Spannung zwischen der Kirche und der Seele.[69] Die Kirche als solche und in sich ist Braut, von Christus vollkommen schön gemacht, und Leib Christi; die Glieder der sichtbaren Institution freilich sind teils Reine, teils Sünder,[70] von denen im Rahmen einer Predigt aktuelles Bemühen um die Verwirklichung oder Aktualisierung der potentiellen Schönheit gefordert ist. Vor dem Hintergrund dieser im einzelnen unklaren Korrelation zwischen Gläubigen und Kirche werden die genannten Bilder auf die ersteren nur in mehrfacher Brechung übertragen, vermittelt, z. T. indirekt, über die Kirche als Ganze und die von ihr besonders Beauftragten. Augustinus ordnet sie nicht eindeutig zu bzw. relativiert sie sofort durch andere Bilder. Am Bildfeld von der Königsherrschaft wird das noch deutlicher.

b) Das Bildfeld von der Königsherrschaft

Der »König« begegnet erstmals in Vers 2b, wird da aber nicht weiter bedacht.[71] Im folgenden stellt ihn Augustinus als Helden und gerechten Herrscher vor: Sein Schwert spalte die herkömmlichen Familienbeziehungen, trenne die Schwiegermutter Synagoge von der Schwiegertochter Kirche, mit der der Bräutigam Christus ein Fleisch werde.[72] Christus herrsche in Erfüllung dessen, was in *Ps* 44,5-6 (*et intende prospere procede et regna propter ueritatem et mansuetudinem et iustitiam, et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua sagittae tuae acutae; populi sub te cadent in corde inimicorum regis*) über ihn vorhergesagt werde, über alle Völker, die ihm einst fremd gewesen seien, weil er aus Feinden Freunde mache.[73]

Charakteristisch ist die Auslegung zu Vers 7 (*Sedis tua Deus in saeculum saeculi uirga directionis uirga regni tui*): Während die griechischen Kommentatoren mit *Ps* 44,7a gewöhnlich die Ewigkeit der Herrschaft des Sohnes gegen den die Ewigkeit des Sohnes relativierenden Arianismus bzw. gegen den Marcellianismus verteidigen,[74] verknüpft Augustinus den Teilvers 7a mit *Ps* 44,3bc und dem dort bereits angerissenen Thema von Gesetz und Gnade. Hier interpretiert er es als den Gegensatz zwischen der zeitlich begrenzten jüdischen Herrschaft und dem ewig währenden Thron der Gnade und der Göttlichkeit.[75] Das christologische Problem klingt im Lob der Ewigkeit der Göttlichkeit höchstens an;[76] im Zusammenhang ist ausschließlich von *Deus*, ohne nähere Bestimmungen, die Rede, und Christus begegnet nur indirekt, durch die befreiende Gnade.

In diese Richtung weist auch der folgende Abschnitt zu *Ps* 44,7b: Auf der Basis einer etymologischen Herleitung der Begriffe *rex* und *directio* von *regere* bzw. *dirigere* deutet Augustinus die *uirga directionis* auf die »Geradheit« des Willens Gottes, dem sich die durch die Sünde, durch Eigenwillen und Selbstliebe, »verbogenen« und »verdrehten« Menschen anpassen sollten.[77] Notwendig sei — und hier spielt er mit den Derivaten von *regere* — eine Korrektur (*corrigere*) durch die *uirga*, die Rute Christi, die die *spiritales* »regiere«, ohne sie zu zerbrechen (vgl. *Ps* 2,9).[78] Augustinus konkretisiert das, indem er 7b mit 8a verbindet und dazu auffordert, wie Gott die Gerechtigkeit zu lieben und das Unrecht zu hassen, sprich: sich selbst zu mißfallen und die eigenen Sünden zu bestrafen bzw. strafen zu lassen, um Gott zu gefallen und ihm Freund zu werden. Die Argumentation trifft sich hier mit den Ausführungen zur Schönheit

und bestätigt indirekt deren ethische Konnotationen.[79] In der Ausgestaltung dieses Aspekts wird der »König« zum Richter,[80] und wie die Schönheit wird die Königsherrschaft auf die Gerechtigkeit hin interpretiert. Ansatzweise überträgt Augustinus den Titel »König« auf den einzelnen Menschen, insofern auch dieser *rectus* werden kann, dem Willen Gottes angepaßt und das Fleisch regierend.[81]

Deutlicher geschieht das im »ekklesiologischen« Teil der Predigt. Die *filiae regum* aus Vers 10 seien diejenigen, die »den Verkündigenden und Evangelisierenden« geboren worden seien, denen, die das Fleisch und die Affekte beherrschten.[82] »Könige« wie Christus sind damit zunächst die Apostel, die Gemeinden gründeten und auf den zwölf Thronen sitzen werden.[83] In den einzelnen Gläubigen findet sich das Bild vom König nur gebrochen wieder: Sie sind Mitglieder der von den Aposteln gegründeten Gemeinden,[84] Glieder der Braut zur Rechten[85] oder lebendige Bausteine am »Tempel des Königs« (*Ps* 44,16: *afferentur in laetitia et exsultatione, adducentur in templum regis*), verbunden durch das Band der Liebe[86] und ruhend auf den Fundamenten der Propheten und Apostel.[87] »Königin« ist mit Vers 10 die Kirche, allerdings nicht die sichtbare, wie der Verweis auf *Mt* 25,34-41 demonstriert.[88]

In *Ps* 44,11 sei die Kirche oder »jeder von uns« angesprochen, insofern wir Glieder des Leibes seien, und zwar »gleichsam durch einen von den Vätern«, sei es ein Prophet oder ein Apostel.[89] Das Verlassen des Vaterhauses bedeute die Absage an den König Teufel[90] und die Unterordnung unter den König und Bräutigam Christus. Hier dominiert das Bild der Braut, das vom König wird nicht mehr aufgenommen. Klar profiliert ist die Rolle der Apostel und der hierarchischen Struktur: Zwar deutet Augustinus mit der Erklärung der *reges* als *regentes carnem* die Möglichkeit an, daß jeder Gläubige im Prinzip seinerseits König sein könnte, entfaltet das aber nicht weiter, auch nicht bei der Behandlung der in Vers 15f. genannten *uirgines*,[91] sondern bezeichnet als »Könige« nur noch die Apostel, die das Wort Gottes verkündigten, Gemeinden gründeten und die Bischöfe zu ihren Nachfolgern machten.[92]

Damit ergibt sich aus der Bildstruktur eine absteigende Linie: Sie geht aus vom Prinzip der Schönheit, Gerechtigkeit, Herrschaft, das Gott ist bzw. Christus, insofern er Gott ist; sie führt über die gnadenhafte Sendung Christi als Mensch in die Welt, zur Kirche, der im Fleisch Christus geeinten Braut, und geht von dort weiter über ihre »Söhne«, die Prediger und Verkündiger, zu den Gläubigen. Sofern sie rein sind und entsprechend handeln, partizipieren sie als Glieder des Leibes Christi an seiner

Schönheit und Herrschaft. In umgekehrter Richtung weist der Weg über das Hören in der Kirche auf das durch die Verkünder oder direkt durch die Hl. Schrift vermittelte Wort zum Hören auf den inneren Lehrer, um durch Glauben das Herz für die Schau Gottes zu reinigen.[93] Diese Perspektive ist allerdings weniger deutlich herausgearbeitet. Augustin begnügt sich in der Predigt im wesentlichen mit Aufforderungen zum Glauben und zum Lob Gottes und geht auf die Gottesschau nicht weiter ein.

3. Die christologische Argumentation im engeren Sinn

a) Der Hervorgang des Wortes als Schöpfungsmittler

Ps 44,2a (*eructauit cor meum uerbum bonum*) wurde schon früh trinitätstheologisch ausgelegt: Als Sprecher galt der Vater, der den Sohn zeugte.[94] In der frühen Phase des Streites um das *homoousios* war der Vers neben *Ps* 109,3c; 2,7; *Joh* 1,1-3 u.a. ein wichtiger Schriftbeweis.[95] In der Durchführung unterscheidet sich die Augustinische Interpretation erheblich von der der griechischen Theologen. Wenn Augustinus sich gegen ein körperliches Verständnis der Zeugung abgrenzt, meint er damit ausschließlich die Analogie zur menschlichen Zeugung: Gott muß nicht etwas hinzunehmen, um zu zeugen.[96] Die griechischen Theologen hingegen suchten, im Kontext der Auseinandersetzungen um den Arianismus, die Unveränderlichkeit Gottes und die Zeugung als solche zu vereinbaren und letztere gegen Mißverständnisse, wie Ausdehnung, Abspaltung etc., abzusichern.[97] Dieses Problem der Unwandelbarkeit Gottes wird von Augustinus nicht reflektiert.

Die Alexandriner, zumal Didymus und Cyrill, auch schon Dionysius von Alexandrien u. a., vergleichen die Zeugung des Wortes mit dem Verhältnis von νοῦς und λόγος.[98] Sie zielen damit auf die unauflösliche Zusammengehörigkeit trotz der Unterscheidung, um so die Gottheit des Logos gegen die arianischen Theorien zu verteidigen. Augustinus zieht als Beispiel den Plan (*consilium*) heran, der aus dem Herzen erwächst und im Prinzip das Werk schon enthält, und interpretiert das *uerbum* als Schöpfungsmittler: Durch das Wort wird alles geschaffen, folglich ist im Wort alles angelegt.[99] Auch hier ist, wie zu Vers 3, der Schwerpunkt von der Christologie weg auf das allgemeiner zu fassende Wirken Gottes an und in der Welt verlagert, das sich durch Christus vollzieht.

Erst in einem zweiten Schritt thematisiert er mit *Mk* 10,18 die Gottheit des guten Wortes: Gott ist nur der eine Gott. Insofern das Wort gut

ist, ist es Gott und mit dem Vater ein Gott.[100] Problematisiert und vertieft wird das nicht.[101] Vers 2b (*dico ego opera mea regi*) deutet er als Synonym: Während die meisten Griechen, die 2a trinitätstheologisch interpretieren, 2b übergehen oder einen Personwechsel postulieren,[102] und nur die Neuarianer und möglicherweise Cyrill eine Ausnahme machen, wobei letzterer 2b auf den menschgewordenen Logos bezieht,[103] wiederholt Augustinus die Quintessenz von 2a: Der Vers bezeichne die *generatio filii*. Insofern im Wort alle Werke angelegt seien, sei *dico opera mea* als *dico uerbum* zu verstehen, das als ewiges Sprechen von den vergänglichen Worten der Menschen zu unterscheiden sei.[104] Das *regi* tut er kurz ab: Der Vater spreche zu seinem Sohn, unserem König.[105] Ein sinnvoller Zusammenhang läßt sich mit einer solchen Allegorese kaum herstellen. Augustinus scheint sich der Schwierigkeiten zumindest bewußt gewesen zu sein, wenn er den »Späteren« zugesteht, daß sie das eventuell nicht verstehen,[106] geht aber nicht weiter darauf ein. Er übernimmt die Verbindung von *Ps* 44,2a und b möglicherweise aus der Tradition: Cyprian zitiert in seiner Testimoniensammlung Vers 2ab unter der Rubrik, daß Christus und Wort Gottes dasselbe seien,[107] Novatian ordnet beide Verse im Kontext der Schöpfungsmittlerschaft des Wortes zusammen, ohne das näher zu erklären;[108] Gregor von Elvira schreibt ebenfalls beide Teilverse der *vox Dei* zu, die sich an den »König« wende.[109] Ambrosius hingegen legt 2b dem Propheten selbst in den Mund.[110] Arnobius und Cassiodor, die im wesentlichen die Augustinische Tradition fortführen, übernehmen seine Deutung zu dieser Stelle nicht.[111] Augustins Methode hier ähnelt der zu *Ps* 44,3bc, wo er ebenfalls souverän über die Zusammenhänge hinweggeht, um eine bestimmte Wendung — in dem Fall *gratia* — um so ausführlicher zu erläutern.

Auch Vers 2c (*lingua mea calamus scribae uelociter scribentis*) deutet Augustinus als Vergleich für das Sprechen des Vaters: Insofern das Wort Gottes ewig sei, biete sich das Schreiben als Bild an, da es beständiger sei als das flüchtige menschliche Wort. »Schnell« werde es geschrieben, weil es ohne zeitliche Verzögerung den Verstand zur Erkenntnis führen könne.[112] Im Gegensatz zum breiteren Strom der griechischen Tradition ist vom Hl. Geist nicht die Rede![113]

Nimmt man die Auslegung zu Vers 2 mit der oben erörterten zu Vers 3 »aus der Person des Vaters« zusammen, ergibt sich eine relativ geschlossene Interpretation zum Wirken Gottes durch das *Verbum* auf die Schöpfung und Heilsgeschichte oder auf die Überbietung des Geset-

zes durch die Gnade hin: Durch das Wort Gottes, das als ewiger Plan Gottes aus seinem Herzen hervorgeht, wird alles geschaffen; durch das Wort durchdringt Gott den menschlichen Verstand und führt ihn zur Erkenntnis; durch das Wort, das sich dem Fleisch verbindet, wird den sündigen Menschen Gnade vermittelt. Christologische Fragen im engeren Sinn scheinen sekundär zu sein: Die Gottheit des Wortes wird nicht problematisiert, Christi Wirken als Mensch und Gott nicht thematisiert.

b) Der Gesalbte

Noch tiefgreifendere Unterschiede zur griechischen Tradition lassen sich aus der Deutung zu Vers 7-8 erheben.[114] Den ersten Teil von Vers 8 (*dilexisti iustitiam et odisti iniquitatem, propterea unxit te Deus Deus tuus oleo laetitiae prae participibus tuis*), der im Streit um den Arianismus wegen des »deshalb« und der möglichen kausalen Implikationen, aus denen sich ein Verdienst Christi herleiten ließ, heftig diskutiert wurde,[115] erklärt Augustinus nicht weiter.[116] Das bestätigt erneut die These, daß er an den spezifisch christologischen Fragen, die gemeinhin mit diesem Psalm verknüpft wurden, weniger interessiert ist.[117] In der Tradition älterer Testimonienbeweise analysiert er das erste *Deus* in 8b als Vokativ — er verweist dabei auf die Differenzierungsmöglichkeiten im Griechischen, nicht aber auf die LXX, die nicht differenziert — und sieht so Vater und Sohn als Gott benannt.[118] Im folgenden steht zunächst das Gottsein des Sohnes im Mittelpunkt. Leicht variiert und eindringlich wiederholt er die Formel vom von Gott gesalbten Gott. Von daher leite sich der Christus-Name ab[119] und von daher sei auch der einzigartige Brauch, Könige und Priester zu salben, zu begründen. In der Tradition des Hilarius hat er wenig Schwierigkeiten mit der Idiomenkommunikation, ja er formuliert sie noch schärfer als Hilarius, der das Possessivpronomen vor dem salbenden Gott stehen läßt.[120]

Im dritten Schritt erst thematisiert er die Christologie: Gott war, um gesalbt zu werden, Mensch, aber dergestalt, daß er zugleich Gott war: wahrer Gott und wahrer Mensch.[121] Seine Ausführungen sind bemerkenswert knapp: Dogmatisch differenzierende Termini — wie *natura, substantia* oder auch *persona*[122] — biblische Belege, die durch ihre grammatische Struktur die »Bewegung« des Gott-Sohnes implizieren, z.B. *Joh* 1,14; *Phil* 2,6f, fehlen. Außerdem nennt Augustinus ausnahmslos nur *Deus*, nicht *Verbum, Dei Filius, Unigenitus* etc. Ebensowenig spielt er auf die Salbung Jesu bei der Taufe an: Offenkundig geht

es weniger um die Christologie oder ein Bild von der konkreten »Person« des Erlösers als allgemein um das Handeln Gottes — er wird auch nicht näher trinitarisch bestimmt — an den Menschen, besser der Menschheit, gezeigt am Christus-Namen. Die spezifisch christologischen Implikationen erschließen sich nur indirekt.

Auf die *participes*, die Gesalbten, geht er nur kurz ein.[123] Der gesalbte Gott wurde als Menschensohn ihrer Sterblichkeit teilhaft, um die Menschen zu Teilhabern seiner Unsterblichkeit zu machen. Die Tauschformel ist vom Subjekt Gott her formuliert und insofern nicht gleichgewichtig gebaut.[124] Dieser Proportionalität entspricht die Formel, die Augustinus zu *Ps* 44,5c (*et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua*) entwickelte, der einzigen Stelle, an der er den Unterschied zwischen Christus und den Christen ausdrücklich thematisiert.[125] Christus sei Gott und habe die Macht, Unsterblichkeit, Göttlichkeit, Ewigkeit, Kraft (*uirtus*) des Vaters. Er sei also seine eigene Rechte, »das Göttliche tuend, das Menschliche leidend, die Bosheiten der Menschen durch seine Gutheit niederstreckend«.[126] Augustinus charakterisiert den Menschen Christus mithin von der in ihm handelnden Gottheit her, bemüht sich aber an dieser Stelle nicht weiter darum, das näher zu erläutern.

In den Einzelauslegungen zu *Ps* 44,7-8 spielt die Unterscheidung zwischen Christus-Mensch und den Menschen eine größere Rolle. Begnügt er sich in den frühen Kommentaren zu *Gal* und *Iob* noch damit, einfach auf die Gottheit dieses Menschen zu verweisen,[127] heben die Traktate zum Johannesevangelium vor allem auf seine soteriologische Funktion ab, um die Besonderheit und *excellentia* des Menschen Jesus Christus herauszustreichen.[128] Die *Enarratio* verweist hingegen lediglich auf die Zusammengehörigkeit von Gott und Mensch und versucht, das besonders am Christus-Namen festzumachen. Der konkrete Mensch Jesus Christus wird nicht erwähnt und sein besonderes soteriologisches Wirken nicht weiter expliziert.

Ebensowenig geht Augustinus auf den Hl. Geist ein, der unter Verweis auf die Taufperikopen, *Apg* 10,38 (*Jesum a Nazaret quomodo unxit eum Deus Spiritu Sancto et uirtute*) u.a., traditionell mit der Salbung assoziiert wurde.[129] Statt dessen konzentriert er sich zu Vers 8 auf eine ekklesiologische und gegenüber der Tradition originelle Interpretation: Der Gesalbte sei im Jakobstein (*Gen* 28,18) vorgebildet.[130] Ein erster Hinweis auf die Kirche ergibt sich aus Anspielungen auf den »Eckstein« in *Ps* 117,22 und den »lebendigen Stein« in *1 Petr* 2,4.[131] Der zweite von Jakob her, der auch Israel genannt wurde und aus dem

Kampf mit dem Engel sowohl ein Hinken als auch Segen davontrug: Das bezeichne die Ungläubigen und die Gläubigen.[132] Von da aus schlägt er, drittens, eine Brücke zu *Joh* 1,48-51, zu Nathanael, dem Israeliten, der Christus als Sohn Gottes bekennt, und zur Verheißung der Schau der auf- und niedersteigenden Engel. Sie versinnbildeten ebenfalls das Geschehen in der Kirche. Die aufsteigenden Engel verkündeten *Joh* 1,1, das Wort, um die »Großen« aufzurichten und mit Weisheit zu nähren (vgl. *1 Kor* 2,6); die absteigenden Engel *Joh* 1,14, die Fleischwerdung des Wortes, um die »Kleinen« mit Milch zu nähren (vgl. *2 Kor* 5,13; *1 Kor* 3,2).[133] Augustinus nimmt schließlich den Stein und die Engelsleiter zusammen und gelangt so zu einer ekklesiologischen Interpretation des *filius hominis* aus dem Haupt oben und dem Leib bzw. Gliedern unten.[134] Auch wenn er hier nicht vom *Christus totus* spricht, ist die Idee präsent, evoziert überdies durch die bei Augustinus so beliebte Stelle *Apg* 9,4 (*Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris*?).

Was sich an der Durchführung der Hochzeitsthematik andeutete und im Bild des Königs weiter ausprägte, wird in der langen Auslegung dieser traditionell christologisch interpretierten Verse expliziert: Auf der Folie einer mehr theozentrischen als christozentrischen Interpretation[135] entwickelt Augustinus die Christologie selbst als Ekklesiologie. Das fügt sich durchaus in den Gesamtduktus: So hatte er schon die *mansuetudo* des Königs in Vers 5b auf die Leiden der Märtyrer als *Corpus Christi* bezogen,[136] und erst im zweiten Schritt, und auch da distanziert, das Leiden Jesu mittels der jesajanischen Gottesknechts-Prophetie (vgl. *Jes* 53,7) und *Lk* 23,34, der Vergebung am Kreuz, genannt.[137] Das »Schwert« aus Vers 4 deutet er als Allegorese des Wortes[138] und zitiert dazu Schriftstellen und »alltägliche Beispiele«, die die durch das Wort verursachte Trennung zwischen Kirche und Synagoge demonstrieren.[139]

c) Filius - filii - filiae

Es sei schließlich noch kurz die Anwendung des Sohnes- (bzw. Tochter-)Titels auf die Menschen überprüft, um die von Christus, dem Gottes- und Menschensohn, abgeleitete ekklesiologische Struktur als solche weiter aufzuklären: Die *filiae regum* in Vers 10 seien die Teilkirchen, die von den Aposteln gegründet wurden, oder die einzelnen Seelen.[140] Die Anrede an die Tochter in Vers 11 stellt nach Augustinus keine direkte Beziehung zwischen Gott und der einzelnen Seele dar,[141] sondern bezeichnet das Verhältnis zwischen Propheten bzw. Aposteln und den

Gläubigen. Erstere sind als Söhne der Kirche und Gründer der Gemeinden zugleich »Väter«, Vermittler zwischen Gott Vater und den Menschen.[142] Durch die Exegese von Vers 17 (*pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii, constitues eos principes super omnem terram*) wird der Kreis der Vermittelnden erweitert: Die Apostel und »Gesandten«[143] zeugten als ihre Söhne und unsere Väter die Bischöfe, die nun als Herrscher über die ganze Erde eingesetzt seien.[144] Durch sie erhält die Kirche sozusagen Nachwuchs.[145] Die Bedeutung der Apostel wird des weiteren durch häufige Verweise auf Petrus und Paulus und ihre Vermittlerfunktion unterstrichen.[146] Die Bezeichnung der Gläubigen selbst als Söhne wird nach der einleitenden Bestimmung als *filii sponsi* nicht mehr aufgenommen. Sie spiegelt sich höchstens in der Anrede der Hörer als »Brüder«, die aber im Rahmen einer Predigt eher formelhaft erscheint.[147] Dieser Befund deckt sich mit dem des Bildfelds vom König: Auch der Sohnestitel wird den Gläubigen nur über die Kirche als Leib Christi, konkretisiert durch die Apostel und ihre Nachfolger, vermittelt.

d) Das menschliche Wort

Augustinus führt zu Vers 2 alternativ die individuelle Deutung auf den Propheten an: »als ob er einen Hymnus spreche«[148] bzw. mit 2b ihn lobe. Das »Aufstoßen des Herzens« wird ausschließlich auf dieser Ebene des Sprechens gesehen: Lobpreis und Dank, auch im Handeln, für Gott, der alles gibt.[149] Entsprechend stehen auch zu Vers 18 der Lobpreis und das Bekennen der Völker im Zentrum.[150] Im Unterschied zu den in dieser Hinsicht sehr viel offeneren Deutungen des Chrysostomus und des Basilius zieht er weitere Konnotationen dieses Sprechens »guter Worte«, wie Predigt, Verkündigung, Lehre, nicht in Betracht. Diese Sprachebene ist allein und ausschließlich den Aposteln und ihren Nachfolgern vorbehalten.[151] Das unmittelbare Getroffensein vom Wort Christus selbst tritt in der *Enarratio* gegenüber der Bedeutung der Predigt der Apostel zurück. Der einzelne ist im Wort mitangesprochen, weil er nur innerhalb der Kirche wahrhaft Christus begegnen kann, vermittelt über das Hören, das zum Glauben und später erst zum Sehen des Unsichtbaren führt.[152] Garanten der Überlieferung sind die Apostel und ihre Nachfolger.

Strikt getrennt sind das aus dem Herzen des Vaters hervorgebrachte *Verbum Dei* und die *uerba* des Menschen, unterstrichen durch die singularische oder pluralische Verwendung.[153] Unklar bleibt zunächst die

Rolle der Verkündiger des Wortes Gottes: Indem er die *praedicatio uerbi Dei* durch *euangelium, uerbum ueritatis* ergänzt,[154] schiebt Augustinus die Ebene der im Evangelium schriftlich festgehaltenen Lehre Christi dazwischen.[155] Die ewige Offenbarung des Wortes, dessen Gesprochenwerden mit seiner Zeugung zusammenfällt, wird so nur gebrochen über verschiedene Zwischenstufen auf das zeitliche menschliche Sprechen vermittelt. In der Konzeption Augustins hat dieses nur eine erinnernde oder ermahnende Funktion, während das innere, nicht ausgesprochene Wort, der Lehrer Christus, im Menschen eigentlich wirksam wird.[156] Dieser Komplex wird in der *Enarratio* nicht thematisiert, und auch das ist bezeichnend.

4. Résumé

Die christologische Argumentation mit *Ps* 44 erfährt im Vergleich zu den griechischen Interpretationen wichtige Akzentverschiebungen: Zum einen steht weniger Christus als Gott und Logos, der Mensch geworden ist, im Mittelpunkt als der eine Gott, der durch Christus seine Gnade offenbart und durch Christus handelt. Zum anderen wird die Christologie, wenn Augustinus sie thematisiert, ekklesiologisch entwickelt: Er zeichnet nicht ein Bild von Christus, der Gott und Mensch ist und darüber hinaus Herr und Bräutigam der Kirche, die sich ihrerseits aus Gesalbten zusammensetzt. Vielmehr hebt er darauf ab, daß Christus als *Verbum* nicht nur individuell Fleisch angenommen habe, sondern den Leib der Kirche (nicht die Menschheit als Ganze), daß er also die »Christen« mit sich, seinem Fleisch, seinem Menschsein identifiziert habe.[157] Eine »Beziehung« zu Christus ist denn auch nur in diesem Rahmen möglich,[158] der zugleich innigste Nähe schafft, da Christus mit dem Leib jedes einzelne Glied angenommen und sich vermählt hat, und eine durch die Vermittlungsfunktion der Kirche und ihrer »Söhne« bewirkte »Distanz«, die, zumal vor dem Hintergrund der Gnadenlehre, einer subjektivistischen und heilsgewissen Christusfrömmigkeit enge Grenzen setzt.[159]

Wenn Christus den Menschen Anteil an sich gibt, so geschieht das zunächst und zuerst in der Kirche, in der der einzelne sich wiederfinden kann. Sie ist die entscheidende Instanz, wenn es um die Begegnung mit dem Wort und um die heilschaffende Gnade geht. Augustinus kennzeichnet ihre sichtbare Struktur in dieser Predigt in erster Linie durch die Apostolizität, der gegenüber andere Aspekte wie *communio*, Eucha-

ristie etc. zurücktreten. Das spiegelt sich in der Bildlichkeit: Die Christustitel und -bilder werden zunächst auf »die« Kirche, als *sponsa, regina, corpus Christi*, übertragen, dann auf die Apostel: als *reges, filii ecclesiae, praedicatores uerbi Dei*, deren Nachfolger ihrerseits *filii* sind, aus der Perspektive der »normalen« Christen aber *patres*, wie auch die Propheten und Apostel. So mehrfach gebrochen finden sie sich schließlich in den einzelnen Gläubigen, die Hochzeitsgäste im entsprechenden Gewand sind, *filiae regum*, Glieder des Leibes, durch das Wort Gottes Getroffene, Hörende, die durch den Glauben zur Schau gelangen sollen, um an der Unsterblichkeit Christi zu partizipieren. Die Bildstruktur offenbart so eine relativ starke Stellung des predigenden Vermittlers, wenngleich die eingangs genannte Spannung nicht einseitig aufgelöst wird.

NOTES

[1] Vgl. meine Dissertation »Christologische Schriftargumentation und Bildersprache. Zum Konflikt zwischen Metapherninterpretation und dogmatischen Schriftbeweistraditionen in der patristischen Auslegung des 44. Psalms«, Leiden 1994. Zum ekklesiologischen Teil s. L. Robitaille, L'Eglise, épouse du Christ, dans l'interprétation patristique du *Psaume* 44 (45), in: LTP 26 (1970) 167-179; 279-306; 27 (1971) 41-65.

[2] Die Herausgeber im CChr.SL 38 (1956) datieren sie auf September 403 in Karthago; H. Rondet, Essais sur la chronologie des *Enarrationes in Psalmos* de S. Augustin, IV, in: BLE 68 (1967) 180-202, 185-187, plädiert mit Verweis auf die Verwandtschaft zu den frühen Johannestraktaten und zur Auslegung des 1. Johannesbriefs für 407/408. Vgl. M. Pontet, L'exégèse de S. Augustin prédicateur, Paris 1945, 74.

[3] Vgl. zu den verschiedenen Aspekten des Problems T. J. van Bavel, Recherches sur la christologie de S. Augustin, l'humain et le divin dans le Christ d'après S. Augustin, Freiburg/Schw. 1954; H. R. Drobner, Person-Exegese und Christologie bei Augustinus. Zur Herkunft der Formel *una persona*, Leiden 1986; W. Geerlings, *Christus exemplum*. Studien zur Christologie und Christusverkündigung Augustins, Mainz 1978; J. McGuckin, Did Augustine's Christology Depend on Theodore of Mopsuestia?, in: HeyJ 31 (1990) 39-52; A. Verwilghen, Christologie et spiritualité selon S. Augustin, L'hymne aux Philippiens, Paris 1985; G. Bonner, Christ, God and Man, in the Thought of St. Augustine, in: Ang. 61 (1984) 268-294; B. Studer, Jésus-Christ, notre justice selon S. Augustin, in: StPatr 17, Oxford 1982, 1316-1342; A. Grillmeier, Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche I, Freiburg [3]1990, 590-604; G. Rémy, Le Christ médiateur dans l'œuvre de S. Augustin, 2 Bd., Paris 1979; T. J. van Bavel-B. Bruning, Die Einheit des *Totus Christus* bei Augustinus, in: Scientia Augustiniana (FS A. Zumkeller), Würzburg 1975, 43-75; E. Franz, *Totus Christus*. Studien über Christus und die Kirche bei Augustinus, Bern 1959; B. Studer, Augustin et la foi de Nicée, in: RechAug 19 (1984) 133-154; C. Gunton, Augustine, the Trinity and the Theological Crisis of the West, in: SJTh 43 (1990) 33-58; P. Borgomeo, L'Eglise de ce temps dans la prédication de S. Augustin, Paris 1972; M. Réveil-

laud, Le Christ-Homme, tête de l'Eglise. Etude de l'ecclésiologie selon les *Enarrationes in Psalmos* d'Augustin, in: RechAug 6 (1968) 67-94; B. Hamm, Unmittelbarkeit des göttlichen Gnadenwirkens und kirchliche Heilsvermittlung bei Augustinus, in: ZThK 78 (1981) 409-441.

[4] Vgl. dazu: C. Mayer, Die Zeichen in der geistigen Entwicklung und in der Theologie des jungen Augustinus, 2 Bd., Würzburg 1969-1974; U. Duchrow, Sprachverständnis und biblisches Hören bei Augustinus, Tübingen 1965; G. Strauss, Schriftgebrauch, Schriftauslegung und Schriftbeweis bei Augustinus, Tübingen 1959; W. Wieland, Offenbarung bei Augustinus, Mainz 1978; A. Schindler, Wort und Analogie in Augustins Trinitätslehre, Tübingen 1965; M. A. Smallbrugge, Le language et l'être. La question du Dieu personnel et la notion de similitude du langage dans la doctrine trinitaire de S. Augustin, in: RSPhTh 72 (1988) 541-557; H. R. Drobner, Person-Exegese; M.-J. Rondeau, Les commentaires patristiques du Psautier (IIIe-Ve S.) II, Rom 1985, 365-388; S. Poque, Le langage symbolique dans la prédication d'Augustin d'Hippone. Images heroïques, Paris 1984; G. Wenning, Der Einfluß des Manichäismus und des Ambrosius auf die Hermeneutik Augustins, in: REA 36 (1990) 80-90; B. de Margerie, Introduction à l'histoire de l'exégèse, Bd. III, Paris 1983.

[5] Vgl. die zahlreichen Hinweise, daß das zentrale Thema des Psalms Christus und die Kirche seien, *En.Ps.* 44,1 (CChr.SL 38, 493,2/4); *Civ.Dei* 17,16 (CChr.SL 48, 580-582, B. Dombart-A. Kalb, 1955), entstanden 420/425, wo der 44, Psalm unter den Prophetien auf die Kirche als einzige vollständig zitiert wird. *C.Faust.* 15,11 (CSEL 25, 438f., J. Zycha, 1891) zitiert Vers 11-18; *Fid.* 5 (CChr.SL 46, 7f., M. P. J. van den Hout, 1969) *Ps* 44,10-18; vgl. *Adv.Jud.* 4-5 (PL 42, 53f.) *Ps* 44,1.3-4.7-8.10-12.14. Bei den griechischen Auslegern steht zumeist Christus im Mittelpunkt. Ausnahmen sind Theodor v. Mopsuestia, *Com.Ps.* 44,1 (D. 277,8/11), der ebenfalls auf Christus und die Kirche abhebt, sowie in seinem Gefolge Julian v. Eclanum, *In Ps* 44,1 (CChr.SL 88A, 198,3/6). Theodoret, *Int.Ps.* 44,1 (*PG* 80, 1188A), nennt den Geliebten, der dem Fleisch nach aus Israel hervorsprossen und eine neue Veränderung für die Völker ins Werk setzen wird. Ihre Deutungen, wie auch die Diodors von Tarsus, sind heilsgeschichtlich-historisierend: Sie interpretieren den Psalm als Prophetie auf Christi Leben, Verherrlichung und Wirken.

[6] Die LXX-Lesart *consortibus tuis* ist konsequent durch *participibus tuis* ersetzt! Vgl. Cyprian, *Test.* II 6. Hilarius, *Trin.* XI 18 kennt beide Varianten.

[7] Vgl. dazu Strauß 109-148: Offenbarung als Rede.

[8] *En.Ps.* 44,1 (CChr.SL 38, 493,1f.): *Hunc psalmum sicut uobiscum cum exsultatione cantauimus, ita nobiscum cum adtentione consideretis peto.*

[9] *En.Ps.* 44,1 (CChr.SL 38, 493,3f.): *de sanctis nuptiis de sponso et sponsa, de rege et plebe, de Saluatore et de his qui saluandi sunt.*

[10] *En.Ps.* 44,1 (CChr.SL 38, 493,4/10): *Qui cum ueste nuptiali uenit ad nuptias, gloriam quaerens sponsi, non suam, non solum libenter audit, quod solet esse etiam hominum spectacula quaerentium, non facta exhibentium; sed etiam mandat cordi, quod non ibi uacet, sed germinet, erumpat, crescat, perficiatur, assumatur. Oportet enim nos esse, quibus hoc cantetur, filios Core.* (Ebd. 494,43/45): *Huius [Dei] nos filii sumus, quia filii sponsi sumus; et nobis inscriptus est psalmus iste, cuius titulus dicitur: »Filiis Core, pro his quae commutabuntur«.* In kaum einer der erhaltenen Auslegungen zu *Ps* 44 sind Überschrift und Psalmtext so eng verknüpft wie hier, vgl. höchstens Basilius und Didymus, die von der im *Titulus* angekündigten Veränderung her argumentieren, s. Grünbeck, Christologische Schriftargumentation, 252f., 306-308.

[11] *En.Ps.* 44,1 (CChr.SL 38, 493,13/16); diese Deutung begegnet mehr oder weniger ausführlich auch in den *Enarrationen* zu *Ps* 41-47; 83-84; 86-87; vgl. Rondet, Essais IV 181f.

[12] *En.Ps.* 44,1 (CChr.SL 38, 493,16-494,43).

[13] *En.Ps.* 44,1 (CChr.SL 38, 493,11/13): *uerumtamen omnis inscriptio litterarum diuinarum aliquid innuit intelligentibus, et non tantum auditorem, uerum etiam cognitorem desiderat.*

[14] *En.Ps.* 44,4 (CChr.SL 38, 496,22): *transcende et haec*; 44,6 (198,2/7), ausgehend von Bildern wie »Griffel«, »Löwe« etc.: *et nisi dicerentur, non aliquo modo per haec uisibilia ad inuisibilem informaremur* (6f.); vgl. die in *Doct.christ.* systematisch erarbeitete Unterscheidung zwischen *res* und *signa*; dazu: Wieland 184-201; Mayer II 97-104 u.ö.; Schindler, Wort und Analogie 81-85; Strauß 147f. u.ö.

[15] *En.Ps.* 44,1 (CChr.SL 38, 493,11/13); 3 (495,38f.); 25 (512,10/13). Zum Primat des Sehens gegenüber der Sprache und dem Hören s. Duchrow *passim*, v.a. 18f.; 37; 109-118; 190-195; 242; Schindler, Wort und Analogie 232-235; Wieland 95-101.

[16] *En.Ps.* 44,1 (CChr.SL 38, 493,22-494,24): *Hoc scriptum est, et ubi sit scriptum commemorauimus; qui meminerunt, recognoscant; qui non meminerunt, legant; qui non legerunt, credant.*

[17] *En.Ps.* 44,2 (CChr.SL 38, 494,2/15).

[18] Augustinus wechselt häufig zwischen erster und zweiter Person, teils zusammengespannt in Formulierungen wie »nehmt [ihr], damit wir nicht gefunden werden«, *En.Ps.* 44,1 (CChr.SL 38, 493,16/18), teils im Nacheinander von Ermahnungen des Predigers, von Deutungen auf »uns«, von Auslegungen auf eine eher abstrakte Größe »Kirche« und auf das Herz der Gläubigen als Ort der Entscheidung, vgl. *En.Ps.* 44,2 (CChr.SL 38, 494,11/15); 3 (495,4/8); 9 (500,7-501,20); 25 (512,1/13). Zur Predigtsituation bei Augustinus vgl. Wieland 202-215.

[19] Vgl. Wieland 206-215.

[20] Vgl. dagegen das Bemühen griechischer Exegeten wie Origenes, Eusebius, Diodor, Theodor von Mopsuestia, Didymus u.a., die Methoden der paganen Dichter-Exegese so weit als möglich für die Schriftauslegung zu nutzen.

[21] Z.B. die mögliche Unterscheidung von Vokativ und Nominativ in Vers 8, s.u.; die erwähnte Übersetzung von *Corah* als *calvus*. Die prosopologische Exegese scheint er vorauszusetzen, ohne sie immer eigens zu begründen: Von Vers 2a bis einschließlich 3b spreche der Prophet aus der Person des Vaters, *En.Ps.* 44,5.6 (CChr.SL 38, 497,1/3; 498,12/15); alternativ läßt er die von einigen bevorzugte Variante, daß der Prophet seinen Hymnus »aufstoße«, zu, *En.Ps.* 44,9. Ab Vers 3c spreche der Prophet in eigener Person, *En.Ps.* 44,8 (500,2/4), in 11 der Prophet als solcher oder als Apostel, jedenfalls als »Vater« zur Kirche oder Seele, *En.Ps.* 44,25 (512,1/10).

[22] *En.Ps.* 44,20 (CChr.SL 38, 508,9); 23 (510,5); 14 (503,5f.); 1 (494,24f.); 22 (509,6) u.ö.

[23] Vgl. *En.Ps.* 44,2.12.14.15.16.19; vgl. Wieland 294-301; Mayer II 334-349.

[24] Vgl. *En.Ps.* 44,4, zur trinitätstheologischen Deutung von Vers 2a; s.a. 6 zu *lingua* und *calamus*; 11, Beispiele für die Wirkung des Wortes, zu Vers 4-5.

[25] Vgl. *En.Ps.* 44,7, zu Vers 3b; 8, zu 3c; 17, zu 7b; 20, im weiteren Kontext zu 8. Zur Bedeutung der *prophetia*, s.u. Vgl. Robitaille 285-287. Zur fundamentalen Bedeutung des Verhältnisses von AT und NT, grundgelegt in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Manichäismus, s. Mayer II 350-367 u.ö.; Borgomeo 151-163.

[26] Zu Augustins Argumentation mit Bildern s. die schöne Arbeit von S. Poque, zusammenfassend; 299-324; 403-410.

[27] *En.Ps.* 44,3 (CChr.SL 38, 495,7f.): *gaudeamus in nuptiis, et nos erimus cum iis qui fiunt nuptiae qui inuitantur ad nuptias; et ipsi inuitati sponsa est.*

[28] Vgl. *En.Ps.* 44,28; 15 sowie 18; 20; 23. — Zur Kirche als Leib Christi, zumal im Kontext der Brautthematik, s. Borgomeo 191-208; Van Bavel 74-89; Van Bavel-Bruning, v.a. 56-65; Franz, v.a. 101-163.

[29] *En.Ps.* 44,3 (CChr.SL 38, 495,9/13).

[30] *En.Ps.* 44,3 (CChr.SL 38, 495,11/18).

[31] *En.Ps.* 44,3 (CChr.SL 38, 495,18/20): *Assumta est ecclesia ex genere humano, ut caput esset ecclesiae ipsa caro Verbo coniuncta, et ceteri credentes membra essent illius capitis.*

[32] *En.Ps.* 44,3 (CChr.SL 38, 495,22/27); Parallelen für eine solche Verknüpfung mit Paulinischer Theologie (v.a. mit *Röm* 5,6.8-9) finden sich nur bei Augustinus selber, vgl. *In epist.Joh.* 9.9; *En.Ps.* 103 *serm.* 1,4-5; *Serm. Den.* 4,2. Zur Bedeutung der Ästhetik für das Denken Augustins vgl. J. Tschoell, Augustins Betrachtung der geistigen Schönheit, in: Aug (L) 16 (1966) 11-53; K. Svoboda, L'estéthique de S. Augustin et ses sources, Brno 1933; C. Harrison, Beauty and Revelation in the Thought of St. Augustine, Oxford 1992, bes. 211-238.

[33] *En.Ps.* 44,3 (CChr.SL 38, 495,28/38); vgl. *Serm.* 138,6 (PL 38, 766), entstanden 411/12: Das Mißverstehen wird unterstrichen durch *Mt* 27,40 (*Si filius Dei es, descende de cruce*).

[34] Vgl. *En.Ps.* 127,8 (CChr.SL 40, 1872,11/34); Dort heißt es, daß Christus den Verfolgern nur häßlich erschien, weil sie keine gereinigten Augen hatten. Vgl. die Ausführungen in *Ep.* 147,22; *Serm.* 27,6 (CChr.SL 41, 364f.); *En.Ps.* 43,16 (CChr.SL 38, 488,37/57).

[35] *En.Ps.* 44,3 (CChr.SL 38, 495,38-496,59): mit *Gal* 6,14; *1 Kor* 1,23.25; [...] *Pulcher Deus, Verbum apud Deum; pulcher in utero uirginis, ubi non amisit diuinitatem, et sumsit humanitatem; pulcher natus infans Verbum; quia et cum esset infans, cum sugeret, cum manibus portaretur, caeli locuti sunt, angeli laudes dixerunt, magos stella direxit, adoratus est in praesepi, cibaria mansuetorum. Pulcher ergo in caelo, pulcher in terra; pulcher in utero, pulcher in manibus parentum; pulcher in miraculis, pulcher in flagellis; pulcher inuitans ad uitam, pulcher non curans mortem; pulcher deponens animam, pulcher recipiens; pulcher in ligno, pulcher in sepulcro, pulcher in caelo;* [...].

[36] Vgl. Joh. Chrysostomus, *Exp.Ps.* 44,3 (PG 55, 185,28/51): Er argumentiert christologisch, Jesu bescheidenes Leben mit seinen Wundertaten kontrastierend.

[37] *En.Ps.* 44,3 (CChr.SL 38, 496,59/61): *Summa et uera pulchritudo iustitia est; ibi illum non uidebis pulchrum, ubi deprehendis iniustum; si ubique iustus, ubique decorus.* Vgl. *En.Ps.* 181 *serm.* 31,3: Schönheit durch *uirtus*.

[38] Vgl. dazu Studer, Jésus-Christ.

[39] *En.Ps.* 44,3 (CChr.SL 38, 496,61/63).

[40] *En.Ps.* 44,2 (CChr.SL 38, 494,12/14).

[41] *En.Ps.* 44,7-8.

[42] *En.Ps.* 44,18, zu 8a.

[43] *En.Ps.* 44,14, zu 4a (CChr.SL 38, 503,1/2): *Iustitiam accipe, qua semper es speciosus et pulcher. En.Ps.* 44,29, zu 14 (515,16/19): *Quae sunt interiora pulchritudinis? Conscientiae.* In den Einzelauslegungen zitiert Augustinus nur selten *Ps* 44,4a und b zusammen, vgl. *In epist.Joh.* 9,9; *Serm.* 138,6; 210,4; *Vid.* 23.

[44] Vgl. Joh. Chrysostomus, *Exp.Ps.* 44,2 (PG 55, 185,16f.).

[45] Vgl. dagegen die frühen Testimonientraditionen bei Irenäus, *Adv.haer.* III 19,2; IV 33,11 und Tertullian, *Adv.Jud.* 14; *Adv.Marc.* III 7. Im griechischen Sprachraum taucht sie in den folgenden Jahrhunderten nur noch selten auf, z.B. Gregor v. Nazianz, *Or.* 29,19; Gregor v. Nyssa, *Virg.* 23,1; Joh. Chrys., *Hom.Matth.* 27,2.

[46] *In epist.Joh.* 9,9; *En.Ps.* 103 *serm.* 1,4-5; *Serm.* 95,4; 254,5; *En.Ps.* 63,16; besonders dichte Paradoxa s. *Serm.Den.* 4,2 (MA 1, 22,14/22): *Ab aeterno genitus, gignenti coaeternus; Verbum permanens, caro factus: omnium temporum creator, oportuno tempore creatus: praeda mortis, praedator mortis: »deformis positione prae filiis hominum, speciosus forma prae filiis hominum; infirmitatem sciens ferre«, et auferre: excelsus facere humilia, humilis excelsa: deus hominis, et homo deus: et primogenitus, et creator primogenitorum: et unicus, et frater multorum: de substantia patris natus, et particeps factus adoptatorum: et dominus omnium, et servus plurimorum. Hic est agnus, qui tollit peccata mundi; hic est leo, qui vicit regna mundi.* Vgl. schon Abschnitt 1 zu *agnus* und *leo*. S.a. den in seiner Authentizität allerdings nicht gesicherten *Serm.* 372,2 (PL 39, 1662).

[47] *En.Ps.* 44,7 (CChr.SL 38, 499,3/8): [...] *Etiam homo prae filiis hominum; etiam inter filios hominum, prae filiis hominum; etiam ex filiis hominum, prae filiis hominum.* Vgl. Hieronymus, *Ep.* 65,9: Er erwähnt die Gnade, entwickelt das Thema aber nicht theologisch. Zur Interpretation auf Christi Worte und Taten vgl. z.B. Tertullian, *Adv.Marc.* III 13-14; Origenes, *Princ*, IV 1,4-6; Diodor, *Com.Ps.* 44,3 (CChr.SG 6, 269f.).

[48] *En.Ps.* 44,7 (CChr.SL 38, 499,11/45); *gratia* als Dank wird in der Alternativdeutung zu Vers 2ab wieder aufgenommen, s. *En.Ps.* 44,9, s.u. 3 d. Zu den genannten Schriftstellen gibt es in diesem Zusammenhang keine Parallelen. — vgl. zum Gedankengang *Tract.Joh.* 3,16f.

[49] S. *En.Ps.* 44,8 (CChr.SL 38, 500,1.19f.).

[50] *En.Ps.* 44,8 (CChr.SL 38, 500,25/37): *Impletus est ergo propheta gaudio quodam ineffabili et adtendens quid Deus Pater de Filio suo homini reuelauerit, qui potuit dicere ista et ex persona Dei.* [...]

[51] Vgl. Origenes, *Princ.* II 6,4-6; Alexander v. Alexandrien, *Urk.* 14,11-14 (H.-G. Opitz, Urkunden zur Geschichte des arianischen Streites 318-328, GCS Ath. 3, Berlin 1924); Athanasius, *C.Ar.* I 35.46-52; Diodor, *Com.Ps.* 44,3.8 (CChr.SG 6, 270,54/57; 272,114/117).

[52] S.o. Anm. 47; vgl. Grünbeck, Christologische Schriftargumentation, bes. 86-94 u.ö. Ambrosius deutet die Schönheit auf die Erscheinung Christi als Auferstandener und Erhöhter, *Abr.* 1,27; *Exp.Luc.* 7,183; *Patr.* 55; in der Tradition des Origenes und im Anschluß an die Liturgie auf die Schönheit der Verkündigung, *Ep.* 29 (11), 1; als Vorbild für die Jungfrauen, *Virgb.* 1,36; *Abr.* 1,88. In *Ep.* 46 (39),6 (PL 16, 1196f.; CSEL 82,2, 30f.), gegen die Apollinaristen, argumentiert er theologisch: Er zitiert *Ps* 44,3a im Anschluß an die Beteuerung, daß Christus in der Fülle der Gottheit bleibend die Fülle der Natur und menschlichen Vollkommenheit angenommen habe und ihm an beiden *formae* nichts fehlte: *Ergo cum esset in plenitudine divinitatis, exinanivit se, et accepit plenitudinem naturae et perfectionis humanae; sicut Deo nihil deerat, ita nec hominis consummationi, ut esset perfectus in utraque forma. Unde et David dicit: »Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum«.* Zitiert bei Leo I, *Ep.* 165,11 (ACO I 2,4, 124,6/9).

[53] *En.Ps.* 44,25 (CChr.SL 38, 513,28/35): [...] *Foedam te ille genuit, cum peccatricem fecit; pulchram te iste regenerat qui iustificat impiam* [...]; vgl. *En.Ps.* 103 *serm.* 1,6 (CChr.SL 40, 1478,6/21); zum Ganzen s. Harrison (Anm. 32) 140-191.

[54] *En.Ps.* 44,25 (CChr.SL 38, 513,33).

[55] Mit *Hld* 8,5 und *Jes* 1,18. Einzige Parallele z.St. bei Hieronymus, *Ep.* 65,16; 22,1.

[56] *En.Ps.* 44,26 (CChr.SL 38, 513,10/13): *Deus tuus est, rex tuus est. Rex tuus et ipse est sponsus tuus. Regi nubis Deo, ab illo dotata, ab illo decorata, ab illo redemta, ab illo sanata. Quidquid habes unde illi placeas, ab illo habes.*

[57] Vgl. *En.Ps.* 44,25 (CChr.SL 38, 512,1/2); *Alloquitur propheta reginam istam* [...] *et unumquemque nostrum.* — *Ps* 44,6a legt Augustinus mit *Hld* 2,5 auf die Verwundung durch die das Herz durchbohrenden Worte aus, die zur Liebe entfachten; auch hier bleibt offen, wer angesprochen ist — Kirche oder Seele oder beide, *En.Ps.* 44,16 (CChr.SL 38, 504,1/5).

[58] *En.Ps.* 44,23.25.28.

[59] *En.Ps.* 44,29 (CChr.SL 38, 515,16/19).

[60] *En.Ps.* 44,29 (CChr.SL 38, 515,6/9).

[61] Vgl. die häufige Darstellung als *speciosus sponsus* in *Serm.* 161,11-12; *Tract.Joh.* 57,1; *Serm.* 195,2 u.ö.

[62] Vgl. *En.Ps.* 44,3.8 (CChr.SL 38, 500,23); 14 (503,2); 21 (509,5); 25.

[63] *En.Ps.* 44,29, vgl. Anm. 43.

[64] *En.Ps.* 44,9 (CChr.SL 38, 501,9/11); 17 (505,13/16); 18 (506,14/20). Der *amor* begegnet in fast allen Einzelauslegungen zu Vers 3 im unmittelbaren Kontext, z.T. in Verbindung mit dem *castus timor, In epist.Joh.* 9,9; *Serm.* 161; *En.Ps.* 43,16; 118 *serm.* 31,3; 127,7-9 u.ö.

[65] *En.Ps.* 44,28 u.ö.

[66] Das Bild begegnet als »hochzeitliches Gewand« der angesprochenen Hörer, die zur Hochzeit eingeladen sind, *En.Ps.* 44,1 (CChr.SL 38, 493,4f.); als Gewand der Königstöchter, die Einzelne oder Teilkirchen sein können, ebd. 23 (511,43f.); als Gewand Christi (zu *Ps* 44,9), das die Kirche ist, die den »Wohlgeruch« des Heils verbreite, ebd. 22; und als Gewand der Kirche, das die Verschiedenheit der Sprachen und die Vielfalt der »Geheimnisse« der Lehre, *sacramenta doctrinae*, in der Einheit des Glaubens und der Weisheit versinnbildet, ebd. 24.

[67] Vgl. *En.Ps.* 44,3 (bes. CChr.SL 38, 495,33).

[68] *En.Ps.* 44,1; 2 (CChr.SL 38, 493,4f.; 494,12/14); vgl. *Serm.* 95,4-5 (PL 38,582f.): Dort deutet er das hochzeitliche Gewand auf die Liebe zum Bräutigam.

[69] *Anima* kommt nur an einer Stelle vor: *En.Ps.* 44,23 (CChr.SL 38, 510,9f.). Häufiger spricht er von den *fideles*, von »euch« oder »uns«.

[70] *En.Ps.* 44,24 (CChr.SL 38, 511,4-512,8): Die Braut zur Rechten besteht aus den Reinen, Gerechten, die nach *Mt* 25,34.41 im Gericht zur Rechten stehen. Vgl. Borgomeo 279-298, zum *corpus permixtum*.

[71] S.u. 3.1.

[72] *En.Ps.* 44,11-12, s.u. zu *uerbum*. Diese Deutung ist offenkundig durch die aktuellen Kirchenspaltungen motiviert — vgl. die Anspielung auf die Wiedertaufe, und damit den Donatismus, *En.Ps.* 44,11 (CChr.SL 38, 502,19/21) — und im Vergleich zu allen anderen Interpretationen singulär.

[73] *En.Ps.* 44,14.16.

[74] Vgl. die Auslegungen von Diodor, Basilius, Chrysostomus z.St.; Cyrill von Jerusalem, *Cat.* 15,28.

[75] *En.Ps.* 44,17 (CChr.SL 38, 505,1/10).

[76] *En.Ps.* 44,17 (CChr.SL 38, 505,7/10): *Vnde nunc sedes in saecula saeculorum? Quia*

Dei. [...] *O aeternitatis diuinitas! Non enim posset Deus sedem habere temporalem.* Vgl. dagegen die jahrhundertelangen Auseinandersetzungen darum, ob und inwiefern Christus hier als Gott angesprochen wird, Grünbeck, Christologische Schriftargumentation, *passim*.

[77] *En.Ps.* 44,17 (CChr.SL 38, 505,12/31): *Directionis uirga est, quae dirigit homines. Curui erant, distorti erant; sibi regnare cupiebant, se amabant, facta sua mala diligebant; non uoluntatem suam Deo subdebant, sed uoluntatem Dei ad suas concupiscentias flectere uolebant.* [...]

[78] *En.Ps.* 44,17-18 (CChr.SL 38, 505,29-506,8); unter den verschiedenen Perspektiven, unter denen Basilius, *Hom. Ps.* 44,7, die *uirga* betrachtet, taucht auch dieser auf. Ansonsten gibt es unter den griechischen Auslegungen keine Parallelen.

[79] *En.Ps.* 44,18 (CChr.SL 38, 506,10/30).

[80] *En.Ps.* 44,18 (CChr.SL 38, 507,34/50).

[81] *En.Ps.* 44,17 (CChr.SL 38, 505,29-506,32): *Vis illi haerere? Corrigere.* [...] *Inde et rex a regendo dicitur. Non autem regit qui non corrigit. Ad hoc est rex noster rectorum rex.*

[82] *En.Ps.* 44,23 (CChr.SL 38, 510,5/11).

[83] *En.Ps.* 44,23 (CChr.SL 38, 510,9/15): *Etenim omnes animae quae illis praedicantibus et euangelizantibus natae sunt, filiae regum sunt; et ecclesiae filiae apostolorum, filiae regum sunt.* [...] Vgl. ebd. 510,15-511,56.

[84] *En.Ps.* 44,23.

[85] *En.Ps.* 44,24; vgl. 28 (CChr.SL 38, 514,22-515,24): [...] *omnes una sponsa, omnes una regina, mater et fili simul totum ad Christum pertinens, ad caput pertinens.*

[86] *En.Ps.* 44,31 (CChr.SL 38, 515,2/5; 516,10), mit Anspielung auf *1 Petr* 2,5: *Templum regis ipsa ecclesia, intrat in templum ipsa ecclesia. Vnde construitur templum? De hominibus qui intrant in templum. Lapides uiui qui sunt, nisi fideles Dei?*

[87] *En.Ps.* 44,32 (CChr.SL 38, 516,30/32).

[88] *En.Ps.* 44,24 (CChr.SL 38, 511,4-512,8), s.o. Anm. 70.

[89] *En.Ps.* 44,25 (CChr.SL 38, 512,1/10).

[90] *En.Ps.* 44,25 (CChr.SL 38, 513,28/33).

[91] *En.Ps.* 44,30-31.

[92] *En.Ps.* 44,23 (CChr.SL 38, 510,9/15); vgl. 32, s.u. 3 c; auch *En.Ps.* 44,22 (CChr.SL 38, 510,24/26): Paulus als *gloriosus in praedicatione uerbi Dei, et uiuens secundum regulam illius uirgae directionis.* Dort wird die Verbindung zu »König« über das Bild der *uirga* indirekt hergestellt, vgl. Anm. 77.

[93] *En.Ps.* 44,25 (CChr.SL 38, 512,10/26); 1 (493,22-494,24); 29 (515,17/19).

[94] Text s.o. Einleitung. Vgl. Tertullian, *Adv.Prax.* 7,1; 11,2.

[95] Vgl. Alexander v. Alex, *Urk.* 4b,12-13; Athanasius, *Decr.* 21,3f.; *C.Ar.* II 57 u.ö.

[96] *En.Ps.* 44,4 (CChr.SL 38, 496,4/10): *Ne forte putares aliquid assumtum, unde Filium generaret Deus; quemadmodum homo sibi assumit aliquid unde generet filios,* [...].

[97] Eusebius, *Dem.ev.* IV 15,51-54, Arius, *Urk.* 6,3; Alexander, *Urk.* 14,46; vgl. die Auseinandersetzungen um den Arianismus, Grünbeck, Christologische Schriftargumentation 127-158 u.ö.

[98] Vgl. Dionysius, bei Athanasius, *Sent.Dion.* 23,3; Didymus, *In PsT* 44,2 (M. Gronewald, Der Psalmenkommentar aus den Tura-Funden, Bd. 5, Bonn 1970, 210,15/19); Cyrill, *Trin.* II 450c, vgl. *In Ps.* 44,2a; Origenes ist vorsichtiger: *Com.Joh.* I 24,151-152; 38,280-283. Grünbeck, Christologische Schriftargumentation 60-65.

[99] *En.Ps.* 44,4 (CChr.SL 38, 496,10/23); vgl. *Tract.Joh.* 1,9. 17. Zum inneren Wort s.

Schindler 97-104, v.a. 100f.; zur Vorgeschichte 104-114; Duchrow 122-148; dazu auch G. Watson, St. Augustine and the Inner Word. The Philosophical Background, in: IThQ 54 (1988) 81-92; Smalbrugge, s.o. Anm. 4. — Die komplizierten trinitätstheologischen Spekulationen werden im Zusammenhang der Predigt nur von fern angedeutet, *Ps* 44,2a ansonsten nicht mehr zitiert. Zur Verbindung mit der Schöpfungsmittlerschaft des Wortes vgl. Tertullian, *Adv.Herm.* 18,1-5; *Adv.Marc.* II 4,1; Novatian, *Trin.* 13,1; 17,2 u.a.

[100] *En.Ps.* 44,4 (497,25/33): [...] *Quomodo ergo et ipse bonus, nisi quia Deus? Non solum autem Deus, sed cum Patre unus Deus.* [...]

[101] *Mk* 10,18 begegnete häufiger in der arianischen Kontroverse, zumindest im Westen: Phoebadius, *C.Ar.* 4, zitiert den Vers als arianisches Schriftargument, ohne weiter darauf einzugehen. Vgl. Ambrosius, *Fid.* 2,29; Ps.-Vigilius, *Var.* 1,33. Vgl. auch Basilius, *Eun.* III 3 (SCh 305, 156,16f.); Gregor v. Nazianz, *Or.* 30,13 u.a.

[102] Vgl. Didymus, *In PsT* 44,2 (Gronewald 334,16; 336,3-4).

[103] Cyrill von Alexandrien (?), *In Ps.* 44,2b (PG 69, 1028CD) — der in PG edierte Text ist fehlerhaft, die Authentizität der Deutung nicht gesichert. Zu Eunomius: Didymus, *In PsT* 44,2; vgl. Grünbeck, Christologische Schriftargumentation 231f.

[104] *En.Ps.* 44,5 (CChr.SL 38, 497,7-498,45).

[105] *En.Ps.* 44,5 (CChr.SL 38, 497,4f.).

[106] *En.Ps.* 44,5 (CChr.SL 38, 497,8/10).

[107] Cyprian, *Test.* II 3.

[108] Novatian, *Trin.* 13,1; vgl. 17,2.

[109] Gregor v. Elvira, *Fid.* 24.

[110] Ambrosius, *Abr.* 1,4; *Expl. Ps.* 36,14: als individuelles Sündenbekenntnis.

[111] Vgl. Arnobius, *Com.Ps.* 44 (CChr.SL 25, 62,2/4); Cassiodor, *Exp.Ps.* 44,2b.

[112] *En.Ps.* 44,6 (CChr.SL 38, 498,14/28): [...] *impulit mentem ad intelligentiam.*

[113] Vgl. Didymus, *In PsT* 44,2; Basilius, *Hom.Ps.* 44,3.

[114] Zur Auslegung von Vers 7, s.o. 2.2. Augustinus verwendet durchgängig die Lesart *participibus* für *consortibus* (Vulgata).

[115] S.o. Anm. 51.

[116] *En.Ps.* 44,19 (CChr.SL 38, 507,2f.): *Propterea unxit te, ut diligeres iustitiam, et odires iniquitatem* — auch nicht an anderen Stellen, an denen er *Ps* 44,7-8 zitiert, vgl. beispielsweise *Civ.Dei* 17,16; *Adv.Jud.* 4-5; *Advers.leg.* 2,12; *C.Max.* II 16,3; *En.Ps.* 82,2.

[117] Zu den antiarianischen Argumentationen in *C.serm.Ar.* 8 und *C.Max.* 2,16, s. Grünbeck, Christologische Schriftargumentation 396f.

[118] *En.Ps.* 44,19 (CChr.SL 38, 507,5/11): [...] *unum nomen est quod compellatur, et alterum ab eo qui compellat* [...]; vgl. Eusebius, *Dem.ev* IV 15,58-62.

[119] *Vnctus est Deus a Deo: unctum audis, Christum intellege. Etenim Christus a chrismate; hoc nomen quod appellatur Christus, unctionis est.* Vgl. *En.Ps.* 44,19 (CChr.SL 38, 507,11/19). *Civ.Dei* 17,16 (CChr.SL 48, 580,27f.); *Advers.leg.* 2,12 (PL 42, 645,4/12); *C. Faust.* 13,15; 22,85 (CSEL 25, 395,11/14; 689,3/5) sowie *Fid.* 5 (CChr.SL 46, 7,38-8,61), die einzige nicht-apologetische Schrift unter den genannten: vermutlich handelt es sich um eine Predigt für Neugetaufte. Vgl. außerdem *C. Max.* II 16,3; *Exp.Gal.* 24.

[120] Hilarius, *Trin.* XI 18-20: *Deus a suo Deo unguetur.* Auch daraus leiteten die Arianer, wie aus *Joh* 20,17 (*ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem uestrum*), eine Unterordnung des Sohnes ab.

[121] *En.Ps.* 44,19 (CChr.SL 38, 507,21-508,27): *Vnctus est nobis Deus, et missus est nobis; et ipse Deus ut ungeretur, homo erat; sed ita homo erat, ut Deus esset; ita Deus*

erat, ut homo esse non dedignaretur: uerus homo, uerus Deus; in nullo fallax, in nullo falsus; quia ubique uerax, ubique ueritas. Deus ergo homo, et ideo unctus Deus, quia homo Deus, et factus est Christus.

[122] Vgl. *En.Ps.* 29 *serm.* 2,2, wo er sorgfältig zwischen *natura*, die Christus mit den Menschen gemeinsam habe, und *persona*, der zufolge er einzigartig sei, unterscheidet; ihre Datierung ist umstritten: M. Zarb, *Chronologia Enarrationum S.Augustini in Psalmos*, Valetta 1948, 252-256, plädiert für 414/415; Rondet, Essais, in: BLE 61 (1960) 274-276, dem sich Drobner 162f., anschließt, für die ersten Jahre seines Episkopats, so auch Dekkers-Fraipont, in CChr.SL 38, XVII, 113.

[123] *En.Ps.* 44,21 (CChr.SL 38, 509,6/9): *Qui enim participes eius? Filii hominum; quoniam et ipse Filius hominis particeps factus est mortalitatis illorum, ut faceret eos participes immortalitatis suae.* Daß dies in der 3. Person, und nicht in der 1. oder 2. Person geschieht, sollte nicht überbewertet, aber auch nicht übersehen werden.

[124] Tauschformeln sind in diesem Zusammenhang bei Augustinus eher selten, vgl. *Exp.Gal.* 24; *Tract.Joh.* 25,11.

[125] Zu Vers 3a lieferte er eher eine rhetorisch kunstvolle Behauptung als eine Begründung, *En.Ps.* 44,7 (CChr.SL 38, 499,2/8), s.o. Anm. 47.

[126] *En.Ps.* 44,15 (CChr.SL 38, 504,18/24) [...] *faciens diuina, patiens humana, malitias hominum sternens bonitate sua.*

[127] *Exp.Gal.* 24 (CSEL 84, 86,13/21, J. Divjak, 1971), entstanden 394/95; z.St. vgl. Verwilghen 269-271; Rémy 46-52. *In Iob* 38 (CSEL 28,2, 601,7/22), redigiert um 400; vgl. Verwilghen 171f.

[128] *Tract.Joh.* 25,11; 43,9: Erlösendes Menschsein; Sündlosigkeit; Freiwilligkeit des Todes.

[129] Vgl. Athanasius, *C.Ar.* I 47; Hilarius, *Trin,* XI 18; Cyrill von Jerusalem, *Cat.myst.* 3,2.

[130] *En.Ps.* 44,20 (CChr.SL 38, 508,1/6): *Hoc figurabatur in eo quod Iacob lapidem sibi ad caput posuerat, et dormierat*; [...]. Vgl. *Trin.* III 10,19-20 (CChr.SL 50, 148,52/55); *Tract.Joh.* 7,23: Die Salbung des Steins verweise auf Christus im Fleisch. Verweise auf *Gen* 28 im Umkreis von *Ps* 44,8 finden sich nur bei Justin, *Dial.* 86,3, und Cyrill v. Alexandrien, *Glaph.* IV (PG 69,189); *C.Nest.* II 2.

[131] *En.Ps.* 44,20 (CChr.SL 38, 508,6/17); vgl. das Bild der Gläubigen als lebendige Steine in *En.Ps.* 44,31.

[132] *En.Ps.* 44,20 (CChr.SL 38, 508,21/33).

[133] *En.Ps.* 44,20 (CChr.SL 38, 508,33-509,67); vgl. dazu M. F. Berrouard, S. Augustin et la ministère de la prédication. Le thème des anges qui montent et qui descendent, in: RechAug 2 (1962) 447-501.

[134] *En.Ps.* 44,20 (CChr.SL 38, 509,66/72); vgl. auch *En.Ps.* 29 *serm.* 2,2; 88, *serm.* 2,3.

[135] Vgl. programmatisch Geerlings 9-11.

[136] *En.Ps.* 44,15 (CChr.SL 38, 503,6-504,11).

[137] *En.Ps.* 44,15 (CChr.SL 38, 504,11/14).

[138] Vgl. *En.Ps.* 78,13 (CChr.SL 39, 1106,9/12); 92,3 (1293,8/16).

[139] *En.Ps.* 44,11-12.

[140] *En.Ps.* 44,23.

[141] Hier deckt sich die *Enarratio* mit den griechischen Kommentaren. Auf die Seele deutet er den Vers höchstens in Einzelauslegungen; vgl. Robitaille 299-306.

[142] *En.Ps.* 44,25 (CChr.SL 38, 512,4/10); vgl. *En.Ps.* 44,32.

[143] Mit *missi* nimmt er den Christustitel *missus* zu Vers 8, *En.Ps.* 44,19 (CChr.SL 38, 507,21), wieder auf.

[144] *En.Ps.* 44,32 (CChr.SL 38, 516,15/19).

[145] *En.Ps.* 44,23, zu Vers 9-10; 32, zu 17, s.v.a. CChr.SL 38, 516,19/21: *Non ergo te putes desertam, quia non uides Petrum, quia non uides Paulum, quia non uides illos, per quos nata es; de prole tua tibi creuit paternitas.*

[146] *En.Ps.* 44,16, zu Vers 6; 22, zu Vers 9; vgl. *Serm.* 298,2 (C. Lambot, Utrecht-Brüssel 1950, 12/15), mit *Ps* 44,6 und *Hld* 2,5 sowie der Aufforderung zu lieben wie Petrus und Paulus.

[147] *En.Ps.* 44,2 (CChr.SL 38, 494,12); 6 (498,2); 11 (501,9); vgl. 23 (511,19).

[148] *En.Ps.* 44,9 (CChr.SL 38, 500,3f.): *ueluti dicente hymnum.*

[149] *En.Ps.* 44,9; vgl. *En.Ps.* 67,28 (CChr.SL 39, 890,1f.).

[150] *En.Ps.* 44,33 (CChr.SL 38, 517,12/25; 516,3/4); vgl. 7 (499,27/35).

[151] *En.Ps.* 44,22 (CChr.SL 38, 510,24/26); 23 (510,9/15); 25 (512,5/10); 32 (516,6f.): *ipsi missi sunt, ipsi praedicauerunt, ipsi patres*; vgl. dagegen Basilius, *Hom.Ps.* 44,3; Hilarius, *Tract.Ps. 118 tau* 2; Didymus, *In PsT* 44,2; Athanasius, *Apol.fug.* 20.

[152] Vgl. *En.Ps.* 44,25 (CChr.SL 38, 512,10/13. 22/25): *et praedicatum est nobis quod nondum uidemus, et audiendo credidimus, credendo uidebimus* [...] *Ad hoc enim audimus quod credamus, antequam uideamus, ut credendo cor mundemus, unde uidere possimus.*

[153] *En.Ps.* 44,2-7; 11 Singular; 8; 16 Plural.

[154] *En.Ps.* 44,22-23.

[155] Vgl. Schindler 91f.

[156] Z.B. *In epist.Joh.* 3,11; 4,6: dort verbunden mit der inneren Salbung. Vgl. Schindler 99-102.

[157] Vgl. Borgomeo 209; 234; Franz *passim*, v.a. 161-163; 189-194. Die Frage, inwieweit die Kirche an Christi gottmenschlichem oder nur menschlichem Sein partizipiert, kann im Rahmen dieser Untersuchung nicht weiter erörtert werden. S. Réveillaud *passim*; Borgomeo 228-234.

[158] Vgl. dagegen die individuelle Christusfrömmigkeit, wie Basilius oder Chrysostomus sie in ihren Auslegungen entwickeln, s. Grünbeck, Christologische Schriftargumentation.

[159] Das schwierige Verhältnis zwischen dem Augustinischen Kirchenbegriff und seiner Lehre vom inneren Wort kann hier nicht weiter erörtert werden, vgl. dazu neuerdings Hamm. Knapp: A. Schindler, Augustin, in: TRE 4 (1979) 646-698, 677-680.

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THE ARIAN HERESY AND THE ORATION TO THE SAINTS

BY

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If genuine, the *Oration to the Saints* ascribed to Constantine will have made a handsome opening to his sole rule of the Empire under Christian auspices. The theory that he delivered it in Antioch, shortly before the Nicene Council of 325, is sometimes thought to gain support from the presence of Arian features which would later have been expunged. T.D. Barnes concludes that any Good Friday from 317 to 324 is credible,[1] J.M. Rist will countenance only 321,[2] while R. Lane Fox has dated it to the Good Friday of 325 which followed the Council of Antioch in 324.[3] By contrast P.S. Davies avers that Arian sympathies must have been as odious at Antioch on the eve of the Nicene Council as in any place thereafter, and detects an interpolation by Eusebius, who has preserved our present text of the *Oration*.[4] I shall argue here that the passages said to be Arian are not such, and thus can have no bearing on the provenance or dating of the speech. While this point would not suffice to demonstrate that the Emperor was its author, it should at least dispel the notion that it is wholly or partly a forgery by Eusebius, who was reckoned by some contemporaries an Arian at heart.[5]

The most important passage must be rendered without omissions:

πρῶτον μὲν θεὸν ὑφηγήσατο *τὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν οὐσίαν*, καλῶς ποιῶν, ὑπέταξε δὲ τούτῳ καὶ δεύτερον, καὶ δύο οὐσίας τῷ ἀριθμῷ διείλε, μιᾶς οὔσης τῆς ἀμφοτέρων τελειότητος, τῆς τε οὐσίας τοῦ δευτέρου θεοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἐχούσης ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου· αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ διοικητὴς τῶν ὅλων δηλονότι ὑπεραναβεβηκώς, ὁ δὲ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ταῖς ἐκείνου προστάξεσιν ὑπουργήσας τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν πάντων συστάσεως εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀναπέμπει. ⁴εἷς ἂν οὖν εἴη κατὰ τὸν ἀκριβῆ λόγον ὁ τὴν πάντων ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενος προνοούμενός τε αὐτῶν θεὸς *λόγῳ* κατακοσμήσας τὰ πάντα· *ὁ δὲ λόγος αὐτὸς θεὸς* ὢν αὐτὸς τυγχάνει καὶ θεοῦ παῖς· ποῖον γὰρ ἄν τις ἄλλο ὄνομα αὐτῷ περιτιθεὶς παρὰ τὴν προσηγορίαν τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἂν τὰ μέγιστα ἐξαμαρτάνοι; ὁ γάρ τοι τῶν πάντων πατὴρ καὶ τοῦ *ἰδίου λόγου* δικαίως ἂν πατὴρ νομίζοιτο. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτου Πλάτων σώφρων ἦν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑξῆς εὑρίσκεται διαμαρτάνων τῆς ἀληθείας.

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> [Plato] describes as First God the one who is *above being*, rightly so doing, and subordinated to this one also a second, and distinguished two beings numerically, the perfection of both being one, but the being of the second receiving its subsistence from the first. For he (sc. the first) is the demiurge and governor, being clearly above the universe, while the other, in obedience to his mandates, brings back to him the cause of the constitution of the universe. Thus according to the accurate account, there would be one God who takes care of all things, having by his *word* (*logos*) put all in order; but *the logos himself* is himself god[6] and the child of God. For what other name could one give him except child of God without committing error in the highest degree? For the Father of all things might with justice be called the Father of *his own logos*. So far, then, Plato was wise, but in what follows he is found to have erred (*Oratio* IX, p. 163.18-31 Heikel).

Historians when interpreting these statements often fail to note the echo of a notorious phrase in Plato. The Good, he says at *Republic* 509e, is not so much an *ousia* as ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας, not so much an existent as the source of all that is.[7] The looseness of the allusion (in the formula ὑπὲρ τὴν οὐσίαν) is an argument of some weight for the authenticity of this speech, since the divergence would be more likely to occur in a retranslation from the Latin than in an original composition by Eusebius,[8] to whom Plato's words were accurately known.[9]

The vocabulary in the rest of the opening sentence is undoubtedly derived from Platonism. Numenius of Apamea, the most profound of the Middle Platonists, had acknowledged that the form of the Good is not so much an essence as the origin of essences in the intellectual realm (Fr. 16.5 Des Places). He is, however, prepared to speak of the Good as primary being, while the intelligible is a secondary being which derives its beauty and substance from the first (Fr. 16.15-16). But though he is rightly cited as a parallel,[10] Numenius is not the immediate source for this *Oration*, which has a different understanding of the cosmology expounded in the *Timaeus*. Numenius made his demiurge a "second god" (Fr. 12 etc.) and apparently identical with the Forms; whereas our speaker (not without precedent) makes the demiurge the father of both the intellectual substance and the world.[11]

So far, then, the Platonists are expounded from their own lexicon, and if Constantine had allowed these terms to stand as a premonition of the Gospel, he would no doubt have offended most of Christendom, before or after the Council of Nicaea. But the arguments which turn upon this passage have been prone to overlook the ensuing sentence, which derives from no Platonic speculation. For here the second being

is called not *ousia* but *logos*, a title which is not (as it is often supposed to be) a Platonic legacy: from Plato to Iamblichus, no *logos* is ever credited with the hypostatic identity or demiurgic functions that would make it even comparable to the Second Person of the Trinity. The noun is one of the commonest in the extant fragments of Numenius,[12] yet denotes nothing more than 'argument'; in Plotinus it is the mediating principle, not the agent, by which properties of the higher realm are bestowed upon the lower.[13] Philo is the one precursor of the Christian usage who would now be called a Platonist;[14] but as he never called himself one nor was recognised as such by the other Platonists, he would hardly have been consulted in the fourth century as a mouthpiece of that school.

Our orator has therefore not endorsed the attribution of two *ousiai* to the Godhead. In the style of a true apologist, he has stated Platonic doctrine in its own words, and paraphrased it in language that was current in the Church. Only in the description of the first deity is Plato expressly said to have spoken well without any need of qualification. The accurate account, according to which there is one God, is submitted not by Plato but by the orator himself. When, at the end of our quotation, Plato is praised again it is with a caveat: philosophy itself is neither substitute nor evidence for the truth that Christ revealed.

The worship of Christ as Logos is a fixed element in Christian proclamations of that era, and especially in that champion of the Nicene homoousion, Marcellus of Ancyra, who maintained that he was eternally the Logos but only temporarily the Son.[15] He believed that in doing this he rendered a service to orthodoxy, since Arius used the Sonship as a proof that the Second Person of the Trinity succeeds the First in time.[16] It cannot, of course, be argued that the adoption of the word *Logos* as the equivalent of Son is an indication of any sympathy with Marcellus; but when the speaker hints in another place at the distinction between the spoken and the unspoken word, the λόγος προφορικός and ἐνδιάθετος,[17] he would certainly have gratified Marcellus more than his adversary Eusebius, who found the term ἐνδιάθετος incompatible with the hypostatic being of the Son (*De Eccl. Theol.* I.17.7).

J.M. Rist discovers in this passage three adumbrations of a belief which, if not Arian, would be dangerously close to Arianism after the Council of 324.[18] First is the avoidance of the term *homoousios*, second the attribution to the Son of a *huparxis*, third the assimilation of the Son to created subjects by reasoning that the Father of all is the Father

of his word. As to the first, the Council of Antioch also fails to endorse the word *homoousios*, which had been expressly condemned by its predecessor in 268 and was avoided for a time after 325 by such enthusiasts for Nicaea as Athanasius.[19] As for the second our speaker cannot now be tried on a charge which neither the Councils nor Athanasius thought to bring against this noun.[20] As to the third, the speaker draws a distinction between the Logos and creation with the word *idios*, which is grafted on to his paraphrase of Plato, and was to be used by Athanasius to affirm the peculiarity of nature which resided in the Son.[21]

On the other hand, there is much in the *Oration* which, if possibly compatible with the theology of Arius, is not such as an Arian would spontaneously propose. While Arians were prepared to style the Logos catachrestically the wisdom of God (Athanasius, *Contra Arianos* I.5), some at least would have scrupled to say, as our speaker does at 166.11 and 168.30, that Jesus Christ was already the "wisdom of God" from his very cradle.[22] Arius, in his Letter to Alexander, credits the Logos with a sempiternal being in dependence on the Father, but not the "eternal origin" ascribed to him at 168.11-12, let alone the "eternal nature" celebrated at 168.25. Eusebius uses neither phrase: he affirms that the Word came forth before the ages (*Contra Marcellum* I.4.23 etc.) and that *ktisis* or "creation" may be a Biblical synonym for generation (*Eccl. Theol.* III.3.44ff), but is careful neither to state nor to deny that the Word participates in the divine eternity. Indeed he was prepared, before and after 325, to maintain two *ousiai* in the Godhead (*Contra Marc.* I.4.45), and it is partly on this account that he is credited by Davies with the interpolation of the quoted passage into his master's speech; but why should he then let stand a phrase (170.12) which applies the definite article to the deity of the Word, and thereby contradicts his own presumption that the latter, while a *theos,* was not *ho theos*, was a god but never God?[23]

Eusebius would have followed Platonic precedent and current orthodoxy in affirming the obedience of the *logos*; indeed, he would have affirmed it rather more clearly than our orator.[24] But neither he nor any but a handful of the subscribers at Nicaea could join Marcellus in regarding the Son as a temporary phase in the economy of the Father. He might, however, for all that he insists on the Son's priority to the world against Marcellus, have made some doubt of his being coeternal with the Father. In Davies' view, these doubts are given voice by an interpolated sentence:[25]

ὄντος ἄρα κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ οὔσης τε αὐτῶν σωτηρίας, τὸν σωτῆρα τῶν πάντων *προυπάρχειν* ἀνάγκη, ὡς εἶναι τὸν μὲν Χριστὸν τὴν τῆς σωτηρίας *αἰτίαν* τὴν δὲ σωτηρίαν τῶν ὄντων *τὸ αἰτιατόν*, καθάπερ *αἰτία* μὲν υἱοῦ ὁ πατήρ, *αἰτιατὸν* δ' ὁ υἱός.

> "Since the world and its contents exist, and so does their salvation, it is necessary that the saviour of all should *exist beforehand*, so that Christ is the *cause* of salvation and the salvation of the existents is what is *caused*, just as the Father is *cause* of the Son and the Son is *caused*" (p. 168.14-18).

In fact we discern here neither the unconscious Sabellianism of Marcellus nor the Arian sympathies carelessly imputed to his antagonist. The notion that the Father is related to the Son as cause to effect, as *aitia* to *aitiation*, not only prior but greater in respect of that priority—this remains a fundamental tenet in eastern Orthodoxy, with precedent in Basil and Athanasius, who are both still called, like Constantine, 'the Great':[26]

Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Υἱὸς οὐκ εἴρηκεν, Ὁ Πατήρ μου κρείττων μοῦ ἐστιν, ἵνα μὴ ξένον τις τῆς ἐκείνου φύσεως αὐτὸν ὑπολάβοι· ἀλλὰ μείζων εἶπεν, οὐ μεγέθει τινὶ, οὐδὲ χρόνῳ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πατρὸς γέννησιν· πλὴν ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν 'μείζων ἐστίν', ἔδειξε πάλιν τὴν τῆς οὐσίας ἰδιότητα.

> "And hence it is that the Son too says not, 'My Father is better than I', less we should conceive Him to be foreign to His nature, but 'greater', not indeed in greatness nor in time, but because of his generation from the Father Himself; nay, in saying 'greater', he again shows that he is proper to His essence" (Athanasius, *Contra Arianos* I.58).

Thus Athanasius, finding that it is the Son's origination from the Father that makes him worthy to be styled *idios*. Basil (*Ep.* 236) declares that, while the Son possessed divine omniscience, it was only by reception from the Father, and concedes, like Athanasius, that the priority of the First Person to the Second is implied by the affirmation that "the Father is greater than I" (*Contra Eunomium* I.25). The speaker in our *Oration*, like the greater exponents of orthodoxy,[27] uses the verb *proupharkhein* to express the Son's priority to the world, but not the Father's to the Son.

We have seen that there is more in this oration to remind us of Marcellus than of the Emperor's secretary. That Constantine should have spoken with Marcellus is not unthinkable, but have we yet found

anything in his sermon that we need ascribe to a Greek collaborator? The thesis that the Logos dwelt eternally in the reason of the Father, but owed his separate being as a hypostasis to a temporal projection or emanation, had been the orthodoxy of Latin Christendom since Tertullian (*Adv. Prax.* 7 etc.). Constantine received a Latin schooling, and was accustomed to prepare his drafts in Latin; the testimonies from Virgil which are used in this oration were not familiar to Eusebius or to any Greek theologian of the period, but the Fourth Eclogue had already been adduced as a foreshadowing of the Gospel by Lactantius, the Eusebius of the west.[28] While he reveals his preference for an unusual and corrupt reading of the Fourth Eclogue,[29] Constantine would be more inclined to rely on his learned counsellor in questions of theology, and would probably not have heard that such positions as the following were open to debate:

Deus igitur machinator constitutorque rerum, sicut in secundo libro diximus, antequam praeclarum hoc opus mundi adoriretur, sanctum et incorruptibilem spiritum genuit, quem filium nuncuparet.

> God himself, the artisan and founder of all, before He set to work on this brilliant work, the world, brought forth a holy and incorruptible spirit, to be called his Son (*Div. Inst.* IV.6.1).

As in Tertullian's treatises against Praxeas and Hermogenes, the hypostatic Sonship is an instrument for the making of the world. For Lactantius, Tertullian and our orator, the eternity of the Logos does not reside in his identity as a Person of the Trinity, but in the inseparability of the Father and his reason. Before Nicaea this was not a heresy; after it, it was heresy to Arians, semi-Arians, Neo-Arians and all but a handful of the victorious party at Nicaea.

One of the last attempts to discern a heresy in the *Oration to the Saints* is that of Lane Fox, who avers that it "treads dangerously close" to Arianism when it posits a "second, natural birth" for the Saviour in addition to his primordial generation.[30] Since both his birth from Mary and his existence before the ages were affirmed by every faction, this is merely the orthodox teaching, though it is rarely formulated so precisely as in the *Institutes* of Lactantius: "in primis enim testificamur illum bis esse natum" (IV.8.1).

It must therefore be concluded that the *Oration to the Saints* condones no heresy, nor would it have given offence to anyone (except perhaps Eusebius) on the eve of the Nicene Council. It broaches no

theological opinion which should incline us to doubt its authorship, its integrity or the propriety of delivering it to the Church of Antioch in 324.

NOTES

[1] T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, London 1981, p. 75, modifying the opinion expressed in his "The Emperor Constantine's Good Friday Sermon", *JTS* 27 (1976), 414-23.

[2] J.M. Rist, "Basil's Neoplatonism" in P.J. Fedwick (ed.) *Basil of Caesarea*, 1981, pp. 137-220 esp. pp. 157-8.

[3] R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, Harmondsworth 1986, p. 654, which makes the Emperor ignorant of the "extreme subtleties" of the argument, and takes the Arian passages as "one more proof that the speech was not thoroughly revised in later years".

[4] P.S. Davies, "Constantine's Editor" in *JTS* 42 (1991), 610-18, esp. 611.

[5] Most notably by Athanasius, *De Decretis*, and by Marcellus of Ancyra, against whom Eusebius wrote his *Contra Marcellum* and *De Ecclesiastica Theologia*. Barnes (1981), p. 265 opines that the Arian content of these treatises is obvious even to the "most casual reader"; less casual ones will notice that he denies that the Son is a κτίσμα in the Arian sense, while omitting to pronounce him *homoousios*, and affirms his generation before the ages while yielding to his opponent a monopoly of the word *aidios*. If one thing is certain, it is that Eusebius did not mean these 'casual readers' to detect any Arian sympathies in his work.

[6] It would be tendentious here to write either "a god" or "God".

[7] The intended meaning of this does not concern us, but Davies' explanation (see n. 4) that *ousia* on its first appearance denotes the physical world is highly dubious, for all that it is supported by the edition of E. Klostermann, Berlin 1972. The phrase *huper ousian* is used of the One by Platonists (e.g. Proclus, *Plat. Theol.* II.2 *finis*), but not in direct quotation of the master.

[8] Eusebius notes at *Vita Constantini* IV.27 that the Emperor composed his speeches in Latin. See further n. 29.

[9] Note the use of *epekeina* at *Praeparatio Evangelica* I.4.9, *Contra Marcellum* I.4.27 etc., and *De Eccl. Theol.* I.12.1 etc.

[10] E.g. by Barnes (n.1, 1981) p. 74.

[11] See e.g. Atticus in Proclus, *Com. in Timaeum* 305.6-16. The paradigm on such readings becomes the thought of God.

[12] Most notably in Fr. 12 Des Places, where it occurs at lines 7, 8 and 10.

[13] See J.M. Rist, *Plotinus: The Road to Reality*, Cambridge 1967, pp. 84-102.

[14] On Philo's *logos* see H.A. Wolfson, *Philo*, Cambridge Mass. 1947, pp. 177-246. On the reception of Philo see now D.T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature*, Assen 1993.

[15] See Eusebius, *Contra Marcellum passim*; and on Marcellus' contribution to the Nicene declaration, A.H.B. Logan, "Marcellus of Ancyra and the Councils of 325", *JTS* 43 (1992), 428-446.

[16] Or strictly, according to the Nicene anathemas, maintained that "there was when the Son was not".

[17] *Oratio* 6. Though endorsed by Athenagoras (*Legatio* 10.2), these terms are condemned, not only by Eusebius, but by the eighth anathema of Sirmium, often censured as an Arianising council, and by Epiphanius (*Panarion* 65) in his account of Paul of Samosata. Such language would perhaps have been more welcome in an Antioch dominated by Eustathius and Marcellus before Nicaea.

[18] See Rist (n. 2), pp. 157-8. The Council is also dated to early 325. On this assembly see E. Scwartz, *Gesammelte Schriften* III, Berlin 1954, pp. 134-55; H. Chadwick, "Ossius of Cordova and the Presidency of the Council of Antioch", *JTS* 9 (1954), 292-304.

[19] On which see Athanasius, *The Synodis passim*; Hilary of Poitiers, *De Synodis 86-91*.

[20] G.C. Stead's remarks in "Platonism of Arius", *JTS* 15 (1964), p. 26 refer only to the use of the aorist. The present of the verb occurs at Athanasius, *Contra Arianos* I.29 etc.. See further n. 27. Eusebius, who can quote Philippians 2.7 to authorise the verb at *De Eccl. Theol.* I.10.5, denounces the denial of Christ's *huparxis* at *Contra Marc.* II.1.9 etc.

[21] *Contra Arianos* I.29, I.58 etc. On the importance of the term see now P. Widdicombe, *The Fatherhood of God in Origen and Athanasius*, Oxford 1994, pp. 194-204.

[22] This conflicts with the Arian view that the Logos increased in wisdom according to Luke 2.52. Cf. [?Athanasius], *Contra Arianos* III.51.

[23] See e.g. *De Eccl. Theol.* II.14, which refers to the distinction drawn by Origen between the Son as *theos* and the Father as *autotheos* in his *Commentary on John* II.2 (on *theos* and *ho theos* at John 1.1).

[24] See *De Eccl. Theol.* I.11.4 etc. and Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Oration* XV.30. Constantine does not in fact speak of the Logos as obedient except when he is passing from a Platonic to a Christian vocabulary.

[25] Davies (n.4), remarking in n. 5 that the supposed unorthodoxy has escaped the attention of scholars. It would appear, however, that the terms *aitia* and *aitiaton* are otherwise barely known to Trinitarian theology of the period: this is as much a proof that they were not considered Arian as that they were not orthodox.

[26] Newman's translation (Oxford 1844), plausibly taking ἰδίοτης as the state of being ἴδιος to the Father. John 14.28 is the Biblical passage in question.

[27] See Athanasius, *De Decretis* 18 and Epiphanius, *Panarion* 72.2 (quoting Marcellus) for reprobation of the term in Trinitarian theology. The verb is used of Christ in relation to the creation at Athanasius, *Contra Arianos* II.53 and Justin, *Dialogus cum Tryphone* 48.2 etc.

[28] At *Div. Inst.* VII.24 Lactantius makes a long excerpt from the Fourth Eclogue in conjunction with some characteristic appeals to the Sibylline Oracles. For a valuable monograph on his knowledge of both Greek and Latin literature, see R.M. Ogilvie, *The Library of Lactantius*, Oxford 1978.

[29] It is often alleged that the speech cannot have been composed in Latin because, where the Greek citations of the Fourth Eclogue depart most widely from the original, the commentary makes sense only when applied to the translation. In fact, there is only one quotation on which the commentary is sufficiently precise to be irreconcilable with the Latin, namely that of Eclogue IV.60-63. Both text and interpretation are in dispute to the present day, and the commentary will be fully intelligible if we adopt a modification of the MS reading (i.e. not the variant in Quintilian, *Inst.* 9.3.8 which has *qui* in place of *cui*):

incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem...
incipe, parve puer, cui non risere parentes;
nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.

(The MS text is identical except that it makes a strong break in the middle of the second verse and none at the end of it. Conington conjectures that Quintilian read *quoi* and wrongly construed it as *qui* rather than *cui*.)

[30] Lane Fox (n. 3) p. 646.

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LUKIAN ÜBER DIE AUFERSTEHUNG DER TOTEN

VON

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Im Streitgespräch des Apostels Paulus mit den Philosophen in Athen war die Reaktion seiner Gesprächspartner nicht direkt ablehnend: *N.T.Act.* 17,18f.: ξένων δαιμονίων δοκεῖ καταγγελεὺς εἶναι· ὅτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν εὐηγγελίζετο. Abgesehen von der Erwähnung von Jesus ist ἀνάστασις das Wort, das ihre Neugier reizt, weil sie darin eine neue Gottheit vermuten.[1] Paulus wird deshalb gebeten, seine Ansichten vor dem Areopag zu erörtern. Anfangs hört man ihm mit wohlwollendem Interesse zu, das ändert sich jedoch, als sich herausstellt, daß mit ἀνάστασις die Auferstehung der Toten gemeint ist: V. 32 ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, οἱ μὲν ἐχλεύαζον, οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· ἀκουσόμεθά σου περὶ τούτου καὶ πάλιν. Die letztgenannten reagieren mit eisiger Höflichkeit (»Sie sollten darüber bestimmt noch einmal einen Vortrag halten«); die anderen sind weniger zurückhaltend: ἐχλεύαζον: Spott und Hohn.[2] Die Fortsetzung lautet deshalb: οὕτως ὁ Παῦλος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ μεσοῦ αὐτῶν. Ende der Debatte.

Daß die ἀνάστασις ein Skandalon, eine unüberwindliche Hürde für die Heiden blieb, ist auch bei Tertullian zu lesen: Tert. *Test.* 4,2 *opinio Christiana etsi honestior multo Pythagorica, quae*[3] *te non in bestias transfert, etsi plenior Platonica, quae tibi etiam dotem corporis reddit, etsi Epicurea plenior, quae te ab interitu defendit, tamen propter nomen soli vanitati et stupori, et, ut dicitur, praesumptioni deputatur.* Die *opinio christiana*, d.h. in diesem Fall die *resurrectio carnis* wird abgelehnt und als verwegener Wahnsinn betrachtet. Über die Unsterblichkeit der Seele besteht mit den Heiden keine Meinungsverschiedenheit, die Mehrzahl der Philosophen nimmt sie an: *Adv. Marc.* 5,9,2 *semper resurrectio carnis negatur* (näml. von Marcion). *Ceterum animam et sapientium plures divinam vindicantes salvam repromittunt.*[4]

Auch bei Origenes *Cels.* 1,7,8[5] zeigt sich die Ablehnung dieses christlichen Glaubenssatzes durch die *pagani*, und deren völlige Verständnislosigkeit: καὶ μὴ νοηθὲν τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως μυστήριον θρυλεῖται γελώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων. Die Ungläubigen lehnen ihn also nicht nur ab, sondern verunglimpfen ihn auch und verhalten sich somit wie die Philosophen

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in Athen. Selbstverständlich wird auch Celsus selber den ἄπιστοι zugerechnet. Auch er verunglimpft den Glaubenssatz der Auferstehung: 5,18,1 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ πλέον κεκωμῴδηκε (sc. Celsus) τὴν κεκηρυγμένην μὲν τῆς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Der kräftige Ausdruck (»behandeln auf die Weise von κωμῳδοί«) deutet darauf hin, daß dieser Lehrsatz von ihm absolut nicht ernst genommen werden konnte, obgleich er zu der festen Glaubenslehre der Christen gehörte (κεκηρυγμένην ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις). Interessant ist auch nog 7,32,39 ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν ἀποτετολμήσθω διὰ τὸν μὴ νοήσαντα (näml. Celsus) ὅ τι ποτὲ λέγομεν τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γελῶντα καὶ χλευάζοντα ὃν οὐκ οἶδε λόγον. Celsus hat die Auferstehung nicht verstanden: Deshalb reagiert er γελῶντα (vgl. oben 1,7,8) und χλευάζοντα. Χλευάζοντα verdient unsere Aufmerksamkeit. Im *N.T.* ist das Verb ein hapax legomenon. Wie wir anfangs gesehen haben, wird es dort verwendet um die erste uns bekannte Reaktion der Heiden auf die Lehre der Auferstehung zu kennzeichnen. Von dieser Bibelstelle ausgehend hat Origenes von χλευάζω gewissermaßen einen terminus technicus gemacht um pagane Reaktionen auf christliche Auffassungen zu bezeichnen. Im *c. Celsum* verwendet er es 15 mal,[6] fast immer ist Celsus das Subjekt, und außer in 7,32,39 ist zusätzlich die Auferstehung in 2,16,24 das Objekt des Spottes.

Hatte Tertullian die paganen Bekämpfer der *resurrectio* bei Pythagoräern, Platonikern und Epikureern gefunden oder bei Häretikern wie Marcion, so nennt Origenes den paganen Bekämpfer namentlich und zitiert längere Ausschnitte aus dessen Werk. Ich nenne noch eine Stelle; in 5,14,6 wird der Glaube an die Auferstehung als σκωλήκων ἡ ἐλπίς, in einem längeren Celsuszitat bezeichnet.[7] Aber besitzen wir aus dem zweiten Jahrhundert noch einen direkten Zeugen der spöttischen Ablehnung der ἀνάστασις? Ich meine ein direktes Zeugnis in einem Werk eines paganen Autors, statt eines Zitates bei einem christlichen Schriftsteller. Ich behaupte, diese Frage bejahen zu können.

Lukian (± 120- ± 180) erzählt in seiner περὶ τῆς Περεγρίνου τελευτῆς, wie der Titelheld, nach seiner Meinung ein Scharlatan und Betrüger, bevor er im Jahr 165 während der olympischen Spiele spektakulär Selbstmord verübte, eine zeitlang Christ gewesen war.[8] Infolgedessen war er verhaftet worden und wurde im Gefängnis von seinen Glaubensgenossen finanziell unterstützt. Lukian fährt dann fort (*Peregr.* 13): πεπείκασι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ κακοδαίμονες τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἀθάνατοι ἔσεσθαι καὶ βιώσεσθαι τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, παρ' ὃ καὶ καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἑκόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπιδιδόασιν οἱ πολλοί. A.M. Harmon (in der Loeb-Ausgabe, Teil V, London 1955)

übersetzt: »the poor wretches have convinced themselves, first and foremost, that they are going to be immortal and live for all time«; deshalb unterwerfen sie sich freiwillig der Gefangenschaft (und der darauffolgenden Hinrichtung). Diese *libido moriendi* wird öfters von contemporänen paganen Schriftstellern erwähnt (Marcus Aurelius, auch Celsus) und ist auch in den Märtyrerakten das vorherrschende Thema. Daß die Märtyrer sich voller Freude und freiwillig dem Tod hingeben, geschieht, so Lukian, auf Grund ihres Glaubens in Unsterblichkeit und ewiges Leben. Aber Glaube in Unsterblichkeit war keine exklusiv christliche Auffassung: die Unsterblichkeit der Seele wurde in den Mysterien und auch in Philosophenschulen gelehrt, wie wir in den Zitaten aus Tertullian gelesen haben. Dieser Glaube jedoch ist nicht identisch mit der christlichen Lehre der ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν, die Seele *und* Leib umfaßt.[9] Die Kombination von Seele und Leib, der christliche Glaubenssatz, wird aber auch von Lukian, es sei denn implizit, genannt. Er schreibt nämlich: τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἀθάνατοι ἐσέσθαι. Die angeführte Übersetzung Harmons ist falsch, weil *sie* übereinstimmt mit der allgemein akzeptierten paganen Ansicht und nicht deutlich macht, daß die Christen etwas für pagane Ohren völlig neues verkündigen.[10] Richtig ist eine andere Übersetzung aus letzter Zeit, und zwar von MacLeod:[11] »for the poor creatures have convinced themselves that they will be *completely* (meine Kursivierung) immortal and have eternal life and so they despice death«. τὸ μὲν ὅλον ist als Ganzes eine adverbielle Bestimmung (siehe Liddell-Scott s.v. 4: »wholly«, »entirely«). μὲν ist mit καὶ zu verbinden und führt somit keinen Gegensatz herbei, sondern fügt nur etwas hinzu.[12]

Nun geht MacLeod nicht auf die Frage ein, was die Bedeutung von »completely immortal« sein könnte.[13] Meiner Meinung nach kann aber τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἀθάνατοι nichts anderes bedeuten als eben »unsterblich nach Leib und Seele«: So wird der Gegensatz zur paganen Auffassung einer »partiellen« Unsterblichkeit, d.h. nur der Seele, gut zum Ausdruck gebracht und wird zugleich die Verbindung zwischen ἀνάστασις und Unsterblichkeit hergestellt, wie die z.B. von Justinus Martyr *Dial.* 46,7 ἀναστήσει ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀφθάρτους καὶ ἀπαθεῖς καὶ ἀθανάτους ποιήσει formuliert ist.

Der Glaube an die Auferstehung nach Leib und Seele und die daraus folgende Unsterblichkeit ist also für die Christen der Grund den Tod geringzuschätzen. Nachdrücklich wird diese kausale Beziehung von Lukian hergestellt: *παρ' ὃ* καὶ καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θανάτου. Eine genaue, frühere Parallele für diese Argumentation fand ich im Brief des Ignatius

(gest. 117 n.Chr.) an die Smyrnioten, I 3,2 ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν (sc. der auferstandene Christus), ἔφη αὐτοῖς· Λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον. Καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἥψαντο καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, κραθέντες τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θανάτου κατεφρόνησαν, ηὑρέθησαν δὲ ὑπὲρ θάνατον.

Die Körperlichkeit Christi nach seiner Auferstehung wird in diesem Text stark hervorgehoben, und genau wie Lukian fährt Ignatius ohne Übergang fort: διὰ τοῦτο (vergl. παρ' ὃ bei Lukian) καὶ θανάτου κατεφρόνησαν (vergl. καὶ καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θανάτου). Der einzige Unterschied ist, daß Ignatius etwas expliziter ist: die Bereitschaft zum Martyrium basiert auf dem Glauben an die volle Realität der Auferstehung Jesu und diese volle Realität, so kann man hinzufügen, garantiert auch die Wirklichkeit des ewigen Lebens der Märtyrer.[14] Wenn also Lukians Text tatsächlich mit dem Text des Ignatius übereinstimmt, vermute ich, daß man Lukian nicht ohne weiteres Kenntnis der christlichen Theologie absprechen kann.[15]

Die Tatsache, daß Lukian die Christen als κακοδαίμονες bezeichnet, zeigt deutlich die Geringschätzung, die die christliche Lehre der ἀνάστασις bei ihm hervorrief, eine Geringschätzung, die auch die Philosophen in Athen so unmissverständlich gezeigt hatten. Lukian hätte die Christen sicher nicht so bezeichnet, wenn diese (nur) die Unsterblichkeit der Seele verkündet hätten. Er ist für uns der erste pagane Autor, dessen Verachtung wir in einem authentischen Schriftstück lesen können.

ANMERKUNGEN

* Herr Dr A. Hilhorst (Groningen) hat das Manuskript liebenswürdigerweise gelesen. Für seine Anmerkungen bin ich ihm sehr verpflichtet.

[1] Siehe E. Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Göttingen 1959) 455; G. Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte II* (Freiburg 1982) 236.

[2] Haenchen, *op. cit.* 464 »die Auferstehungsbotschaft (ist) den Heiden unfassbar«. Vgl. auch *RAC s.v.* Auferstehung 932: »völlige fremd .... bleibt dem Griechen die Auferstehung als allgemeines Ereignis am Ende der Tage ... Die ontologisch und meist individualistisch verstandene Unsterblichkeit ist überhaupt das, woran das Interesse der Antike hängt. Die Mysterien versprechen sie. Für Auferstehung ist daneben kein Platz«.

[3] Der Nebensatz mit *quae* hat kausalen Sinn, siehe W. Scholte, *Tertullianus' de testimonio animae* (Diss. Amsterdam 1934) 85f.

[4] Zwar handelt es sich an dieser Stelle um Marcion, aber in der Ablehnung der *resurrectio carnis* sind Häretiker wie Marcion, Basilides, Valentinus und Apelles derselben Auffassung wie die Heiden.

[5] Für die Datierung von Celsus' 'Αληθὴς λόγος, siehe M. Borret in seiner Ausgabe *Origène*,

contre Celse V (Sources Chrétiennes 277, Paris 1976) 129: zwischen 176-180. So auch H. Chadwick, *Origen: contra Celsum* (Cambridge ²1980) XXVIII.

[6] Siehe den Index in Borrets Ausgabe, 516.

[7] Siehe G. Greshake und J. Kremer, *Resurrectio mortuorum. Zum theologischen Verständnis der leiblichen Auferstehung* (Darmstadt 1986) 185.

[8] Siehe M.D. MacLeod, *Lucian. A Selection* (Warminster 1991) 269f. Angenommen wird, daß Lukian dieses Werk kurz nach diesem Ereignis geschrieben hat, in derselben Zeit also wie Celsus. Auf die schwierige Frage einer möglichen Beziehung zwischen Celsus und Lukian brauche ich hier nicht einzugehen (sieh dazu z.B. Borret, *loc. cit.* 192f).

[9] Siehe Greshake und Kremer, *op. cit.* 185f. für den Unterschied zwischen christlicher und paganer Auffassung.

[10] Auch ältere Übersetzungen treffen hier nicht das Richtige: J. Bernays, *Lucian und die Kyniker* (Berlin 1879) 72: »denn die Unglückseligen haben sich im Allgemeinen überredet, daß usw.«; *The Works of Lucian of Samosata, translated by H.W. Fowler and F.G. Fowler* (Oxford 1905): »you see, these misguided creatures start with the general conviction that they are immortal for all time«. Ebenso K. Mras, *Die Hauptwerke des Lukian, Griechisch und Deutsch* (München ²1980): »die Unglückseligen sind ja überzeugt, daß sie überhaupt unsterblich sind und ewig leben werden«.

[11] Siehe Anm. 8.

[12] Vgl. J.D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (Oxford ²1954) 374. Für diese Verweisung danke ich Prof. Dr. M.A. Harder (Groningen).

[13] Ebensowenig wie der Kommentar von J. Schwartz, Paris 1953 oder H.D. Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament* (Berlin 1961).

[14] So Th. Baumeister, *Die Anfänge der Theologie des Martyriums* (Münstersche Beiträge zur Theologie 45), Münster 1980, 259-260.

[15] Das behauptet H.D. Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, Tübingen 1990, 18 »eine wenn auch noch so oberflächliche Kenntnis der urchristlichen Theologie hat er (= Lukian) nicht.« Früher schon P. de Labriolle, *La réaction païenne*, Paris 1942, 118: »il ne sait à peu près rien, semble-t-il, de la doctrine que les chrétiens professent«, der sich in dieser Frage ausdrücklich bei Harnack anschliesst. Ich schliesse mich lieber an bei C.P. Jones, *Culture and Society in Lucian*, Cambridge Mass.-London 1986, 22: »his (Lucians) knowledge (of Christianity), however it was acquired, is on some points surprisingly exact.«

9471 HG *Zuidlaren*, Eltinge 35

REVIEWS

J.C. Salzmann, *Lehren und Vermahnen. Zur Geschichte des christlichen Wortgottesdienstes in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. Reihe 2; 59). Tübingen, 1994.

The origins and the earliest history of the liturgy of the Word—as a part of the Eucharist as well as an independent service—constitute a difficult and moreover controversial issue. This is due to several reasons. First of all, the available sources are relatively rare, often very fragmentary and mostly difficult to interpret. Moreover, the fact that the place of the Word in relation to the Sacrament has been for long—up till now—a point of debate between the main Western Churches, has complicated the matter still further. It has led to a large number of publications defending greatly differing views which in many cases betray (all too) clearly the confessional background of their authors.

The author of the present study, an adapted version of his doctoral dissertation defended at the University of Tübingen, attempts to make order out of the chaos of numerous publications and various views. He does so by examining and analysing as carefully and as objectively as possible all the relevant sources dating from the first three centuries including the New Testament.

The main conclusions to which the analysis of all these sources lead S., can be summed up as follows. Originally there were two distinct types of celebration: the liturgy of the Word and the eucharistic meals (a view already defended by older authors, such as Th. Harnack). The former celebration took place in the morning (on Sunday), for example in the temple at the Portico of Solomon (Jerusalem) and had a public character and the latter was held in the evening in private homes. The two types of liturgy merged during the second century mainly as a result of the growth of the communities which made the oldest type of Eucharist that included a meal (in the evening) impossible. The roots of the Christian liturgy of the Word are to be found in the Jewish synagogue. On the other hand, the Christian type of reading and explaining of the Scriptures began to distinguish itself from the Jewish way at a very early date, as a result of specifically Christian convictions and beliefs pertaining to the person of Christ, the Jewish Torah and so on.

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Generally speaking, Salzmann's argumentation makes a sound impression. As far as I can see, he has not overlooked any important source and, in analysing the different texts, he proceeds with admirable patience and objectivity. Nonetheless, sometimes his method calls for critical remarks.

First of all, I would have expected the author to have entered more at length into the relation between the liturgy of the Word and the Sabbath service of the Synagogue. It comes as a surprise that the latter type of worship is dealt with only at the end of the book in a short shapter of ten pages (250-259) which is entitled "Remarks about the early synagogue service" and in which mainly German (and mostly old) secondary literature is quoted. More important, some basic aspects of the relation between the Jewish and the Christian liturgies of the Word are dealt with only very briefly and superficially. I would like to mention at least one question which in this connection deserved to have been pursued in greater depth: the role of the reading of the Old Testament. Salzmann rightly points out that a considerable number of Christians gave up the lectio continua of the Torah and showed instead a preference for pericopes selected from the Prophets and it is indeed very likely that many, if not most Christians, did so at quite an early date. On the other hand, one should be wary of generalizations. In fact, a number of sources originating in the region of Antioch and the Syriac-speaking churches east of that city, such as the Apostolic Constitutions, the Doctrine of the Apostles and the Doctrine of Addai, do know of two Old Testament readings for every Eucharist, the first being taken from the Law and the second from the Prophets and this custom is also found amongst the Nestorians (cf. G. Rouwhorst, Continuity and Discontinuity between Jewish and Christian Liturgy, in: *Bijdragen* 54 (1993), 72-83). One must admit that these documents date from the fourth century or even from a later period and that Salzmann has limited his research to the first three centuries, but on the other hand it is very well possible that these relatively late sources have preserved liturgical traditions that go back to the third or even the second century and therefore should not have been neglected by the author.

Critical remarks are also to be made about the paragraphs that are devoted to the Apocryphal Acts. First of all, some of these writings are qualified too easily as "gnostic". For example, the contention that the gnostic character of the Acts of Thomas is apparent everywhere (auf Schritt und Tritt) is founded upon criteria that are much too vague

(hostility to the body and indifference to liturgical details, see p. 303)! Further, there is no reason to characterize the picture these writings give of liturgical life as inconsistent and confusing (298). True, the interpretation of several passages describing liturgical scenes certainly raises problems. The majority of them, however, can be resolved quite easily by a careful comparison of the Syriac and the Greek versions. Moreover, one has to bear in mind that these Acts were not written with the purpose of giving a complete description of liturgical rituals. When, for example, in some passages both the eucharistic bread and cup are mentioned, whereas elsewhere the latter is omitted, this is not necessarily due to inconsistency no more than that it points to the existence of several layers (p. 299). A more simple and plausible solution would be that the author occasionally omitted the cup because he—or the community to which he belonged—considered it to be of less importance. Finally, the view that the use of water in the baptismal liturgy of the Acts of Thomas is a secondary addition (p. 298), seems to me debatable and impossible to prove (cf. also G. Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, Rome 1982, p. 142-143, who is much more prudent, admitting and stressing the predominant place of the pre-baptismal anointing without, however, going so far as to consider the use of water as an addition).

The chapter on the "Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus", gives cause for some critical remarks too. Salzmann starts from two assumptions: a) the author of the document in question is Hippolytus and b) this Hippolytus is the same person who also has a number of sermons and commentaries on the Old Testament to his name. These presuppositions lead him to complete the picture he draws of the liturgy of the Word based on the Apostolic Tradition, by details taken from several sermons attributed to Hippolytus. One has to admit that Salzmann's basic assumptions are shared by numerous scholars and for many years have been almost generally accepted. That does not alter the fact that time and again they have been, and still always are, under attack (see for the question of the authorship of the "Apostolic Tradition": M. Metzger (Nouvelles perspectives pour la prétendue "Tradition apostolique", in *Ecclesia orans* 5 (1988), 241-259 and: Enquêtes autour de la prétendue "Tradition apostolique", in: *Ecclesia orans* 9 (1992), 7-36) and for the provenance of the whole Hippolytan corpus, see: *Ricerche su Ippolito*, Studia Ephemeridis "Augustinianum" 13, Roma 1977 and A. Brent, *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century*, Supplements

to Vigiliae Christianae 31, Leiden 1995). All this makes it very risky to compose a mosaic from passages of the Apostolic Tradition and elements derived from Hippolytan commentaries upon the Old Testament!

It would, however, be unfair to insist too much upon the indeficiencies of Salzmann's book and upon the questions it raises. This would unfairly detract attention from the numerous merits it, without any doubt, has. In fact, this is a very valuable monography and an important contribution to the study of early Christian liturgy.

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Ansgar Franz, *Tageslauf und Heilsgeschichte. Untersuchungen zum literarischen Text und liturgischen Kontext der Tagzeitenhymnen des Ambrosius von Mailand* (Pietas liturgica. Studia 9), Erzabtei St. Ottilien, EOS-Verlag, 1994. XXII-541 S.

Diese Untersuchung, 1991 von der Mainzer Universität als Dissertation angenommen, beschäftigt sich mit den vier unzweifelhaft authentischen Tagzeitenhymnen des Ambrosius: dem Abendhymnus *Deus creator omnium*, den zwei Hymnen zu Tagesanbruch *Aeterne rerum conditor* und *Splendor paternae gloriae*, und dem Hymnus zur Mittagsstunde *Iam surgit hora tertia*. Jeder Hymnus wird derselben, sehr systematischen Analyse unterzogen. Zuerst wird der Hymnus als ganzes auf seine sprachlichen Besonderheiten hin untersucht. Das betrifft, auf syntaktischer Ebene, die Struktur von Personen und Modi und den Satzbau, auf semantischer, das Aufzeigen von Oppositionen und Äquivalenzen in der Wortwahl, wodurch bestimmte 'Isotopien' ans Licht kommen, Verbindungen von einander an Bedeutung gleichkommenden Wörtern. Wichtig ist in dieser Hinsicht das Bestreben, die unterschiedlichen Bedeutungen im 'mehrschichtigen Sinnpotential' (S. 313) aufzudecken. Es folgen dann syntaktische und semantische Beobachtungen zu den einzelnen Abschnitten, in die der Hymnus der Gedankenfolge nach zerfällt, und abschliessend Bemerkungen besonderer Art, wozu der Text des Hymnus Anlass gibt. Ein längeres Kapitel beschreibt dann den liturgischen Kontext: Probleme werden erörtert bezüglich der Gebetsstunde, Abend-, Morgen- oder Mittagshore, womit der Hymnus

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verbunden ist. Hinzu kommen, in den Analysen verstreut, Exkurse über spezielle Probleme: so über die Adressatenfrage der Hymnen (Wer ist der im Hymnus Angesprochene, Gott oder Christus?), über Darstellung und Symbolwert des den Morgen ankündigenden Hahnes, über die Prinzipien der ambrosianischen Schriftauslegung und über das Oxymoron *sobria ebrietas* bei Ambrosius. Sehr zahlreich sind auch die Zitate, aus Ambrosius, aus der H. Schrift (ein methodischer Fehler ist es allerdings, dass Verf. immer aus der dem Ambrosius unbekannten *Vulgata* zitiert und aufgrund von deren Wortschatz zu Folgerungen bezüglich ambrosianischen Sprachgebrauchs kommt) und aus anderen Quellen (schade um die nicht wenigen Druckfehler!). Überaus reichhaltig ist auch die Liste der von ihm herangezogenen Literatur.

Trotz der ausgedehnten und durch die vielen Wiederholungen und Zusammenfassungen ziemlich komplizierten Systematik lohnt es sich, diese Studie durchzuarbeiten. Zwischen dem vielen Bekannten (unvermeidlich!) findet man neue Einsichten oder Vorschläge zur Modifizierung vertrauter Interpretationen. Einiges sei hier erwähnt.

Zu deroben genannten Adressatenfrage meint Verf., der Name *deus* in den Hymnen bedeute üblicherweise den Mensch gewordenen Gott, Christus: Ambrosius richte sich in den Hymnen in erster Linie an Christus, und mittelbar, unmittelbar nur in besonderen Fällen, an den Vater oder an die ganze Trinität (S. 53-57). Es handelt sich um ein wichtiges Problem, das mit dem theologischen Hintergrund und der Praxis des altchristlichen Gebets zusammenhängt. In den liturgischen Gebetsformeln der *Sacramentaria* und in anderen Dokumenten aus dem christlichen Altertum ist der im Gebet Angesprochene mit Vorzug Gott der Vater. In dieser Hinsicht wäre die Hymnendichtung des Ambrosius eine Ausnahme. Sie hat aber andererseits Parallelen in bestimmten Hymnen des Prudentius (*cath.* 3; 5; 7; 9; 11). Die These des Autors erweist sich damit als Anregung zu weiterer Untersuchung.

Für die Liturgiegeschichte ist bemerkenswert, dass nach Ansicht des Verf. die mailändische Morgenhore zur Zeit des Ambrosius mit dem Hymnus zum Hahnenschrei *Aeterne rerum conditor* anfing und mit dem Hymnus zum Aufzug der Morgenröte *Splendor paternae gloriae* endete (S. 363-387). Die These ist allerdings nicht eindeutig zu begründen: sie würde jedoch das Vorkommen von zwei Morgenhymnen im ambrosianischen Korpus erklären. Aus Anlass der zu diesem Thema angestellten Überlegungen möchte ich darauf hinweisen, dass Verf., obschon bemüht, den Zusammenhang von Hymnus und Gebetshore

hervorzuheben (z.B. S. 266, über die letzte Strophe von *Aeterne rerum conditor* als Aufforderung zur Darbringung des Lobopfers im Morgenoffizium), die direkte Verbindung zwischen Hymnus und Psalmodie vielleicht nicht genug herausstellt. Es scheint mir, dass die Hymnendichtung im allgemeinen direkt auf die anfangende, oder zu Ende gehende, Psalmodie Bezug nimmt und daher auf diesen Zusammenhang hin interpretiert werden muss. Das gilt m. E. für die Worte *gallus... somnolentos increpat* in Strophe 5 desselben Hymnus. Verf. sieht zu Recht in diesen Worten eine Anspielung auf den Vorwurf des Herrn an die schläfrigen Jünger im Garten von Gethsemani: *Sic non potuistis una hora vigilare mecum?* (S. 243). Folgerichtig könnte man hier an einen Vorwurf denken an diejenigen, die weiter schlafen statt zum Wachen mit dem Herrn, zur Psalmodie aufzustehen.

Für den Textanfang dieses Hymnus schlägt Verf. folgende Interpunktion vor: *Aeterne, rerum conditor, / noctem diemque qui regis.* Er sieht *Aeterne* als Nennwort: 'Die Christusanrede... ist... eine doppelte: *Aeterne, rerum conditor*, er ist der Ewige..., und er ist der Schöpfer' (S. 190). Ich bezweifle, ob diese auf den ersten Blick überraschende Annahme notwendig ist. Die Opposition zwischen der Ewigkeit des Schöpfers und der Zeitlichkeit der geschaffenen Welt bedarf m. E. nicht der Spaltung in zwei Substantive, *Aeterne* und *rerum conditor*. Andererseits kann man auf die Anfangszeilen eines nicht viel später entstandenen Hymnus verweisen: *Aeterne rex altissime / redemptor et fidelium*, wo man sehr wohl verstehen kann: 'Ewiger, Du höchster König und Retter Deiner Gläubigen'. Auch hier bietet Verfasser ein Thema für nähere Erörterung.

Die erste Strophe des Hymnus hat folgenden Wortlaut: *Aeterne rerum conditor, / noctem diemque qui regis / et temporum das tempora / ut alleves fastidium*. Das Bestreben, vollständig zu sein hat Verf. gewissermassen zu Widersprüchlichkeit in der Interpretation des Ausdrucks *temporum tempora* gebracht. Auf der einen Seite wird dieser mit Smolak als ein Hebraismus betrachtet wie *saecula saeculorum*: 'alle Zeiten'; auf der anderen wird Walpole zugestimmt, der die Wendung versteht als 'Begrenzungen der Zeiten', 'Verteilung der Zeiten', nämlich in Tag und Nacht (S. 192; cf. K. Smolak, *Ein Morgenhymnus. Ambrosius, Aeterne rerum conditor*, in Ders. *Christentum und Römische Welt*, Wien 1984, Kommentarband, S. 174; A.S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns*, Cambridge 1922 [repr. Hildesheim 1966], S. 30-31; mit Smolak stimmt Fontaine überein: J. Fontaine u.a., *Ambroise de Milan. Hym-*

nes, Paris 1992, S. 153). Nur eine von beiden Erklärungen kann die richtige sein. Ich glaube, dass eine Wendung in der zweiten Strophe des ein wenig jüngeren Abendhymnus *Iesu, redemptor saeculi* Walpole recht gibt. Der Wortlaut der Strophe ist: *Tu fabricator omnium / discretor atque temporum, / fessa labore corpora / noctis quiete recrea*. Auch der spätere Dichter spricht von Gott als Schöpfer und Verteiler (*discretor*) der Zeiten in Tag und Nacht.

Die vierte Verszeile des Morgenhymnus *Splendor paternae gloriae* deutet Christus an mit dem Prädikat *dies dierum illuminans*. Auch hier hat die Neigung des Verfassers, möglichst viele Meinungen und Hypothesen anzuführen, der Einheitlichkeit der Interpretation Abbruch getan. Von den drei präsentierten Erklärungen (S. 300-301) kommt nur eine wirklich in Betracht, wie Verf. eigentlich selbst anhand früherer Untersuchungen überzeugend darlegt. Der Genitiv *dierum* ist abhängig von *illuminans*: das *participium praesens* bezeichnet eine dauernde Eigenschaft: Christus ist der ewige Tag, der die irdischen Tage immerdar erleuchtet. Als eine schlagende Belegstelle für diesen Genitiv nach dem Präsenspartizip könnte man noch Cicero *De oratore* 2,184 anführen: *mores... perferentes iniuriarum*.

Noch einigen anderen strittigen Punkten müssen wir unsere Aufmerksamkeit schenken.

Zum Ausdruck *noctis exortu* in der dritten Strophe des Abendhymnus *Deus creator omnium* bemerkt Verf. (S. 67, Anm. 232) nach Walpole (S. 47) und Fontaine (J. Fontaine, *L'apport de la tradition poétique romaine à la formation de l'hymnodie latine chrétienne*, in *Études sur la poésie latine tardive d'Ausone à Prudence. Recueil de travaux*, Paris 1980, S. 341, Anm. 1), dass die Beschreibung vom Beginn der Nacht als Aufgang (*exortus*) wundernehmen kann. Die Angaben des *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (5,1590,25 ff.) machen deutlich, dass das lateinische Wort in seiner ursprünglichen physischen Bedeutung tatsächlich nur vom Aufgang leuchtender Gestirne, vom Erscheinen der Sonne und des Tageslichtes gebraucht wird. Die Verbindung *noctis exortu* ist also ein Paradoxon, und man muss annehmen, dass Ambrosius dieses Paradoxon mit Absicht verwendet. Das hängt, meiner Ansicht nach, damit zusammen, dass die Nacht in diesem Abendhymnus, wie Verf. wiederholt bemerkt (S. 52, 62, 74, 92 usw.), als eine Gnadengabe Gottes gesehen wird (cf. 1,2-4: *vestiens / diem decoro lumine / noctem soporis gratia*), als eine Gebetszeit, und so dem Tag ebenbürtig (3,1-4: *Grates peracto iam die / et noctis exortu preces /... solvimus*), als eine Zeit, in

der, trotz der Gefahren, das Herz träumend beten (7,2: *te cordis alta somnient*) und der Glaube erstrahlen kann (5,4: *nox fide reluceat*). Wir können somit verstehen, dass wie der Tag aufgeht, so auch die Nacht 'aufgehen' kann.

Die vierte Strophe, an Gott (Christus?) gerichtet, lautet *Te cordis ima concinant, / te vox canora concrepet, / te diligat castus amor, / te mens adoret sobria*. Verf. weist mit Recht darauf hin (S. 75-80), dass die in den zwei ersten Versen betonte Harmonie zwischen Herz und Stimme im Lobpreise Gottes sich auf eine lange biblische Tradition stützt. Ich möchte jedoch seine Annahme anzweifeln, dass auch im Zeitwort *concinant* die Idee von Einheit und Verbindung zum Ausdruck komme. Unbeschadet des Charakters von Gemeindegesang ist doch das *concinere* in der Tiefe des Herzens etwas sehr persönliches, wie auch die Termini *castus amor* und *mens sobria* weiter in der Strophe auf das eigene Benehmen Bezug haben. Ist *concinere* hier nicht einfach synonym mit *canere*? Natürlich wurzelt das Wort in dem gemeinsamen Singen bestimmter Menschengruppen, in vielen Fällen aus religiösem Grunde versammelt. Aber die Idee der Gemeinsamkeit tritt leicht in den Hintergrund, so dass *concinere*, wie *canere*, vom Lobgesang an sich, oft in religiösem Kontext, gebraucht wird, in paganer wie in christlicher Rede. So finden wir (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 4,53,82 ff.): Tibull 2,4,10: *(Phoebum) victori laudes concinuisse Iovi*; *ib.* 87-88: *madidus Baccho sua festa Palilia pastor / concinet*, Tertullian, *adv. Valent.* 12: *(Valentiniani) hymnis patrem (= deum suum) concinunt*; Hilarius: *hymn.* 1,70: *te genitum concinimus deum*; 3,1-2: *Adae carnis gloriosa... / in caelesti rursum Adam concinamus proelia*; Hieronymus, *in Is. liber* 17, *praef.*: *omnia baptismi salutaris et ecclesiae mysteria concinuntur.*

Zu *concrepare* bemerkt Verf., dass man sich über den Gebrauch dieses Wortes, das eher das Geräusch von Dröhnen oder Knirschen wiedergibt, wundern könnte. Er erwähnt aber, dass das Erklingen von Musikinstrumenten auch zum Begriffsinhalt des Wortes gehört, zumal im christlichen Sprachgebrauch. Das ist zweifellos richtig, und man kann die Angabe vielleicht noch präzisieren. Es scheint mir, dass es sich hier vornehmlich um Zupf- und Schlaginstrumente und um deren Begleitung des Psalmengesanges handelt. Der Psalter, eine besondere Art von Zither, wurde gezupft. Wir lesen in der *Vulgata*-Übersetzung des Hieronymus (2 *Par.* 15,12), dass bei der Weihe des Tempels *tam Levitae quam cantores, id est, et qui sub Asaph erant et qui sub Heman et qui sub Idithun,... cymbalis et psalteriis et citharis concrepabant* (Asaph und Idi-

thun werden in den Einleitungsworten zu bestimmten Psalmen als Dichter oder als mit der Aufführung Beauftragte erwähnt!: cf. *Psalm.* 38; 49; 61 usw.). Und, als König Ezechias den Tempel gereinigt hatte, heisst es (*ib.* 29,27-28): *coeperunt (Levitae) laudes canere domino et clangere tubis atque in diversis organis quae David rex Israhel reppererat concrepare.* Das ist wohl der Hintergrund des Ausdrucks *psalmi concrepant*, den wir bei Hieronymus finden, *ep.* 38,4: *post orationem psalmi concrepant*; *ep.*108,29: *psalmos monachorum diversis linguis examina concrepabant.* Und so lesen wir bei Victor Vitensis (*hist. persec. vandal.* 2,49), wie auch Verf. erwähnt: *hymni nocturni per totam ecclesiam canente populo concrepabant* (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 4,93,78ff.). Wenn das *concrepare* also auf das Aufführen und Singen der Psalmen anspielt, können wir vielleicht im Vers *te vox canora concrepet* ein Indiz dafür erkennen, dass der Hymnus die Psalmodie einleitete: die Gemeinde sehnt sich nach dem Singen der Psalmen in der anfangenden Gebetsstunde.

Von den Versen 7,3-4: *nec hostis invidi dolo / pavor quietos suscitet* gibt Verf. folgende Übersetzung: 'damit nicht die Furcht vor der List des neidischen Feindes (gemeint ist der Teufel) die Ruhenden erschrecke'. Die Übersetzung Perrin's in Fontaine, *Ambroise de Milan*, S. 238: '(que le fond des cœurs rêve à toi,) sans que la ruse de l'Envieux réveille, effarés, ceux qui dorment!' scheint mir die bessere, weil *dolo* nicht auf *pavor* bezogen ist: man würde *doli* erwarten. Der Dichter spricht nicht von Furcht vor dem Teufel, sondern von nächtlichen Schrecken, vom Teufel bereitet. Die menschliche Erfahrung des *pavor nocturnus* war Ambrosius wahrscheinlich auch aus der Literatur bekannt (cf. Livius 7,12,2; 7,36,10; Plinius den Älteren 28,98; Verg. *Aen.* 7,458), aber stärker hat ihn hier die Heilige Schrift beeinflusst mit Texten wie: *Prov.* 13,24: *si dormieris non timebis; quiesces, et suavis erit somnus tuus; ne paveas repentino terrore, et irruentes tibi potentias impiorum*, und vor allem *Psalm.* 90 (91) über Gottes Schutz: die Verse 5-6 zeigen Ihn als Retter vor nächtlichen Schrecken und Dämonen: *non timebis a timore nocturno, a sagitta volante in die, a negotio perambulante in tenebris, ab incursu et daemonio meridiano* (Lesart der *Vulgata*, der die der *Vetus Latina* im wesentlichen gleichkommt: cf. R. Weber, *Le psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins*, Collectanea Biblica Latina 10, Roma 1953, S. 227).

Die siebte Strophe des Hymnus *Iam surgit hora tertia* lautet: *Cui fidem caelestibus / Iesus dedit miraculis / nec credidit plebs impia, / qui credidit, salvus erit.* Diesem Geheimnis (der Gottessohnschaft des

Gekreuzigten) gab Jesus durch himmlische Wunder Bestätigung; das jüdische Volk jedoch (gemeint sind die Schriftgelehrten und Hohenpriester unter dem Kreuz) hat nicht daran geglaubt; wer aber den Glauben daran gewonnen hat, der wird gerettet sein. Verf. verweist für die letzte Zeile mit Recht auf Markus 16,16: *qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit*. Das eigentliche Zitat ist allerdings nur *salvus erit*, ein auch woanders (Joel 2,32; Apostelgesch. 2,21; Römer 10,13) belegtes und jedem Christen vertrautes Bibelwort. Es scheint mir, dass Ambrosius den Text des Markusevangeliums zu einer prägnanten, poetisch wirksamen Aussage umgestaltet hat. Die vier Worte der Zeile besagen: wenn jemand dieses Geheimnis gläubig anerkannt hat, dann gilt für ihn das grosse Wort der H. Schrift: er wird gerettet sein.

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Cirillo e Giovanni di Gerusalemme, *Catechesi prebattesimali e mistagogiche*. Traduzione di Gabriella Maestri e Victor Saxer. Introduzione e note di Victor Saxer (Letture Cristiane del Primo Millennio 18). Edizioni Paoline, Milano, 1994. 665 pp. L 45.0000.

Ce livre de belle présentation fait partie d'une collection de traductions et d'études en relation avec l'ancienne littérature chrétienne. Visant en premier lieu à une rencontre spirituelle entre l'homme moderne et l'héritage patristique, cette collection ne s'occupe pas spécialement des problèmes d'établissement et d'interprétation des textes, mais offre le contenu de ces textes en italien au public intéressé. Le présent livre donne la traduction d'une série de catéchèses, comprenant un discours préparatoire (la procathéchèse), dix-huit catéchèses prébaptismales et cinq catéchèses postbaptismales (mystagogiques). Elles furent prononcées à Jérusalem au quatrième siècle, la procatéchèse et les prébaptismales par l'évêque Cyrille vers le milieu du siècle, les mystagogiques par Cyrille ou, une quarantaine d'années plus tard, par son successeur Jean.

L'intérêt scientifique de ce livre réside dans la longue introduction, de la main de Victor Saxer. Elle présente d'abord les données sur la vie et les œuvres de Cyrille. Puis, elle décrit le caractère des catéchèses en ajoutant une discussion sur le problème de l'attribution à Jean des catéchèses mystagogiques. Fait suite une étude du contenu doctrinal des piè-

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ces. Le chapitre final présente une description des rites de l'initiation chrétienne dans les églises anciennes, spécialement dans l'église de Jérusalem au quatrième siècle.

Dans cette abondance de renseignements relevons deux points. L'exposé du dernier chapitre se base sur les recherches de Saxer concernant l'histoire des rites de l'initiation chrétienne. Saxer rapporta sur son travail lors de la Semaine de Spolète du Centre italien d'études sur le haut moyen âge, en 1985, et en publia les résultats dans une publication de ce même Centre: *Les rites de l'initiation chrétienne du IIe au VIe siècle. Esquisse historique et signification d'après leurs principaux témoins* (Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medievo 7), Spolète 1988, ²1992. Le résumé de ces recherches, présenté dans la nouvelle publication, s'avérera utile pour les investigations ultérieures sur les formes de la vie chrétienne des premiers siècles.

La position de Saxer par rapport à la paternité littéraire des catéchèses mystagogiques ne manquera pas d'éveiller l'attention des spécialistes de la littérature grecque chrétienne. Le travail de traduction et les discussions avec sa collaboratrice Gabriella Maestri amenèrent Saxer à mettre en doute et finalement à rejeter la paternité cyrillienne, à laquelle il avait autrefois souscrit, et à adopter le point de vue de ceux qui, toujours plus nombreux, optent pour une attribution à Jean. Depuis l'étude célèbre de Swaans (*Le Muséon*, 55 ([1942], 1-43) qui avait ébranlé l'opinion traditionnelle sur Cyrille comme auteur, les arguments en faveur de Jean sont allés en s'augmentant. Le choix de Saxer repose sur un ensemble de considérations. Il met en avant, parmi d'autres arguments de critique externe, les données de la tradition manuscrite, la situation liturgique s'accordant avec les informations de la pèlerine Égérie à la fin du quatrième siècle et avec d'autres documents contemporains, et l'attitude d'adoration mêlée de crainte devant les saints mystères, qui, également, convient mieux à une date plus avancée. Les arguments de critique interne consistent surtout en des observations sur les différences frappantes entre le style des mystagogiques et celui des autres catéchèses. L'argumentation, si elle ne tranche pas la question, n'est pas loin d'être convaincante.

La traduction des pièces est l'œuvre de la collaboration des deux auteurs. Le texte grec manquant, il est difficile d'arriver à une appréciation. Celle-ci, pour être fondée, requiert une comparaison avec le texte originel, établi à l'aide des données de la critique textuelle. À vrai dire, on n'apprend pas beaucoup sur la physionomie du texte employé. Il faut

d'ailleurs faire une différence entre la procatéchèse et les catéchèses prébaptismales d'une part et les catéchèses mystagogiques d'autre part. Pour les premières nous ne disposons que d'éditions d'un assez lointain passé: les plus importantes sont celle de Touttée du dix-huitième siècle, reprise par la *Patrologia Graeca* de Migne, et celle de Reischl-Rupp du dix-neuvième siècle. Pour les catéchèses mystagogiques nous avons l'édition critique moderne de Piédagnel dans les Sources Chrétiennes (A. Piédagnel, Sources Chrétiennes 126, 1966). Saxer nous dit qu'il a tenu compte, pour toutes les pièces, des leçons de l'important manuscrit de Munich: *Monacensis graecus* 394; il mentionne quelques autres témoins du texte sans les identifier: leurs leçons sont parfois données (en traduction) en bas de la page avec l'indication globale *altri*. Pour la seconde catéchèse prébaptismale, il y a le problème des deux rédactions. Saxer donne la traduction de l'une avec, en note, la traduction des leçons de l'autre; est ajoutée en appendice la traduction du libellé complet des trois derniers paragraphes de cette seconde version, qui diffère substantiellement du libellé de ces paragraphes dans la première.

Il arrive que des problèmes de texte se cachent sous la traduction. Ainsi dans *catech. myst.* 2,7, où il est question de la participation des chrétiens aux souffrances du Christ. Le *Monacensis*, témoin l'apparat critique de Piédagnel, s'écarte de tous ses collègues, en ajoutant ἐν δοκήσει, introduisant ainsi un changement fondamental, représenté par la traduction italienne: 'in apparenza'. L'éditeur des Sources Chrétiennes rejette la leçon du *Monacensis*. Le présent travail, en ce cas précis, ne renseigne pas sur la vraie situation du texte, et la traduction qui, en général, reproduit fidèlement l'original grec, risque de se trouver ici en défaut. Il en est de même, je crois, pour le problème critique que nous rencontrons au début de 5, où l'évêque fait allusion aux catéchèses précédentes, qui traitaient περί τε βαπτίσματος καὶ χρίσματος, 'du baptême et de la crismation'. Le *Monacensis* saute καὶ χρίσματος, ce qui pourrait bien être une erreur causée par l'identité des désinences. Dès lors, des doutes sont permis sur la traduction, qui passe aussi la crismation.

Un problème de texte, avec une portée théologique, se pose à propos d'une expression de *procatech.* 7. Cyrille, après avoir souligné qu'il n'y a qu'un seul baptême, mentionne la pratique de rebaptiser les hérétiques. La traduction italienne porte: 'solo gli eretici ... sono ribattezzati, perchè il loro primo non era un battesimo'. Le début de la phrase reproduit le libellé grec: μόνον γὰρ οἱ αἱρετικοὶ ἀναβαπτίζονται. C'est là le libellé de la majorité des manuscrits, imprimé par Touttée. Mais le *Monacensis*

porte: μόνον γὰρ αἱρετικοί τινες ἀναβαπτίζονται, 'solo alcuni eretici ...'. Cette leçon a été adoptée par Reischl-Rupp, suivis de F.L. Cross, *St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures on the Christian Sacraments*, London 1951, mais elle est rejetée par A.A. Stephenson, *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem*, I, translated by Leo P. McCauley and Anthony A. Stephenson (The Fathers of the Church 61), Washington 1969. On accordera à Stephenson que la variante du *Monacensis* semble trahir un souci d'orthodoxie et est par là suspecte (voir p. 76, n. 24). Saxer, abandonnant ici sa préférence pour le *Monacensis*, doit être de la même opinion. Je crois que le problème, vu sa conséquence pour l'histoire de la doctrine et de la pratique chrétiennes, aurait mérité une mention. Il faut dire que la formule de la seule traduction risque de produire parfois des incertitudes et des omissions. Mais pour le lecteur intéressé la valeur du livre ne s'en trouvera pas amoindrie.

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William L. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron. Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, & History in Scholarship* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 25). E.J. Brill, Leiden-New York-Köln, 1994. XIX, 555 p.

In early Christian literature Tatian is mentioned for the first time by Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.*, I 28. We read that Tatian was a pupil of Justin Martyr, but he had to leave the Roman church because of his encratitic ideas. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* IV XXIX, repeats this information word for word and adds that Tatian composed a harmony of the Gospels called Diatessaron which, according to Eusebius, is a writing still in use by "some people".

The original text of this work has been lost. Its main witnesses are Gospel Harmonies in a number of languages such as Arabic, Armenian, Persian and some mediaeval languages of Western Europe. Their relationship, however, with the original Diatessaron of Tatian and among each other is a matter of dispute.

On the basis of these and other witnesses research into the Diatessaron has been carried out for more than a century. One of its characteristics is that from its beginning up to the present day it has received new impetus from a number of more and less important

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discoveries. The most important was the discovery of the Syriac text of a commentary on the Diatessaron written by Ephrem the Syrian. He is a primary witness because the Syriac speaking Church was the only one which used the Diatessaron as its official Gospel text. It was published by L. Leloir in 1963 and 1990. Many of what are in this book called "Diatessaronic" readings can be found in the separate Syriac Gospels of a later date. Another important discovery was that the text of these separate Gospels sometimes agrees with the early Latin versions of the Gospels. This resulted into the so-called "Problem of the Western Text" or "Syro-Latin Text" which was especially the subject of research before the second world war. In this same period, viz. 1935, G.N. Kraeling published a small piece of the Diatessaron in Greek discovered in Dura Europos which raised the question whether the Diatessaron was originally written in Greek or Syriac. Earlier in 1923 D. Plooij had published the first of a long series of studies about the Liège Diatessaron, a mediaeval Dutch Gospel harmony, in which he argued that it was based upon an early Latin text which on its turn was translated from the Syriac original Diatessaron of Tatian. After the second world war the interest shifted to a number of witnesses supposed to be related with the Diatessaron or showing some Diatessaronic readings. The Gospel text used by Justin Martyr in the second century was supposed to be a Gospel Harmony, a discovery which raised the question about its relationship to Tatian's Diatessaron. Study was now made of the text of apocryphal Gospels, especially the Gospel of Thomas, which were supposed to show some Diatessaronic readings, and of Jewish Christian Gospels fragments, especially the Gospel of the Ebionites, which reveal a text which appears to have been composed with help of Matthew, Mark and Luke. From these examples we may draw the conclusion that Tatian's effort to write a harmony of the Gospel was apparently one among many other ones.

Scholars who focus their research on the text of the Diatessaron have to take into account these and similar discoveries. They are dealing with various scholarly points of view, a constant change of interest after each successive fresh discovery and new insights into related texts. In the book under review it is more than once said that the study of the Diatessaron is one of the most difficult topics in all the field of New Testament textual criticism.

From the title of the book it appears that Dr. Petersen's study discusses the origin, development and significance of the Diatessaron.

His decision to follow an historical approach is to be respected, but also accounts for the more than 500 pages of this book packed with a great deal of interesting but not always relevant information. It might have been preferable to consider a more thematic approach starting from a number of clearly discernable subjects such as: the original language of the Diatessaron and its place of origin; the relation with possible previous forms of Gospel harmonies; the relation with the so-called Western or Syro-Latin text; the relation with the Jewish Christian Gospel tradition; the relation with Gospel Harmonies in East and West and the relation with isolated passages in the Gospel of Thomas; Jewish Christian Gospel fragments and Gospel quotations in the Pseudo Clementines.

The choice of his approach might have been inspired by the author's personal interest which appears not to lie primarily in the problems of the Western Text, the relation with Jewish Christian Gospel Fragments and with the Gospel of Thomas. At any rate we did not discover any personal ideas about these subjects. However, his opinion about early harmonies of the Gospels—a subject about which he has made some valuable contributions—is more outspoken. We are to conclude that there exists a group of "Diatessaronic" readings. These can be found in writings summed up in Appendix I, pages 448 until 489: "A Catalogue of Manuscripts of Diatessaronic Witnesses and Related Works". They consist of Gospel Harmonies, separate Gospels, both canonical and apocryphal, quotations from Gospels, "Lives of Jesus", both in prose and poetry, early and mediaeval Christian writings of various kind, and all these stretching out over a period of at least ten centuries and in about ten different languages. In some of these writings and references there are readings taken from the Gospels which differ from the accepted text and possibly to be called "Diatessaronic". It goes without saying that it is difficult, not to say impossible, to detect the exact relationship between all these readings.

But we may also add an additional consideration. Research on the Diatessaron habitually forgets that a Gospel Harmony is by its very nature a secondary text. It is always made from already existing separate Gospels. These must have been in existence before Justin was able to use a harmony of their texts. On the other hand, somehow or other separate Gospels most have existed in the Syriac speaking Church so that these were eventually able to replace the Gospel text of the Diatessaron. Scholars are in the habit of leaving the existence of these Gospels out

of consideration, although they may have been the source a great deal of readings which are commonly called "Diatessaronic".

The study of the Diatessaron would be improved if the practice of speaking about the text of the Diatessaron as a text of the Gospels was stopped, and scholars begin to understand that it should be treated as a composition of Gospel quotations.

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Bernard Pottier, *Dieu et le Christ selon Gregoire de Nysse.* Etude systematique du "Contre Eunome" avec traduction inedite des extraits d'Eunome (Serie "Ouvertures" 12). Culture et Verite, Namur, 1994. 520 p.

The first volume to appear in the series of which the present volume is n. 12 was also by Bernard Pottier, on the subject of original sin in Hegel. This fact by itself should warn the reader that he is not being offered a simple descriptive analysis of Gregory of Nyssa's 3 volume work against Eunomius. Even so, despite the avowed intention of exploring the basic principles of Gregory's method and theology, much of this careful and learned work is devoted to an exploration of the structure and contents of *Contra Eunomium.* The book divides into two unequal parts, the first being a literary analysis of the entire refutation, the second, the theological part, has three 'normal' chapters, which deal respectively with i) Metaphysics and Trinity; ii) language; and iii) Christology and one 'complementary' chapter devoted to the Holy Spirit. The conclusion follows (395-413) and then a highly elaborate analysis of Gregory's work and a translation of the 'lost' *Apology* of Eunomius.

Throughout his book Pottier sees Gregory as a thoroughly 'orthodox' writer, although he distinguishes his position from that of both Danielou and Jaeger, because unlike them, he does not regard Gregory as uniquely responsible for the creedal formula of Constantinople (cf. p. 372). On another important issue he finds himself unable to follow Mühlenberg in the latter's contention that Gregory's insistence against Eunomius that the divine nature is infinite, proceeds solely from rationalist grounds, without the support of religious faith (cf. esp. p. 217ff). What, however, Pottier does not tell us is whether or not he

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follows Mühlenberg in making Gregory the 'inventor' of the positive idea of infinity. It does seem unlikely that he was so, partly because there is clear evidence of Plotinus holding the same view at Ennead.V.5.6; and, perhaps more significantly, it seems clear that Gregory of Nazianzus taught a similar doctrine in oratio 38.7. The latest edition of this sermon by Moreschini is in favour of a date of Christmas 379 for the delivery of this sermon (cf. introduction to *SC* 339 p. 19); if he is correct Gregory of Nazianzus got there before his namesake, whose authorship of *CE* cannot be before 380.

The majority of this carefully written and minutely researched book takes the form of an extended commentary on the text of Gregory's *Contra Eunomium*. This is a much needed task. Many have undertaken, usually in unpublished theses, the task of offering an assessment and general analysis of this work; but no full scale treatment has, as yet, made its appearance. This is partly because of the length of the work and its often difficult style and elaborate (and at times not wholly convincing) arguments, partly because it is not at all clear how much influence Gregory's work had upon later generations. Jaeger's *conspectus siglorum* lists in addition to *MPG* only eight manuscripts; while Durand in his account of Basil's manuscript tradition on page 98 of the *SC* edition of Basil's earlier engagement with Eunomius lists double the number. The indirect tradition is even slighter for Gregory. He had no younger brother to explain his position or defend his name. In the Greek East Gregory never acquired quite the same reputation for orthodoxy as did his brother and his friend, hardly surprisingly once his adhesion to an Origenist position on universal salvation is remembered.

Indeed it is Gregory's attitude to philosophy that Pottier examines with some care. He finds (p. 396) both Gregory and Eunomius at least to have this in common, a greater degree of interest in philosophy than has Basil. It is when he is assessing the relative stances taken to philosophy by both writers that he shows the general drift of his own approach. Eunomius' attempts to marry faith and philosophy resulted in two distinct but related flaws: i) On the one hand (cf. especially pp. 130-138 and 400) he produced a 'hybrid theology'. By this Pottier seems to mean a theology made up of elements drawn from radically incoherent systems, partially biblical, partially Neoplatonic, partially from Aristotle. ii) On the other hand on page 139 he concludes that Gregory realised (Pottier seems to agree with Gregory) that the primal danger inherent in the Eunomian approach was the risk of absorbing Chris-

tianity in a 'courant philosophique puissant et proteiforme'. It is almost as if Eunomius were a sort of disciple of an imperfectly understood mixture of the bible and Neoplatonism, which despite its incoherence had great power inspite of its flaws. If Pottier is correct, it may help to explain a fact which most interpreters of the Anomoean controversy, with the exception of Professor Wiles, leave unexplained—the threat which Eunomius (and Aetius) posed to all the 'orthodox' writers of the period. Where, however, Eunomius failed to weld together his philosophic and Christian vision Gregory was, in Pottier's opinion, much more successful. He created a dynamic fusion of the bible and above all of Aristotle (cf. 117ff.).

Even so, Pottier does not wish to concede too much to the influence of Aristotle, as appears on page 85ff. in his discussion of the meaning of *ousia* in Gregory. Gregory has often been seen as favouring an abstract understanding of the homousios of Nicaea. One of the most recent advocates of such a position is Professor Hübner of Munich, whose discussion of the issue appeared in 1972 in the Festschrift in honour of Cardinal Danielou, *Epektasis*. In that paper he had argued very plausibly that unlike his brother Basil, whose *CE* 2.4. he seems to have "corrected" at *CE* 3.5.22 from a materialist to an abstract sense, Gregory held an abstract sense for '*ousia*'. From this conclusion Pottier distinguishes his own position. He points out quite correctly that at *CE* 3.5.62 and 3.1.73-77 the word '*ousia*' has the same sense as that of Aristotle's first substance. From these pieces of evidence he argues that Gregory's usage is not consistent and therefore that any charge of tritheism, on the basis of such passages as *CE* 1.227 is at best non-proven. But would it not also be possible to argue either that Gregory should be interpreted according to his normal usage or that Gregory is philosophically quite inconsistent. Instead of either of these devices Pottier finds in Gregory on page 117 and elsewhere a dynamic and truly Christian fusion of the Bible and Aristotle in a dynamic synthesis. This whole discussion illustrates an important facet of Pottier's enterprise—a certain unwillingness to treat the unsuccessful Eunomius in quite the same way as he treats Gregory, even though the impartial observer might find them doing very similar things, in their varied efforts to offer a philosophical account of Christian doctrine.

A further point will illustrate this tendency. On several occasions Pottier insists that although Gregory was clearly intellectual in his approach, he was not a rationalist on the one hand nor a fideist on the

other. On page 214, for example, in a section entitled 'Connaissance, foi et mystique' he tries to rescue Gregory from the harsh stricture of Christopher Stead, to which he refers in note 38. But he does not want to consign Gregory to the class of rationalists either, and takes issue with Mühlenberg, who sees Gregory's use of the idea of infinity as induced by purely rational motives. For Pottier, on the other hand, Gregory's idea of faith is much deeper than such rationalism will allow. For him, basing himself on *CE* 2.91 (page 211) Gregory meant by faith a deeply personal awareness of God, the experience of a searching and wounded heart. His final sentence on page 220 signals his own conviction that by faith Gregory meant the authenticity 'd'une experience mystique'. This is an attractive hypothesis. Certainly Gregory's use of the concept of faith is a little sui generis. It is made a little less certain by the simple fact of Gregory's own reticence on the subject of his own religious experience, a 'fact' he shared in common with nearly all the Greek Fathers.

Despite the tendency to find in Gregory a fount of never failing orthodoxy, as distinct from Rationalists on the one side and Palamites on the other on the subject of the divine energies (p. 140ff), this is a really interesting though a diffuse book, which deserves to be read with care, above all in its constant direction back to the text of Gregory. I found the author's attempt to free Gregory from the charge of inconsistency in his Christology, as between his Monophysite and Nestorian tendencies (esp. pp. 244ff.), not wholly persuasive. It seems to me that Gregory did have a two stage theory, which he inherited from Origen who discusses the two stages of union at *princ.* 2.6.6. On the other hand his discussion of Gregory's treatment of the divine titles (esp. p. 181ff.) with especial reference to *CE* 1.568-574, is both illuminating and convincing. I missed any discussion of *or.cat.* 2 in the treatment given to the Holy Spirit.

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Lucile Villey, *Soumission. Thème et variations aux temps apostoliques. La fonction d'une préposition,* ὑπό (Théologie historique 91). Paris, Beauchesne, 1992. 530 p. 198 FF.

C'est un grand mérite de cette étude captivante et écrite dans un style très vif de ne pas discuter la préposition ὑπό en l'isolant des autres élé-

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ments du système prépositionnel mais de la considérer dans le contexte des structures d'une société formée selon le rapport «dessus-dessous» et d'allier l'approche grammaticale à celle de la théologie. L'objet est la soumission chrétienne dans l'Eglise apostolique et subapostolique (y inclus Justin Martyr). Les textes les plus importants de ce *corpus* relativement restreint, qui illustre cette soumission, se trouvent dans la lettre de Clément de Rome et celles d'Ignace d'Antioche, tandis que les textes chez Justin Martyr concernent surtout l'usage christologique d'ὑπό: le fils de Dieu ὑπέμεινε l'incarnation et la passion (cette partie «souligne comment la confession de tout ce que le Christ crucifié a supporté conduit les chrétiens à reprendre le propre itinéraire de ce Christ»).

Dans le premier chapitre, consacré aux aspects grammaticaux, se déroule un tableau des sens et des fonctions variées de la préposition ὑπό, puis l'évolution des sens au cours du temps est étudiée selon la méthode de la grammaire historique et enfin nous arrivons à la grammaire contemporaine qui, à partir du principe de la synchronie, observe comment s'organisent en «système» les éléments ayant la même fonction.

L'auteur nous présente ensuite le rôle d'ὑπό dans le monde hellénistique, l'arrière-fond du christianisme naissant avec toute sa variété qui — pas rarement sous des aspects contradictoires — se détache sur ce que nous révèlent les écrits chrétiens dans lesquels ὑπό est employé en premier lieu pour définir «la condition de l'homme, quand il explicite l'attitude envers Dieu» (p. 91).

Pour esquisser un champ sémantique, l'auteur se demande quel est le rôle d'ὑπό dans tel milieu. Dans ce cadre, il est illustratif, par exemple, que chez Epictète, représentant du stoïcisme tardif, Dieu est dépeint comme un maître qui donne des commandements à ses serviteurs (ὑπηρέται). L'auteur nous fait voir une autre catégorie en relevant les croyances eschatologiques des écrits hermétiques, où le châtiment est en bas et la béatitude en haut. Et il y a, dans les idées cosmologiques, l'opposition entre le sublunaire et le céleste: l'âme veut passer, en montant, de l'esclavage d'en bas à la liberté native.

Dans le monde biblique et dans l'enseignement des deux voies l'aspect nouveau de l'humilité va jouer; ὑπό peut être lié à douceur, patience, calme et humble fidélité à l'instruction, vertus qui marquent le chemin de lumière.

Avec la lettre de Clément de Rome nous voilà arrivés à l'âge postapostolique. L'objet de la lettre fait que la soumission y est un thème

majeur. «Mais», conclut l'auteur, «ὑποτάσσεσθαι apparaît beaucoup plus que le simple rappel à l'ordre occasionné par une cabale. Orchestré par de nombreux 'ὑπό', par l'obéissance et par l'humilité, le mot renvoie à la vie de la grâce» (p. 255).

Le vocabulaire autour de ὑπό chez Ignace d'Antioche est traditionnel et restreint. Il y a deux thèmes importants: la soumission exprimée par ὑποτάσσεσθαι qui dans les Lettres se spécialise en obéissance hiérarchique, et la soumission au martyre, l'ὑπομονή. Essentielle est ici la relation avec la souffrance du Christ: «l'ὑπομένειν des martyrs partage le παθεῖν du Christ». Ainsi «ὑπομένειν est un mot à deux faces, support et victoire» (p. 343).

Justin, de son côté, relève que Dieu a soumis la terre à l'homme, mais celui-ci est devenu esclave, sous la domination des démons. Mais ici vient s'insérer la soumission du Christ, et des chrétiens. «Trace de la mainmise de Satan sur ce monde, ὑπομένειν est en même temps la marque de la conversion des chrétiens, de leur remontée de l'abîme» (p. 417).

Impossible de résumer en quelques lignes le riche contenu de ce de beau livre. L'auteur a toujours placé les textes dans un cadre bien large, elle a éclairci l'histoire des formules et des tournures et discuté un grand nombre de parallèles et de textes pertinents. La valeur de cette étude en grande partie lexicologique est augmentée grâce à la citation *in extenso* des textes grecs.

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Pierre Cazier, *Isidore de Séville et la naissance de l'Espagne catholique* (Théologie historique 96). Paris, Beauchesne, 1994, 329 p. 195 FF.

L'étude que M. Cazier a consacrée à Isidore de Séville se fonde sur les matériaux qu'offrent les *Sentences*, ouvrage isidorien dont il a établi également un texte critique qui doit paraître prochainement dans la collection ALMA. Tandis qu'on accepte généralement une datation vers 615, l'auteur apporte des arguments assez forts pour situer les *Sentences* chronologiquement vers les dernières années d'Isidore, à l'époque du IV^e^ Concile de Tolède (633). De plus c'est en premier lieu qu'il veut démontrer que les *Sentences* ne consistent pas en unités linguistiquement isolées mais qu'il s'agit d'un tout structuré avec une progression logique des pensées. Je crois que l'auteur a bien réussi à prouver qu'il faut voir

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les *Sentences* comme un véritable traité destiné à la préparation du clergé et à la formation religieuse des futurs cadres politiques.

C'est l'Espagne qui limite l'horizon d'Isidore. Il apprécie l'héritage littéraire des Romains dont il passera les restes au Moyen Age, mais pour lui le monde a changé et l'Espagne est au centre. Depuis la conversion au catholicisme du roi arien Reccared rien n'empêcha l'évêque de Séville, représentant de la société hispano-romaine, de collaborer avec les Visigots. «En historien admiratif de la longue migration providentielle qui a guidé les Gots en Espagne» (p. 77) il loue les qualités de ce peuple qu'il dépeint comme très ancien. Souvent divisés entre eux, ils ont cependant accompli de grands exploits guerriers et c'est pour Isidore comme une apothéose qu'enfin ils sont devenus catholiques. En voulant répondre aux questions religieuses de son temps, Isidore ne cherche nulle part l'originalité, mais ne fait que suivre la tradition des Pères, où il choisit les thèmes à utiliser.

Le but principal de l'auteur a été de reconstruire, à l'aide des *Sentences*, certains aspects de la civilisation visigotique au temps d'Isidore, une période où manquent des sources telles que les sermons et les vies de saints. Bien qu'en majeure partie les *Sentences* s'en tiennent à des généralités (Isidore lui-même a qualifié la *sententia* de *dictum impersonale*, «une manière de parler impersonnelle»: *Etym.* 2,11,1), plusieurs se laissent insérer dans le contexte du IV^{e} Concile de Tolède. Dans quelle mesure elles sont nourries de l'expérience épiscopale d'Isidore, se manifeste par exemple par ce qu'il dit sur le mensonge et le serment (*Sent.* 2,30-31). C'est le mérite de M. Cazier de parfois avoir su concrétiser les textes: il nous montre, en effet, que par les paroles d'Isidore sont visés par exemple des juges orgueilleux et des membres du clergé qui cherchent «l'écume pompeuse des mots».

M. Cazier, qui présente ses recherches de façon claire, a réussi à évoquer, à l'aide des *Sentences* isidoriennes, un tableau de la naissance de l'Espagne catholique. C'est notamment en analysant les chapitres sur les devoirs du roi, dont la fonction principale «consiste à établir des lois chrétiennes et à les faire appliquer» (p. 298), qu'il a élucidé les éléments d'une théologie du pouvoir royal.

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